

पुस्तक पुरोहित

RR
वनस्थली विद्यापीठ



संख्या.....95A-42.....

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THE PUBLISHERS' NOTE TO PRESENT EDITION

In bringing this edition at a popular price of the *Annals and Antiquities of Benares*, by the late Lieut.-Colonel James Tod (1782-1835), in a new and an unabridged form, the Publishers have been at pains to revise as far as possible the discrepancies of spelling in the original. Obvious mistakes have been rectified; the Index has been revised and amplified; and the proofs of both volumes have been carefully read and corrected, with a view to providing students of the work with an accurate text in readable type. The Map is reproduced from the original prepared by the Author, with the omission of the less significant details.

The Publishers are indebted to Mr. Douglas Sladen, who contributes a preface to the work, for enlisting the interest of H.H. The Maharaj Rana of Benares, to whom this edition is inscribed.

G. R. & S. LTD.



If "the moral effect of history depend on the sympathy it excites," the annals of these states possess commanding interest. The struggles of a brave people for independence during a series of ages, sacrificing whatever was dear to them for the maintenance of the religion of their forefathers, and sturdily defending to death, and in spite of every temptation, their rights and national liberty, form a picture which it is difficult to contemplate without emotion. Could I impart to the reader but a small portion of the enthusiastic delight with which I have listened to the tales of times that are past, amid scenes where their events occurred, I should not despair of triumphing over the apathy which dooms to neglect almost every effort to enlighten my native country on the subject of India; nor should I apprehend any ill effect from the sound of names, which, musical and expressive as they are to a Hindu, are dissonant and unmeaning to a European ear: for it should be remembered that almost every Eastern name is significant of some quality, personal or mental. Seated amidst the ruins of ancient cities, I have listened to the traditions respecting their fall; or have heard the exploits of their illustrious defenders related by their descendants near the altars erected to their memory. I have, whilst in the train of the southern Goths (the Mahrattas), as they carried desolation over the land, encamped on or traversed many a field of battle, of civil strife or foreign aggression, to read in the rude memorials on the tumuli of the slain their names and history. Such anecdotes and records afford data of history as well as of manners. Even the couplet recording the erection of a "column of victory," or of a temple or its repairs, contributes something to our stock of knowledge of the past.

As far as regards the antiquity of the dynasties now ruling in Central and Western India, there are but two, the origin of which is not perfectly within the limits of historical probability; the rest having owed their present establishments to the progress of the Moslem arms, their annals confirmed by those of their conquerors. All the existing families indeed, have attained their present settlements subsequently to the Mahomedan invasions, except Méwar, Jessulmér, and some smaller principalities in the desert; whilst others of the first magnitude, such as the Pramara and Solanki, who ruled at Dhar and Anhulwarra, have for centuries ceased to exist.

I have been so hardy as to affirm and endeavour to prove the common origin of the martial tribes of Rajast'han and those of ancient Europe. I have expatiated at some length upon the evidence in favour of the existence of a feudal system in India, similar to that which prevailed in the early ages on the European continent, and of which relics still remain in the laws of our own nation. Hypotheses of this kind are, I am aware, viewed with suspicion, and sometimes assailed with ridicule. With regard to the notions which I have developed on these questions, and the frequent allusions to them in the pages of this volume, I entertain no obstinate prepossessions or prejudices in their favour. The world is too enlightened at the present day to be in danger of being misled by any hypothetical writer, let him be ever so skilful; but the probability is, that we have been induced, by the multitude of false theories which time has exposed, fall into the opposite error, and that we have become too sceptical in regard to the common origin of the people of the east and west. How I submit my proofs to the candid judgment of the world: 11

PREFACE

TOD'S *Rajast'han* has for three quarters of a century been recognised as one of the chief English Classics upon India. It has for many years been out of print, and the price of a copy has been prohibitive. It stands at this moment at twenty pounds. But the enormous length of the book—it is as long as eight ordinary novels—precluded any publisher from taking the risk of reprinting it as a whole, though Messrs. George Routledge & Sons Ltd. had reprinted a portion of it.

Last year, when H.H. The Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, the heir of Zalim Sing the Great, the hero who figures most largely in its pages, was in England, I suggested to him that something ought to be done to prevent a book of such value remaining inaccessible to students, and he at once said that he was willing to share the burden of any firm of publishers who undertook the republication.

I approached Messrs. George Routledge & Sons Ltd., who had made the former reprint, and who make a specialty of resuscitating out-of-print Classics, and they were equally prompt in accepting their share of the responsibility.

The result is that the libraries of Great Britain and India and the Empire will be able to place on their shelves at a popular price this indispensable and immensely valuable Classic, which not one in a hundred of them has previously been able to include in its catalogue.

On the life of Zalim Sing the Great, the Indian Machiavelli, the Rajpoot Prince who practically saved the British Power in India, nearly a hundred years ago, I am at present engaged. It was the difficulty of procuring a copy of TOD'S *Rajast'han* for my work on this subject, which led to my approaching the Maharaj Rana and Messrs. George Routledge & Sons Ltd. for its republication, now happily accomplished.

DOUGLAS SLADEN.

THE AVENUE HOUSE, RICHMOND, SURREY.

1914

DEDICATED TO
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJ RANA OF JHALAWAR,
TO WHOM
THE REPUBLICATION OF THIS
CLASSIC OF INDIA
IS DUE

TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
GEORGE THE FOURTH

SIRE,

The gracious permission accorded me, to lay at the foot of the Throne the fruit of my labours, allows me to propitiate Your Majesty's consideration towards the object of this work, the prosecution of which I have made a paramount duty.

The Rajpoot princes, happily rescued, by the triumph of the British arms, from the yoke of lawless oppression, are now the most remote tributaries to Your Majesty's extensive empire ; and their admirer and annalist may, perhaps, be permitted to hope, that the sighs of this ancient and interesting race for the restoration of their former independence, which it would suit our wisest policy to grant, may be deemed not underserving Your Majesty's regard.

With entire loyalty and devotion, I subscribe myself,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most faithful subject and servant,

JAMES TOD.

BIRD HURST, CROYDON,

20th June 1829.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

MUCH disappointment has been felt in Europe at the sterility of the historic muse of Hindust'han. When Sir William Jones first began to explore the vast mines of Sanscrit literature, great hopes were entertained that the history of the world would acquire considerable accessions from this source. The sanguine expectations that were then formed have not been realised ; and, as it usually happens, excitement has been succeeded by apathy and indifference. It is now generally regarded as an axiom, that India possesses no national history ; to which we may oppose the remark of a French Orientalist, who ingeniously asks, whence Abulfuzil obtained the materials for his outlines of ancient Hindu history ?¹ Mr. Wilson has, indeed, done much to obviate this prejudice, by his translation of the *Raj Tarringini*, or History of Cashmer,² which clearly demonstrates that regular historical composition was an art not unknown in Hindust'han, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertion may bring more relics to light. Although the labours of Colebrooke, Wilkins, Wilson, and others of our own countrymen, emulated by many learned men in France and Germany,³ have revealed to Europe some of the hidden lore of India ; still it is not pretended that we have done much more than pass the threshold of Indian science ; and we are consequently not competent to speak decisively of its extent or its character. Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still intact, which have survived the devastations of the Islamite. The collections of Jessulmér and Puttun, for example, escaped the scrutiny of even the lynx-eyed Alla, who conquered both these kingdoms, and who would have shown as little mercy to those literary treasures, as Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor collections, consisting of thousands of volumes each, exist in Central and Western India, some of which are the private property of princes, and others belong to the Jain communities.⁴

¹ M. Abel Rémusat, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques*, makes many apposite and forcible remarks on this subject, which, without intention, convey a just reproof to the lukewarmness of our countrymen. The institution of the Royal Asiatic Society, especially that branch of it devoted to Oriental translations, may yet redeem this reproach.

² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

³ When the genius and erudition of such men as Schlegel are added to the zeal which characterises that celebrated writer, what revelations may we not yet expect from the cultivation of oriental literature ?

⁴ Some copies of these Jain MSS. from Jessulmér, which were written from five to eight centuries back, I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. Of the vast numbers of these MS. books in the libraries of Puttun and Jessulmér, many are of the most remote antiquity, and in a character no longer understood.

If we consider the political changes and convulsions which have happened in Hindust'han since Mahmood's invasion, and the intolerant bigotry of many of his successors, we shall be able to account for the paucity of its national works on history, without being driven to the improbable conclusion, that the Hindus were ignorant of an art which has been cultivated in other countries from almost the earliest ages. Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilised as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated, but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the events of their history, the characters of their princes, and the acts of their reigns? Where such traces of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was a want of competent recorders of events, which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration. The cities of Hastinapoor and Indraprest'ha, of Anhulwara and Somanat'ha, the triumphal columns of Dehli and Cheetore, the shrines of Aboo and Girnar, the cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora, are so many attestations of the same fact; nor can we imagine that the age in which these works were erected was without an historian. Yet from the Mahabharat, or Great War, to Alexander's invasion, and from that grand event to the era of Mahmood of Ghizni, scarcely a paragraph of pure native Hindu history (except as before stated) has hitherto been revealed to the curiosity of western scholars. In the heroic history of Pirthi-raj, the last of the Hindu sovereigns of Dehli, written by his bard Chund, we find notices which authorise the inference that works similar to his own were then extant, relating to the period between Mahmood and Shabudin (A.D. 1000-1193); but these have disappeared.

After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigoted, and exasperated foes; it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with other important interests, irretrievable losses. My own animadversions upon the defective condition of the annals of Rajwarra have more than once been checked by a very just remark: "when our princes were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and compelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be forced to abandon the very meal preparing for them, was that a time to think of historical records?"

Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition, their possessors, or only by the supreme pontiff and his initiated librarians. There is one volume held so sacred for its magical contents, that it is suspended by a chain in the temple of Chintamun, at the last-named capital in the desert, and is only taken down to have its covering renewed, or at the inauguration of a pontiff. Tradition assigns its authorship to Somaditya Sooru Acharya, a pontiff of past days, before the Islamite had crossed the waters of the Indus, and whose diocese extended far beyond that stream. His magic mantle is also here preserved, and used on every new installation. The character is, doubtless, the nail-headed Pali; and could we introduce the ingenious, indefatigable, and modest Mons. E. Burnouf, with his able coadjutor Dr. Lassen, into the temple, we might learn something of this Sybilline volume, without their incurring the risk of loss of sight, which befel the last individual, a female Yati of the Jains, who illegally endeavoured to acquire its contents.

tion of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture, are marked with traits of originality; and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated, took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people. It must be recollected, moreover, that until a more correct taste was imparted to the literature of England and of France, by the study of classical models, the chronicles of both these countries, and indeed of all the polished nations of Europe, were, at a much more recent date, as crude, as wild, and as barren, as those of the early Rajpoots.

In the absence of regular and legitimate historical records, there are, however, other native works (they may, indeed, be said to abound), which, in the hands of a skilful and patient investigator, would afford no despicable materials for the history of India. The first of these are the *Purans* and genealogical legends of the princes, which, obscured as they are by mythological details, allegory, and improbable circumstances, contain many facts that serve as beacons to direct the research of the historian. What Hume remarks of the annals and annalists of the Saxon Heptarchy, may be applied with equal truth to those of the Rajpoot *Seven States*:¹ "they abound in names, but are extremely barren of events; or they are related so much without circumstances and causes, that the most profound and eloquent writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. The monks" (for which we may read "Brahmins"), "who lived remote from public affairs, considered the civil transactions as subservient to the ecclesiastical, and were strongly affected with credulity, with the love of wonder, and with a propensity to imposture."

The heroic poems of India constitute another resource for history. Bards may be regarded as the primitive historians of mankind. Before fiction began to engross the attention of poets, or rather, before the province of history was dignified by a class of writers who made it a distinct department of literature, the functions of the bard were doubtless employed in recording real events and in commemorating real personages.

Shri Krishna has been worshipped by the bards from the days of contemporary of Job, to the time of Beni-dása, the present ruler of Méwar. The poets are the chief, though not the sole, historians of Western India; neither is there any deficiency of them, nor do they speak in a peculiar tongue, which requires to be translated into a sober language of probability. To compensate for their magnificence and obscurity, their pen is free: the despotism of the Rajpoot does not extend to the poet's lay, which flows unconfined except for the shackles of the *chund bhojoonga*, or 'serpentine stanza': no slight restraint, it must be confessed, upon the freedom of the historic muse.

On the other hand, there is a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of "solid pudding against empty praise," whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is somewhat impaired. This sale of "fame," as the bards term it, by the court-laureates and historio-

¹ Méwar, Marwar, Ambér, Bikanér, Jessulmér, Kotah, and Boondí.

graphers of Rajast'han, will continue until there shall arise in the community a class sufficiently enlightened and independent, to look for no other recompense for literary labour than public distinction.

Still, however, these chroniclers dare utter truths, sometimes most unpalatable to their masters. When offended, or actuated by a virtuous indignation against immorality, they are fearless of consequences; and woe to the individual who provokes them! Many a resolution has sunk under the lash of their satire, which has condemned to eternal ridicule names that might otherwise have escaped notoriety. The ris, or poison of the bard, is more dreaded by the Rajpoot than the steel of the foe.

The absence of all mystery or reserve with regard to public affairs in the Rajpoot principalities, in which every individual takes an interest, from the noble to the porter at the city-gates, is of great advantage to the chronicler of events. When matters of moment in the disorganised state of the country rendered it imperative to observe secrecy, the Rana of Méwar, being applied to on the necessity of concealing them, rejoined as follows: "this is *Chaomookhi-raj*; ¹ Eklinga the sovereign, I his vicegerent; in him I trust, and I have no secrets from my children." To this publicity may be partly ascribed the inefficiency of every general alliance against common foes; but it gives a kind of patriarchal character to the government, and inspires, if not loyalty and patriotism in their most exalted sense, feelings at least much akin to them.

A material drawback upon the value of these bardic histories is, that they are confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of their heroes, and to the *rung-in-bhom*, or 'field of slaughter.' Writing for the amusement of a warlike race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life; love and war are their favourite themes. Chund, the last of the great bards of India, tells us, indeed, in his preface, "that he will give rules for governing empires; the laws of grammar and composition; lessons in diplomacy, home and foreign, etc.": and he fulfils his promise, by interspersing precepts on these points in various episodes throughout his work.

Again: the bard, although he is admitted to the knowledge of all the secret springs which direct each measure of the government, enters too deeply into the intrigues, as well as the levities, of the court, to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts.

Nevertheless, although open to all these objections, the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners; many of which, being carelessly introduced, are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence. In the heroic history of Pirthi-raj, by Chund, there occur many geographical as well as historical details, in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, his ambassador, and finally discharging the melancholy office of accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonour. The poetical histories of Chund were collected by the great Umra Sing of Méwar, a patron of literature, as well as a warrior and a legislator.

Another species of historical records is found in the accounts given by the Brahmins of the endowments of the temples, their dilapidation

¹ 'Government of four mouths,' alluding to the quadriform image of the tutelary divinity.

and repairs, which furnish occasions for the introduction of historical and chronological details. In the legends, respecting places of pilgrimage and religious resort, profane events are blended with superstitious rites and ordinances, local ceremonies and customs. The controversies of the Jains furnish, also, much historical information, especially with reference to Guzzerat and Nehrwala, during the Chaulac dynasty. From a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up. The party-spirit of the rival sects of India was, doubtless, adverse to the purity of history; and the very ground upon which the Brahmins built their ascendancy was the ignorance of the people. There appears to have been in India, as well as in Egypt in early times, a coalition between the hierarchy and the state, with the view of keeping the mass of the nation in darkness and subjugation.

These different records, works of a mixed historical and geographical character which I know to exist; *rasahs* or poetical legends of princes, which are common; local *Puranas*, religious comments, and traditionary couplets;¹ with authorities of a less dubious character, namely, inscriptions "cut on the rock," coins, copper-plate grants, containing charters of immunities, and expressing many singular features of civil government, constitute, as I have already observed, no despicable materials for the historian, who would, moreover, be assisted by the synchronisms which are capable of being established with ancient Pagan and later Mahomedan writers.

From the earliest period of my official connection with this interesting country, I applied myself to collect and explore its early historical records, with a view of throwing some light upon a people scarcely yet known in Europe and whose political connection with England appeared to me to be capable of undergoing a material change, with benefit to both parties. It would be wearisome to the reader to be minutely informed of the process I adopted, to collect the scattered relics of Rajpoot history into the form and substance in which he now sees them. I began with the sacred genealogy from the *Puranas*; examined the *Mahabharat*, and the poems of Chund (a complete chronicle of his times); the voluminous historical poems of Jessulmér, Marwar, and Méwar;² the histories of the Kheetchies, and those of the Hara princes of Kotah and Boondí, etc., by their respective bards. A portion of the materials compiled by Jey Sing of Ambér or Jeipoor (one of the greatest patrons of science amongst the modern Hindu princes), to illustrate the history of his race, fell into my hands. I have reason to believe that there existed more copious materials, which his profligate descendant, the late prince, in his division of the

¹ Some of these preserve the names of princes who invaded India between the time of Mahmood of Ghizni and Shabudin, who are not mentioned by Ferishta, the Mahomedan historian. The invasion of Ajmér and the capture of Biana, the seat of the Yadu princes, were made known to us by this means.

² Of Marwar, there were the *Vijya Vulas*, the *Surya Prukas*, and *Kheat*, or legends, besides detached fragments of reigns. Of Méwar, there was the *Khoman Rassah*, a modern work formed from old materials which are lost, and commencing with the attack of Cheetore by Mahmood, supposed to be the son of Kasim of Sindé, in the very earliest ages of Mahomedanism: also the *Juggut Vulas*, the *Raj-prukas*, and the *Jeya Vulas*, all poems composed in the reigns of the princes whose names they bear, but generally introducing succinctly the early parts of history. Besides these, there were fragments of the Jeipoor family, from their archives; and the *Mán Cheritra*, or history of Raja Maun.

empire with a prostitute, may have disposed of on the partition of the library of the state, which was the finest collection in Rajast'han. Like some of the renowned princes of Timur's dynasty, Jey Sing kept a diary, termed *Calpadruma*, in which he noted every event : a work written by such a man and at such an interesting juncture, would be a valuable acquisition to history. From the Duttea prince I obtained a transcript of the journal of his ancestor, who served with such *éclat* amongst the great feudatories of Arungzeb's army, and from which Scott made many extracts in his history of the Dekhan.

For a period of ten years, I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute any facts or incidents to the history of the Rajpoots, or diffuse any light upon their manners and character. Extracts and versions of all such passages were made by my Jain assistant into the more familiar dialects (which are formed from the Sanscrit) of these tribes, in whose language my long residence amongst them enabled me to converse with facility. At much expense, and during many wearisome hours, to support which required no ordinary degree of enthusiasm, I endeavoured to possess myself not merely of their history, but of their religious notions, their familiar opinions, and their characteristic manners, by associating with their chiefs and bardic chroniclers, and by listening to their traditionary tales and allegorical poems. I might ultimately, as the circle of my inquiries enlarged, have materially augmented my knowledge of these subjects ; but ill-health compelled me to relinquish this pleasing though toilsome pursuit, and forced me to revisit my native land just as I had obtained permission to look across the threshold of the Hindu Minerva ; whence, however, I brought some relics, the examination of which I now consign to other hands. The large collection of ancient Sanscrit and Bakha MSS., which I conveyed to England, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose library they are deposited. The contents of many, still unexamined, may throw additional light on the history of ancient India. I claim only the merit of having brought them to the knowledge of European scholars ; but I may hope that this will furnish a stimulus to others to make similar exertions.

The little exact knowledge that Europe has hitherto acquired of the Rajpoot states, has probably originated a false idea of the comparative importance of this portion of Hindust'han. The splendour of the Rajpoot courts, however, at an early period of the history of that country, making every allowance for the exaggeration of the bards, must have been great. Northern India was rich from the earliest times ; that portion of it, situated on either side the Indus, formed the richest satrapy of Darius. It has abounded in the more striking events which constitute the materials for history : there is not a petty state in Rajast'han that has not had its Thermopylæ, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas. But the mantle of ages has shrouded from view what the magic pen of the historian might have consecrated to endless admiration : Somnat'h might have rivalled Delphos ; the spoils of Hind might have vied with the wealth of the Lybian king ; and compared with the array of the Pandus, the army of Xerxes would have dwindled into insignificance. But the Hindus either never had, or have unfortunately lost, their Herodotus and Xenophon.

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This space comprehends nearly 8° of latitude and 9° of longitude, being from 22° to 30° north latitude, and 69° to 78° east longitude, embracing a superficial area of 350,000 square miles.

Although it is proposed to touch upon the annals of all the states in this extensive tract, with their past and present condition, those in the centre will claim the most prominent regard ; especially Méwar, which, copiously treated of, will afford a specimen, obviating the necessity of like details of the rest.

¹Or 'regal (*raj*) dwelling (*t'han*).'

²It is rather singular that the Sindé river will mark this eastern boundary, as does the Indus (or great Sindé) that to the west. East of this minor Sindé the Hindu princes are not of pure blood, and are excluded from Rajast'hán or Rajwarra.

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJAST'HAN

GEOGRAPHY OF RAJAST'HAN OR RAJPOOTANA

'RAJAST'HAN is the collective and classical denomination of that portion of India which is 'the abode' of (Rajpoot) princes.' In the familiar dialect of these countries it is termed *Rajwarra*, but by the more refined *Raét'hána*, corrupted to *Rajpootana*, the common designation amongst the British to denote the Rajpoot principalities.

What might have been the nominal extent of Rajast'han prior to the Mahomedan conqueror Shabudin (when it probably reached beyond the Jumna and Ganges, even to the base of the Himalaya) cannot now be known. At present we may adhere to its restrictive definition, still comprehending a wide space and a variety of interesting races.

Previous to the erection of the minor Mahomedan monarchies of Mandoo and Ahmedabad (the capitals of Malwa and Guzzerat), on the ruins of Dhar and Anhulwarra Puttun, the term Rajast'han would have been appropriated to the space comprehended in the map prefixed to this work: the valley of the Indus on the west, and Boondelkhund ² on the east; to the north, the sandy tracts (south of the Sutledge) termed *Jungul dés*; and the Vindhya mountains to the south.

This space comprehends nearly 8° of latitude and 9° of longitude, being from 22° to 30° north latitude, and 69° to 78° east longitude, embracing a superficial area of 350,000 square miles.

Although it is proposed to touch upon the annals of all the states in this extensive tract, with their past and present condition, those in the centre will claim the most prominent regard; especially Méwar, which, copiously treated of, will afford a specimen, obviating the necessity of like details of the rest.

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GEOGRAPHY OF RAJAST'HAN

The order in which these states will be reviewed is as follows :—

1. Méwar, or Oodipoor.
2. Marwar, or Jodpoor.
3. Bikanér and Kishengurh.
4. Kotah } or Harouti.
5. Boondi }
6. Ambér, or Jeipoor, with its branches, dependent and independent.
7. Jesselmér.
8. The Indian desert to the valley of the Indus.

The basis of this work is the geography of the country, the historical and statistical portion being consequent and subordinate thereto. It was, indeed, originally designed to be essentially geographical; but circumstances have rendered it impossible to execute the intended details, or even to make the map ¹ so perfect as the superabundant material at the command of the author might have enabled him to do; a matter of regret to himself rather than of loss to the general reader, to whom geographic details, however important, are usually dry and uninteresting.

It was also intended to institute a comparison between the map and such remains of ancient geography as can be extracted from the Poorans and other Hindu authorities; which, however, must be deferred to a future period, when the deficiency of the present rapid and general sketch may be supplied, should the author be enabled to resume his labours.

The laborious research, in the course of which these data were accumulated, commenced in 1806, when the author was attached to the embassy sent, at the close of the Mahratta wars, to the court of Sindia. This chieftain's army was then in Méwar, at that period almost a *terra incognita*, the position of whose two capitals, Oodipoor and Cheetore, in the best existing maps, was precisely reversed; that is, Cheetore was inserted S.E. of Oodipoor, instead of E.N.E.; a proof of the scanty knowledge possessed at that period.

In other respects there was almost a total blank. In the maps prior to 1806 nearly all the western and central states of Rajast'han will be found wanting. It had been imagined, but a little time before, that the rivers had a southerly course into the Nerbudda; a notion corrected by the father of Indian geography, the distinguished Rennell.

This blank the author filled up; and in 1815, for the first time, the geography of Rajast'han was put into combined form and presented to the Marquis of Hastings, on the eve of a general war, when the labour of ten years was amply rewarded by its becoming in part the foundation of that illustrious commander's plans of the campaign. It is a duty owing to himself to state that every map, without exception, printed since this period, has its foundation, as regards Central and Western India, in the labours of the author.²

¹ Engraved by that meritorious artist Mr. Walker, engraver to the East-India Company, who, I trust, will be able to make a fuller use of my materials hereafter.

² When the war of 1817 broke out, copies of my map on a reduced scale were sent to all the divisions of the armies in the field, and came into possession of many of the staff. Transcripts were made which were brought to Europe, and portions introduced into every recent map of India. One map has, indeed,

The route of the embassy was from Agra, through the southern frontier to Jeepoor, to Oodipoor. A portion of this had been surveyed, and points laid down from celestial observation, by Dr. W. Hunter, which I adopted as the basis of my enterprise. The Resident Envoy¹ to the court of Sindia was possessed of the valuable sketch of the route of Colonel Palmer's embassy in 1791, as laid down by Dr. Hunter, the foundation of my subsequent surveys, as it merited from its importance and general accuracy. It embraced all the extreme points of Central India: Agra, Nirwur, Dittah, Jhansi, Bhopal, Sarangpoor, Oojein, and on return from this, the first meridian of the Hindus, by Kotah, Boondi, Rampoor (Tonk), Biana, to Agra. The position of all these places was more or less accurately fixed, according to the time which could be bestowed, by astronomical observation.

At Rampoor Hunter ceased to be my guide: and from this point commenced the new survey of Oodipoor, where we arrived in June 1806. The position then assigned to it, with most inadequate instruments, has been changed only 1' of longitude, though the latitude amounted to about 5'.

From Oodipoor the subsequent march of the army with which we moved led past the celebrated Cheetore, and through the centre of Malwa, crossing in detail all the grand streams flowing from the Vindhya, till we halted for a season on the Boondelkhund frontier at Kémlassa. In this journey of seven hundred miles I twice crossed the lines of route of the former embassy, and was gratified to find my first attempts generally coincide with their established points.

In 1807 the army having undertaken the siege of Rahtgurrh, I determined to avail myself of the time which Mahrattas waste in such a process, and to pursue my favourite project. With a small guard I determined to push through untrodden fields, by the banks of the Bétwa to Chandéri, and in its latitude proceed in a westerly direction towards Kotah, trace the course once more of all those streams from the south, and the points of junction of the most important (the Cali Sinde, Parbutti, and Bunas) with the Chumbul; and having effected this, continue my journey to Agra. This I accomplished in times very different from the present, being often obliged to strike my tents and march at midnight, and more than once the object of plunder.² The chief points in this route were Kémlassa, Rajwarra, Kotra on the Bétwa, Kunniadana,³ Booradongur,⁴

been given, in a manner to induce a supposition that the furnisher of the materials was the author of them. It has fulfilled a prediction of the Marquis of Hastings, who, foreseeing the impossibility of such materials remaining private property, "and the danger of their being appropriated by others," and desirous that the author should derive the full advantage of his labours, had it signified that the claims for recompense, on the records of successive governments, should not be deferred.

It will not be inferred the author is surprised at what he remarks. While he claims priority for himself, he is the last person to wish to see a halt in science—

"For emulation has a thousand sons."

¹ My esteemed friend, Græme Mercer, Esq. (of Maevisbank), who stimulated my exertions with his approbation.

² Many incidents in these journeys would require no aid of imagination to touch on the romantic, but they can have no place here.

³ Eastern tableland.

⁴ Sinde River.

Shahabad, Barah,¹ Polaitah,² Baroda, Scopoor, Palli,³ Rintimbor Kerowly, Sri Muttra, and Agra.

On my return to the Mahratta camp I resolved further to increase the sphere, and proceeded westward by Bhurtipoor, Kut'hoomur, Saintri, Jeipoor, Tonk, Indurgurh, Googul, Chupra, Raghoogurh, Arone, Koorwy Bhorasso, to Saugur: a journey of more than one thousand miles. I found the camp nearly where I left it.

With this ambulatory court I moved everywhere within this region, constantly employed in surveying till 1812 when Sindia's court became stationary. It was then I formed my plans for obtaining a knowledge of those countries into which I could not personally penetrate.

In 1810-11 I had despatched two parties, one to the Indus, the other to the desert south of the Sutledge. The first party, under Shekh Abi Birkat, journeyed westward, by Oodipoor, through Guzzerat, Saurashtra and Cutch, Lukput and Hyderabad (the capital of the Sindie government); crossed the Indus to Tatta, proceeded up the right bank to Seewan; recrossed, and continued on the left bank as far as Khyrpoor, the residence of one of the triumvirate governors of Sinde, and having reached the insulated Bekher⁴ (the capital of the Sogdi of Alexander) returned by the desert of Oomrasoomra to Jesselmér, Marwar, and Jeipoor, and joined me in camp at Nirwar. It was a perilous undertaking; but the Shekh was a fearless and enterprising character, and moreover a man with some tincture of learning. His journals contained many hints and directions for future research in the geography, statistics, and manners of the various races amongst whom he travelled.

The other party was conducted by a most valuable man, Madarri Lall, who became a perfect adept in these expeditions of geographical discovery, and other knowledge resulting therefrom. There is not a district of any consequence in the wide space before the reader which was not traversed by this spirited individual, whose qualifications for such complicated and hazardous journeys were never excelled. Ardent, persevering, prepossessing, and generally well-informed, he made his way when others might have perished.⁵

From these remote regions the best informed native inhabitants were, by persuasion and recompense, conducted to me; and I could at all times, in the Mahratta camp at Gwalior, from 1812 to 1817, have provided a native of the valley of the Indus, the deserts of Dhat, Oomrasoomra, or any of the states of Rajast'han.

The precision with which Kasids and other public conveyers of letters in countries where posts are little used, can detail the peculiarities of

¹ Parbutti River.

² Cali Sinde River.

³ Passage of the Chumbul and junction of the Par.

⁴ The Shekh brought me specimens of the rock, which is siliceous; and also a piece of brick of the very ancient fortress of Seewan, and some of the grain from its pits, charred and alleged by tradition to have lain there since the period of Raja Bhirtirri, the brother of Vicramaditya. It is not impossible that it might be owing to Alexander's terrific progress, and to their supplies being destroyed by fire. Seewan is conjectured by Captain Pottinger to be the capital of Musicanus.

⁵ His health was worn out at length, and he became the victim of depressed spirits. He died suddenly: I believe poisoned. Futtah, almost as zealous as Madarri, also died in the pursuit. Geography has been destructive to those who have pursued it with ardour in the East.

ing line of route, and the accuracy of their distances, would scarcely be credited in Europe. I have no hesitation in asserting that if a correct estimate were obtained of the measured *coss* of a country, a line might be laid down upon a flat surface with great exactitude. I have heard it affirmed that it was the custom of the old Hindoo governments to have measurements made of the roads from town to town, and that the *Abou Lahatma*¹ contains a notice of an instrument for that purpose. Indeed, the singular coincidence between lines measured by the perambulator and the estimated distances of the natives, is the best proof that the latter are deduced from some more certain method than mere computation.

I never rested satisfied with the result of one set of my parties, with the single exception of Madarri's, always making the information of one a basis for the instruction of another, who went over the same ground; but with additional views and advantages, and with the aid of the natives brought successively by each, till I exhausted every field.

Thus, in a few years, I had filled several volumes with lines of route throughout this space; and having many frontier and intermediate points, the positions of which were fixed, a general outline of the result was constructed, wherein all this information was laid down. I speak more particularly of the western states, as the central portion, or that watered by the Chumbul and its tributary streams, whether from the elevated Aravulli on the west, or from the Vindhya mountains on the south, has been personally surveyed and measured in every direction, with an accuracy sufficient for every political or military purpose, until the grand trigonometrical survey from the peninsula shall be extended throughout India. These countries form an extended plain to the Sutledge north, and west to the Indus, rendering the amalgamation of geographical materials much less difficult than where mountainous regions intervene.

After having laid down these varied lines in the outline described, I determined to check and confirm its accuracy by recommencing the survey on a new plan, viz. trigonometrically.

My parties were again despatched to resume their labours over fields now familiar to them. They commenced from points whose positions were fixed (and my knowledge enabled me to give a series of such), from each of which, as a centre, they collected every radiating route to every town within the distance of twenty miles. The points selected were generally such as to approach equilateral triangles; and although to digest the information became a severe toil, the method will appear, even to the casual observer, one which must throw out its own errors; for these lines crossed in every direction, and consequently corrected each other. By such means did I work my way in those unknown tracts, and the result is in part before the reader. I say, in part; for my health compels me reluctantly to leave out much which could be combined from *ten folios* of journeys extending throughout these regions.

In 1815, as before stated, an outline map containing all the information thus obtained, and which the subsequent crisis rendered of essential importance, was presented by me to the Governor-General of India. Upon the very eve of the war I constructed and presented another, of the greater portion of Malwa, to which it appeared expedient to confine the

¹ A valuable and ancient work, which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

operations against the Pindarries. The material feature in this small map was the general position of the Vindhya mountains, the sources and course of every river originating thence, and the passes in this chain, an object of primary importance. The boundaries of the various countries in this tract were likewise defined, and it became essentially useful in the subsequent dismemberment of the Peishwa's dominions.

In the construction of this map I had many fixed points, both of Dr. Hunter's and my own, to work from ; and it is gratifying to observe that though several measured lines have since been run through this space, not only the general, but often the identical features of mine, have been preserved in the maps since given to the world. As considerable improvement has been made by several measured lines through this tract, and many positions affixed by a scientific and zealous geographer, I have had no hesitation in incorporating a small portion of this improved geography in the map now presented.¹

Many surveyed lines were made by me, from 1817 to 1822 ; and here I express my obligations to my kinsman,² to whom alone I owe any aid for improving this portion of my geographical labours. This officer made a circuitous survey, which comprehended nearly the extreme points of Méwar, from the capital, by Cheetore, Mandelgurh, Jehajpoor, Rajmahl, and in return by Bunai, Bednore, Deogurh, to the point of outset. From these extreme points he was enabled to place many intermediate ones, for which Méwar is so favourable, by reason of its isolated hills.

In 1820 I made an important journey across the Aravulli, by Komulmér, Pali, to Jodpoor, the capital of Marwar, and thence by Mairta, tracing the course of the Looni to its source at Ajmér ; and from this celebrated residence of the Chohan kings and Mogul emperors, returning through the central lands of Méwar, by Bunai and Bunéra, to the capital.

I had the peculiar satisfaction to find that my position of Jodpoor, which has been used as a capital point in fixing the geography west and north, was only 3' of space out in latitude, and little more in longitude ; which accounted for the coincidence of my position of Bikanér with that assigned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his account of the embassy to Caubul.

Besides Oodipoor, Jodpoor, Ajmér, etc., whose positions I had fixed by observations, and the points laid down by Hunter, I availed myself of a few positions given to me by that enterprising traveller, the author of the journey into Khorassan,³ who marched from Dehli, by Nagore and Jodpoor, to Oodipoor.

The outline of the countries of Guzzerat,⁴ the Saurashtra peninsula, and Cutch, inserted chiefly by way of connection, is entirely taken from the labours of that distinguished geographer, the late General Reynolds. We had both gone over a great portion of the same field, and my testimony

¹ It is, however, limited to Malwa, whose geography was greatly improved and enlarged by the labours of Captain Dangerfield ; and though my materials could fill up the whole of this province, I merely insert the chief points to connect it with Rajast'han.

² Captain P. T. Waugh, 10th Regiment Light Cavalry, Bengal.

³ Mr. J. B. Fraser.

⁴ My last journey, in 1822-23, was from Oodipoor, through these countries towards the Delta of the Indus, but more with a view to historical and antiquarian than geographical research. It proved the most fruitful of all my many journeys.

is due to the value of his researches in countries into which he never personally penetrated, evincing what may be done by industry, and the use of such materials as I have described.

I shall conclude with a rapid sketch of the physiognomy of these regions; minute and local descriptions will appear more appropriately in the respective historical portions.

Rajast'han presents a great variety of feature. Let me place the reader on the highest peak of the insulated Aboo, 'the saint's pinnacle,'¹ as it is termed, and guide his eye in a survey over this wide expanse, from the 'blue waters' of the Indus west, to the 'withy-covered'² Bétwa on the east. From this, the most elevated spot in Hindust'han, overlooking by fifteen hundred feet the Aravulli mountains, his eye descends to the plains of Medpát³ (the classic term for Méwar), whose chief streams flowing from the base of the Aravulli, join the Bérís and Bunas, and are prevented from uniting with the Chumbul only by the Pat-ár⁴ or plateau of Central India.

Ascending this plateau near the celebrated Cheetore, let the eye deviate slightly from the direct eastern line, and pursue the only practicable path by Ruttungurh, and Singolli, to Kotah, and he will observe its three successive steppes, the miniature representation of those of Russian Tartary. Let the observer here glance across the Chumbul and traverse Harouti to its eastern frontier, guarded by the fortress of Shahabad: thence abruptly descend the plateau to the level of the Sinde, still proceeding eastward, until the table-mountain, the western limit of Boondelk-hund, affords a resting point.

To render this more distinct, I present a profile of the tract described from Aboo to Kotra on the Bétwa:⁵ from Aboo to the Chumbul, the result of barometrical measurement, and from the latter to the Bétwa from my general observations⁶ of the irregularities of surface. The result is, that the Bétwa at Kotra is one thousand feet above the sea level, and one thousand lower than the city and valley of Oodipoor, which again is on the same level with the base of Aboo, two thousand feet above the sea. This line, the general direction of which is but a short distance from the tropic, is about six geographic degrees in length: yet is this small space highly diversified, both in its inhabitants and the production of the soil, whether hidden or revealed.

Let us now from our elevated station (still turned to the east) carry the eye both south and north of the line described, which nearly bisects

¹ Gūru Sikr.

² Its classic name is *Vitraventi*, *Vitra* being the common willow in Sanscrit; said by Wilford to be the same in Welsh.

³ Literally 'the central (*médya*) flat.'

⁴ Meaning: 'table (*pát*) mountain (*ár*).—Although *ár* may not be found in any Sanscrit dictionary with the signification 'mountain,' yet it appears to be a primitive root possessing such meaning—instance, *Ar-boodha*, 'hill of Booddha'; *Aravulli*, 'hill of strength.' *Ar* is Hebrew for 'mountain' (qu. *Ararat*?) *Opos* in Greek? The common word for a mountain in Sanscrit, *gir*, is equally so in Hebrew.

⁵ The Bétwa river runs under the tableland just alluded to, on the east.

⁶ I am familiar with these regions, and confidently predict that when a similar measurement shall be made from the Bétwa to Kotah, these results will little err, and the error will be in having made Kotah somewhat too elevated, and the bed of the Bétwa a little too low.

Media-désa,¹ 'the *central-land*' of Rajast'han; best defined by the course of the Chumbul and its tributary streams, to its confluence with the Jumna: while the regions west of the transalpine Aravulli² may as justly be defined Western Rajast'han.

Looking to the south, the eye rests on the long extended and strongly defined line of the Vindhya mountains, the proper bounds of Hindust'han and the Dekhan. Though, from our elevated stand on 'the Saint's Pinnacle' of Aboo, we look down on the Vindhya as a range of diminished importance, it is that our position is the least favourable to viewing its grandeur, which would be most apparent from the south; though throughout this skirt of descent, irregular elevations attain a height of many hundred feet above such points of its abrupt descent.

The Aravulli itself may be said to connect with the Vindhya, and the point of junction to be towards Champanér; though it might be as correct to say the Aravulli thence rose upon and stretched from the Vindhya. Whilst it is much less elevated than more to the north, it presents bold features throughout,³ south by Lunawarra, Dongurpoor, and Edur, to Amba Bhawani and Oodipoor.

Still looking from Aboo over the table-land of Malwa, we observe her plains of black loam furrowed by the numerous streams from the highest points of the Vindhya, pursuing their northerly course; some meandering through valleys or falling over precipices; others bearing down all opposition, and actually forcing an exit through the central plateau to join the Chumbul.

Having thus glanced at the south, let us cast the eye north of this line, and pause on the alpine Aravulli.⁴ Let us take a section of it, from the capital, Oodipoor, the line of our station on Aboo, passing through Oguna, Panurwa, and Meerpoor, to the western descent near Sirohi, a space of nearly sixty miles in a direct line, where "hills o'er hills and alps on alps arise," from the ascent at Oodipoor, to the descent to Marwar. All this space to the Sirohi frontier is inhabited by communities of the aboriginal races, living in a state of primeval and almost savage independence, owning no paramount power, paying no tribute, but with all the simplicity of republics; their leaders, with the title of Rawut, being hereditary. Thus the Rawut of the Oguna commune can assemble five thousand bows, and several others can on occasion muster considerable numbers. Their habitations are dispersed through the valleys in small rude hamlets, near their pastures or places of defence.⁵

¹ Central India, a term which I first applied as the title of the map presented to the Marquis of Hastings, in 1815, "of Central and Western India," and since become familiar.

² Let it be remembered that the Aravulli, though it loses its tabular form, sends its branches north, terminating at Dehli.

³ Those who have marched from Baroda towards Malwa and marked the irregularities of surface, will admit this chain of connection of the Vindhya and Aravulli.

⁴ 'The refuge of strength,' a title justly merited, from its affording protection to the most ancient sovereign race which holds dominion, whether in the east or west—the ancient stock of the Sooryavans, the Heliadæ of India, our 'children of the sun,' the princes of Méwar.

⁵ It was my intention to have penetrated through their singular abodes; and I had negotiated, and obtained of these 'forest lords' a promise of hospitable

Let me now transport the reader to the citadel pinnacle of Komulmér,¹ thence surveying the range running north to Ajmér, where, shortly after, it loses its tabular form, and breaking into lofty ridges, sends numerous branches through the Shekhavati federation, and Alwar, till in low heights it terminates at Dehli.

From Komulmér to Ajmér the whole space is termed Mérwarra, and is inhabited by the mountain race of Mér or Mair, the habits and history of which singular class will be hereafter related. The range averages from six to fifteen miles in breadth, having upwards of one hundred and fifty villages and hamlets scattered over its valleys and rocks, abundantly watered, not deficient in pasture, and with cultivation enough for all internal wants, though it is raised with infinite labour on terraces, as the vine is cultivated in Switzerland and on the Rhine.

In vain does the eye search for any trace of wheel-carriage across this compound range from Edur to Ajmér; and it consequently well merits its appellation *ara*, 'the barrier,' for the strongest arm of modern warfare, artillery, would have to turn the chain by the north, to avoid the impracticable descent to the west.²

Guiding the eye along the chain, several fortresses are observed on pinnacles guarding the passes on either side, while numerous rills descend, pouring over the declivities, seeking their devious exit between the projecting ribs of the mountain. The Bérís, the Bunas, the Kotaseri, the Khari, the Dye, all uniting with the Bunas to the east, while to the west the still more numerous streams which fertilise the rich province of Godwar, unite to 'the Salt River,' the *Eooni*, and mark the true line of the desert. Of these the chief are the Sookri and the Bandi; while others which are not perennial, and depend on atmospheric causes for their supply, receive the general denomination of '*rayl*,' indicative of rapid mountain torrents, carrying in their descent a vast volume of alluvial deposit, to enrich the siliceous soil below.

However grand the view of the chaotic mass of rock from this elevated site of Komulmér, it is from the plains of Marwar that its majesty is most apparent; where its 'splintered pinnacles' are seen rising over each

passport, of which I have never allowed myself to doubt, as the virtues of pledged faith and hospitality are ever to be found in stronger keeping in the inverse ratio of civilisation. Many years ago one of my parties was permitted to range through this tract. In one of the passes of their lengthened valleys 'The Lord of the Mountain' was dead: the men were all abroad, and his widow alone in the hut. Madarri told his story, and claimed her surety and passport; which the Bheelni delivered from the quiver of her late lord; and the arrow carried in his hand was as well recognised as the cumbrous roll with all its seals and appendages of a traveller in Europe.

¹ *Mér* signifies 'a hill' in Sanscrit, hence *Komul*, or properly *Koombhomér*, is 'the hill' or 'mountain of Koombho,' a prince whose exploits are narrated. Likewise *Ajmér* is the 'hill of Ajya,' the 'Invincible' hill. *Mér* is with the long é, like *Mère* in French, in classical orthography.

² At the point of my descent this was characteristically illustrated by my Rajpoot friend of Sémur, whose domain had been invaded and cow-pens emptied, but a few days before, by the mountain bandit of Sirohi. With their booty they took the shortest and not most practicable road: but though their alpine kine are pretty well accustomed to leaping in such abodes, it would appear they had hesitated here. The difficulty was soon got over by one of the Meenas, who with his dagger transfixed one and rolled him over the height, his carcase serving at once as a precedent and a *stepping-stone* for his horned kindred.

other in varied form, or frowning over the dark indented recesses of its forest-covered and rugged declivities.

On reflection, I am led to pronounce the Aravulli a connection of the 'Appennines of India'; the Ghats on the Malabar coast of the peninsula: nor does the passage of the Nerbudda or the Tapti, through its diminished centre, militate against the hypothesis, which might be better substantiated by the comparison of their intrinsic character and structure.

The general character of the Aravulli is its primitive formation: granite, reposing in variety of angle (the general dip is to the east) on massive, compact, dark blue slate, the latter rarely appearing much above the surface or base of the superincumbent granite. The internal valleys abound in variegated quartz and a variety of schistus slate of every hue, which gives a most singular appearance to the roofs of the houses and temples when the sun shines upon them. Rocks of gneiss and of syenite appear in the intervals; and in the diverging ridges west of Ajmér, the summits are quite dazzling with the enormous masses of vitreous rose-coloured quartz.

The Aravulli and its subordinate hills are rich both in mineral and metallic products; and, as stated in the annals of Méwar, to the latter alone can be attributed the resources which enabled this family so long to struggle against superior power, and to raise those magnificent structures which would do honour to the most potent kingdoms of the west.

The mines are royalties; their produce a monopoly, increasing the personal revenue of their prince. '*An-Dán-Kán*' is a triple figurative expression, which comprehends the sum of sovereign rights in Rajast'han, being *allegiance, commercial duties, mines*. The tin-mines of Méwar were once very productive, and yielded, it is asserted, no inconsiderable portion of silver: but the caste of miners is extinct, and political reasons, during the Mogul domination, led to the concealment of such sources of wealth. Copper of a very fine description is likewise abundant, and supplies the currency; and the chief of Saloombra even coins by sufferance from the mines on his own estate. *Soorma*, or the oxide of antimony, is found on the western frontier. The garnet, amethystine quartz, rock crystal, the chrysolite, and inferior kinds of the emerald family, are all to be found within Méwar; and though I have seen no specimens decidedly valuable, the Rana has often told me that, according to tradition, his native hills contained every species of mineral wealth.

Let us now quit our alpine station on the Aravulli, and make a tour of the *Pátár*, or plateau of Central India, not the least important feature of this interesting region. It possesses a most decided character, and is distinct from the Vindhya to the south and the Aravulli to the west, being of the secondary formation, or trap, of the most regular horizontal stratification.

The circumference of the plateau is best explained in the map, though its surface is most unequally detailed, and is continually alternating its character between the tabular form and clustering ridges.

Commencing the tour at Mandelgurh, let us proceed south, skirting Cheetore (both on insulated rocks detached from the plateau), thence by Jawud, Dantolli, Rampoor,¹ Bhanpoora, the Mokundurra Pass,² to

¹ Near this the Chumbul first breaks into the Pátár.

² Here is the celebrated pass through the mountains.

Gagrown (where the Cali Sinde forces an entrance through its table-barrier to Eklaira)¹, and Mergwas (where the Parbutti, taking advantage of the diminished elevation, passes from Malwa to Harouti), and by Raghoogurh, Shahabad, Gazeegurh, Guswanee, to Jadoowati, where the plateau terminates on the Chumbul, east; while from the same point of outset, Mandelgurh, soon losing much of its table form, it stretches away in bold ranges, occasionally tabular, as in the Boondi fortress, by Dublana, Indurgurh,² and Lakhéri,² to Rint'humbor and Kerowli, terminating at Dholpoor Bari.

The elevation and inequalities of this plateau are best seen by crossing it from west to east, from the plains to the level of the Chumbul, where, with the exception of the short flat between Kotah and Palli ferry, this noble stream is seen rushing through the rocky barrier.

At Rint'humbor the plateau breaks into lofty ranges, their white summits sparkling in the sun; cragged but not peaked, and preserving the characteristic formation, though disunited from the mass. Here there are no less than seven distinct ranges (*Sát-parra*), through all of which the Bunas has to force a passage to unite with the Chumbul. Beyond Rint'humbor, and the whole way from Kerowli to the river, is an irregular table-land, on the edge of whose summit are the fortresses of Ootgeer, Mundrel, and that more celebrated of T'hoon. But east of the eastern side there is still another steppe of descent, which may be said to originate near the fountain of the Sinde at Latoti, and passing by Chanderi, Kuniadhana, Nirwar, and Gwalior, terminates at Deogurh, in the plains of Gohud. The descent from this second steppe is into Boondelk-hund and the valley of the Bétwa.

Distinguished as is this elevated region of the surface of Central India, its summit is but little higher than the general elevation of the crest of the Vindhya, and upon a level with the valley of Oodipoor and base of the Aravulli. The slope or descent, therefore, from both these ranges to the skirts of the plateau, is great and abrupt, of which the most intelligible and simple proof appears in the course of these streams. Few portions of the globe attest more powerfully the force exerted by the action of waters to subdue every obstacle, than a view of the rock-bound channels of these streams in this adamantine barrier. Four streams—one of which, the Chumbul, would rank with the Rhine and almost with the Rhone—have here forced their way, laying bare the stratification from the water's level to the summit, from three to six hundred feet in perpendicular height, the rock appearing as if chiselled by the hand of man. Here the geologist may read the book of nature in distinct character: few tracts (from Rampoorā to Kotah) will be found more interesting to him, to the antiquarian, or to the lover of nature in her most rugged attire.

The surface of this extensive plateau is greatly diversified. At Kotah, the bare protruding rock in some places presents not a trace of vegetation; but where it bevels off to the banks of the Par, it is one of the richest and most productive soils in India, and better cultivated than any spot even of British India. In its indented sides are glens of the most romantic description (as the fountain of '*the Snake King*' near Hinglaz), and deep

¹ Here the Newaz breaks the chain.

² Both celebrated passes, where the ranges are very complicated.

dells, the source of small streams, where many treasures of art,¹ in temples and ancient dwellings, yet remain to reward the traveller.

This central elevation, as before described, is of the secondary formation, called trap. Its prevailing colour, where laid bare by the Chumbul, is milk-white : it is compact and close-grained, and though perhaps the mineral offering the greatest resistance to the chisel, the sculptures at the celebrated Burolli evince its utility to the artist. White is also the prevailing colour to the westward. About Kotah it is often mixed white and porphyritic, and about Shahabad of a mixed red and brown tint. When exposed to the action of the atmosphere in its eastern declivity the decomposed and rough surface would almost cause it to be mistaken for gritstone.

This formation is not favourable to mineral wealth. The only metals are lead and iron ; but their ores, especially the latter, are abundant. There are mines, said to be of value, of sulphuret of lead (*galena*) in the Gwalior province, from which I have had specimens, but these also are closed. The natives fear to extract their mineral wealth ; and though abounding in lead, tin, and copper, they are indebted almost entirely to Europe even for the materials of their culinary utensils.

Without attempting a delineation of inferior ranges, I will only further direct the reader's attention to an important deduction from this superficial review of the physiognomy of Rajwarra.

There are two distinctly marked declivities or slopes in Central India : the chief is that from west to east, from the great rampart, the Aravulli (interposed to prevent the drifting of the sands into the central plains, bisected by the Chumbul and his hundred arms) to the Bétwa ; the other slope is from south to north, from the Vindhya, the southern buttress of Central India, to the Jumna.

Extending our definition, we may pronounce the course of the Jumna to indicate the central fall of that immense vale which has its northern slope from the base of the Himalaya, and the southern from that of the Vindhya mountains.

It is not in contemplation to delineate the varied course of the magnificent Nerbudda, though I have abundant means ; for the moment we ascend the summit of the tropical² Vindhya, to descend into the valley of the Nerbudda, we abandon Rajast'han and the Rajpoots for the aboriginal races, the first proprietors of the land. These I shall leave to others, and commence and end with the Chumbul, the paramount lord of the floods of Central India.

The Chumbul has *his* fountains in a very elevated point of the Vindhya, amidst a cluster of hills on which is bestowed the local appellation of 'Janapava.' It has three co-equal sources from the same cluster, the Chumbul, Chambela, and Gumbheer ; while no less than nine other streams have their origin on the south side, and pour their waters into the Nerbudda.

The Sipra from Peepuldo, the little Sinde³ from Dewas, and other

¹ I have rescued a few of these from oblivion to present to my countrymen.

² Hence its name, *Vind'hya*, 'the barrier,' to the further progress of the sun in his northern declination.

³ This is the *fourth* Sinde of India. We have, first, the Sinde or Indus ; this little Sinde ; then the Cali Sinde, or 'black river' ; and again the Sinde rising at Latoti, on the plateau west and above Seronge.

Sin is a Scythic word for river (now unused), so applied by the Hindus.

minor streams passing Oojein, all unite with the Chumbul in different stages before he breaks through the plateau.

The Cali Sinda, from Baugri, and its petty branch, the Sodwa, from Raghoogurh; the Newaz (or Jamneeri), from Morsookri and Magurda; the Parbutti, from the pass of Amlakhéra, with its more eastern arm from Doulutpoor, uniting at Furher, are all points in the crest of the Vindhya range, whence they pursue their course through the plateau, rolling over precipices,¹ till engulfed in the Chumbul at the ferries of Noonérah and Palli. All these unite on the right bank.

On the left bank his flood is increased by the Bunas, fed by the perennial streams from the Aravulli, and the Bérís from the lakes of Oodipoor; and after watering Méwar, the southern frontier of Jeipoor, and the highlands of Kerowli, the river turns south to unite at the holy *Sungum*,² Rameswar. Minor streams contribute (unworthy however of separate notice), and after a thousand involutions he reaches the Jumna, at the holy *Triveni*,³ or 'triple-allied' stream, between Etawa and Kalpi.

The course of the Chumbul, not reckoning the minor sinuosities, is upwards of five hundred miles; and along its banks specimens of nearly every race now existing in India may be found: Sondies, Chunderawuts, Seesodias, Haras, Gore, Jadoon, Sikerwal, Goojur,⁴ Jat,⁴ Tuar, Chohan, Bhadoria, Kutchwaha, Sengar, Bòondela; each in associations of various magnitudes, from the substantive state of the little republic communes between the Chumbul and Cohari.⁵

Having thus sketched the central portion of Rajasthan, or that eastward of the Aravulli, I shall give a rapid general view of that to the west, conducting the reader over the '*T'hul ca Teeba*,' or 'sand hills' of the desert, to the valley of the Indus.

Let the reader again take post on Aboo, by which he may be saved a painful journey over the '*T'hul*.' The most interesting object in this arid 'region of death' is the 'salt river,' the Looni, with its many arms falling from the Aravulli to enrich the best portion of the principality of Jodpoor, and distinctly marking the line of that extensive plain of ever-shifting sand, termed in Hindu geography *Maroost'hulli*, corrupted to *Marwar*.

The Looni, from its sources, the sacred lakes of Poshkur and Ajmér, and the more remote arm from Purbutsir to its embouchure in the great western salt marsh, the Rin, has a course of more than three hundred miles.

In the term '*Erinos*' of the historians of Alexander, we have the corruption of the word '*Run*,' or '*Rin*,'⁶ still used to describe that extensive fen formed by the deposits of the Looni, and the equally saturated

¹ The falls of the Cali Sinda through the rocks at Gagrown and the Parbutti at Chupra (Googul) are well worthy of a visit. The latter, though I encamped twice at Chupra, from which it was reputed five miles, I did not see.

² *Sungum* is the point of confluence of two or more rivers, always sacred to Mahadeva.

³ The Jumna, Chumbul, and Sinda.

⁴ The only tribes not of Rajpoot blood.

⁵ The 'virgin' stream.

⁶ I do not repeat the names of towns forming the arrondissements of the various states; they are distinctly laid down in the boundary lines of each.

⁷ *T'hul* is the general term for the sand ridges of the desert.

⁸ Most probably a corruption of '*aranya*,' or *desert*; so that the Greek mode of writing it is more correct than the present.

saline streams from the southern desert of Dhat. It is one hundred and fifty miles in length ; and where broadest, from Bhooj to Buliari, about seventy : in which direction the caravans cross, having as a place of halt an insulated oasis in this mediterranean salt marsh. In the dry season, nothing meets the eye but an extensive and glaring sheet of salt, spread over its insidious surface, full of dangerous quicksands : and in the rains it is a dirty saline solution, up to the camels' girths in many places. The little oasis, the *Khari Cāba*, furnishes pasture for this useful animal and rest for the traveller pursuing his journey to either bank.

It is on the desiccated borders ¹ of this vast salt marsh that the illusory phenomenon, the *mirage*, presents its fantastic appearance, pleasing to all but the wearied traveller, who sees a haven of rest in the embattled towers, the peaceful hamlet,² or shady grove, to which he hastens in vain ; receding as he advances, till " the sun in his might," dissipating these " cloud cap'd towers," reveals the vanity of his pursuit.

Such phenomena are common to the desert, more particularly where these extensive saline depositions exist, but varying from certain causes. In most cases, this powerfully magnifying and reflecting medium is a vertical stratum ; at first dense and opaque, it gradually attenuates with increased temperature, till the maximum of heat, which it can no longer resist, drives it off in an ethereal vapour. This optical deception, well known to the Rajpoots, is called *see-kote*, or ' winter castles,' because chiefly visible in the cold season : hence, possibly, originated the equally illusory and delightful ' Chateau en Espagne,' so well known in the west.³

From the north bank of the Looni to the south, and the Shekhavāt frontier to the east, the sandy region commences. Bikanér, Jodpoor, Jessulmér, are all sandy plains, increasing in volume as you proceed westward. All this portion of territory is incumbent on a sandstone formation : soundings of all the new wells made from Jodpoor to Ajmér, yielded the same result ; sand, concrete siliceous deposits, and chalk.

Jessulmér is everywhere encircled by desert ; and that portion round the capital might not be improperly termed an oasis, in which wheat, barley, and even rice are produced. The fortress is erected on the extremity of a range of some hundred feet in elevation, which can be traced beyond its southern confines to the ruins of the ancient Chotun erected upon them, and which tradition has preserved as the capital of a tribe, or prince, termed Happa, of whom no other trace exists. It is not unlikely

¹ It is here the wild ass (*gorghur*) roams at large, untamable as in the day of the Arabian Patriarch of Uz, " his house the wilderness, the barren land (or, according to the Hebrew, *salt places*), his dwelling ; who scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth the crying of the driver."—Job xxxix, 6, 7.

² Poorwa.

³ I have beheld it from the top of the ruined fortress of Hissar with unlimited range of vision, no object to diverge its ray, save the miniature forests ; the entire circle of the horizon a chain of more than fancy could form of palaces, towers, and these airy " pillars of heaven " terminating in turn their ephemeral existence. But in the deserts of Dhāt and Oomrasoomra, where the shepherds pasture their flocks, and especially where the alkaline plant is produced, the stratification is more horizontal, and produces more of the watery deception.

It is this illusion to which the inspired writer refers, when he says, " the mock pool of the desert shall become real water." The inhabitants of the desert term it *Chitram*, literally ' the picture,' by no means an unhappy designation.

that this ridge may be connected with that which runs through the rich province of Jalore; consequently an offset from the base of Abóo.

Though all these regions collectively bear the term *Maroost'hulli*, or 'region of death' (the emphatic and figurative phrase for the desert), the restrictive definition applies to a part only, that under the dominion of the Rahtore race.

From Bhalotra on the Looni, throughout the whole of Dhát and Oomrasoomra, the western portion of Jessulmér, and a broad stripe between the southern limits of Daodpotra and Bikanér, there is real solitude and desolation. But from the Sutledge to the Rin, a space of five hundred miles of longitudinal distance, and varying in breadth from fifty to one hundred miles, numerous oases are found, where the shepherds from the valley of the Indus and the T'hul pasture their flocks. The springs of water in these places have various appellations, *tir*, *par*, *rar*, *dur*, all expressive of the element, round which assemble the Rajurs, Sodas, Mangulias, and Sehraies,¹ inhabiting the desert.

I will not touch on the salt lakes or natron beds, or the other products of the desert, vegetable or mineral; though the latter might soon be described, being confined to the jasper rock near Jessulmér, which has been much used in the beautiful arabesques of that fairy fabric, at Agra, the mausoleum of Shah Jehan's queen.

Neither shall I describe the valley of the Indus, or that portion eastward of the stream, the termination of the sand ridges of the desert. I will merely remark, that the small stream which breaks from the Indus at Dura, seven miles north of the insulated Bekher, and falls into the ocean at Lukput, shows the breadth of this eastern portion of the valley, which forms the western boundary of the desert. A traveller proceeding from the Kheechee or flats of Sinde to the east, sees the line of the desert distinctly marked, with its elevated *teebas*, or sand ridges under which flows the Sandkra which is generally dry except at periodical inundations. These sand-hills are of considerable elevation, and may be considered the limit of the inundation of the 'sweet river,' the *Meeta Muran*, a Scythic or Tatar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known, from the Punjnud² to the ocean.

¹ *Sehraie*, from *sehara*, 'desert.' Hence *Sarrazin*, or *Saracen*, is a corruption from *sehara*, 'desert,' and *zuddun*, 'to strike,' contracted. *Razuni*, 'to strike on the road' (*ra*). *Ra-ber*, 'on the road,' corrupted by the Pindarries to *labur*, the designation of their forays.

² The confluent arms or sources of the Indus.

HISTORY OF THE RAJPOOT TRIBES

CHAPTER I

Genealogies of the Rajpoot princes—The Pooráns—Connection of the Rajpoots with the Scythic tribes.

BEING desirous of epitomising the chronicles of the martial races of Central and Western India, it was essential to ascertain the sources whence they draw, or claim to draw, their lineage. For this purpose I obtained from the library of the Rana of Oodipoor their sacred volumes, the *Pooráns*, and laid them before a body of pundhits, over whom presided the learned Jetty Gyanchandra. From these extracts were made of all the genealogies of the great races of Soorya and Chandra, and of facts historical and geographical.

(Most of the *Pooráns*¹ contain portions of historical as well as geographical knowledge; but the *Bhagvat*, the *Scanda*, the *Agni*, and the *Bhavishya*, are the chief guides. It is rather fortunate than to be regretted that their chronologies do not perfectly agree.) The number of princes in each line varies, and names are transposed; but we recognise distinctly the principal features in each, affording the conclusion that they are the productions of various writers, borrowing from some common original source.

The *Genesis*² of India commences with an event described in the history of almost all nations, the deluge, which, though treated with the fancy peculiar to the orientals, is not the less entitled to attention. The essence of the extract from the *Agni Poorán* is this: "When ocean quitted his bounds and caused universal destruction by Brimha's command, Vaivaswata³ Menu (Noah), who dwelt near the Himaleh⁴ mountains, was giving water to the gods in the Kritmala river, when a small fish fell into his hand. A voice commanded him to preserve it. The fish expanded to an enormous size. Menu, with his sons and their wives,

¹ "Every Purána," says the first authority existing in Sanscrit lore, "treats of five subjects: the creation of the universe; its progress, and the renovation of the world; the genealogy of gods and heroes; chronology, according to a fabulous system; and heroic history, containing the achievements of demi-gods and heroes. Since each purána contains a cosmogony, both mythological and heroic history, the works which bear that title may not unaptly be compared to the Grecian theogonies."—"Essay on the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages," by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.; *As. Res.*, vol. vii. p. 202.

² Resolvable into Sanscrit, *jenem*, 'birth,' and *es* and *iswar*, 'lords.'

³ Son of the sun.

⁴ The snowy Caucasus. Sir William Jones, in an extract from a work entitled *Essence of the Pooránas*, says that this event took place at Dravira in the Dekhan.

and the sages, with the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish, and thus they were preserved."

Here, then, the grand northern chain is given to which the abode of the great patriarch of mankind approximated. In the *Bhavishya* it is stated, that "Vaivaswata (sun-born) Menu ruled at the mountain Soomér. Of his seed was Cacoosta Rajah, who obtained sovereignty at Ayodia,¹ and his descendants filled the land and spread over the earth."

I am aware of the meaning given to *Soomér*, that thus the Hindus designated the north pole of the earth. But they had also a mountain with this same appellation of pre-eminence of *Méru*, 'the hill,' with the prefix *Soo*, 'good, sacred': *the Sacred Hill*.

In the geography of the *Agni Poorán*, the term is used as a substantial geographical limit;² and some of the rivers flowing from the mountainous ranges, whose relative position with Soomér are there defined, still retain their ancient appellations. Let us not darken the subject, by supposing only allegorical meanings attached to explicit points. In the distribution of their seven dwipas, or continents, though they interpose seas of curds, milk, or wine, we should not reject strong and evident facts, because subsequent ignorant interpolators filled up the page with puerilities.

This sacred mountain (Soomér) is claimed by the Brahmins as the abode of Mahadeva,³ Adiswar,⁴ or Bághés,⁵; by the Jains, as the abode of Adnat'h,⁶ the first Jiniswára, or Jain lord. Here they say he taught mankind the arts of agriculture and civilised life. The Greeks claimed it as the abode of Bacchus; and hence the Grecian fable of this god being taken from the thigh of Jupiter, confounding *meros* (thigh) with the *méru* (hill) of this Indian deity. In this vicinity the followers of Alexander had their Saturnalia, drank to excess of the wine from its indigenous vines, and bound their brows with ivy (*véla*)⁷ sacred to the Bághés of the east and west, whose votaries alike indulge in "strong drink."

These traditions appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindu and the Greek approach a common focus; for there is little doubt that Adnat'h, Adiswára, Osiris, Bághés, Bacchus, Menu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah.

The Hindus can at this time give only a very general idea of the site of Méru; but they appear to localise it in a space of which Bamian,

¹ The present Oude, capital of one of the twenty-two satrapies constituting the Mogul Empire, and for some generations held by the titular Vizir, who has recently assumed the regal title.

² "To the south of Sooméru are the mountains Himáwun, Hemcoota, and Nissida; to the north are the countries Nil, Suwét, and Sringie. Between Hemachil and the ocean the land is Bharatkhand, called Cocarma Bhoomi (*land of vice*, opposed to Aryaverta, or *land of virtue*), in which the seven grand ranges are Mahendrachil, Mulliachil, Sujrachil, Sactimun, Rikyachil, Vindyachil, and Paryâtra."—*Agni Poorán*.

³ The Creator, literally 'the Great God.'

⁴ The 'first lord.'

⁵ Bághés, 'the tiger lord.' He wears a tiger's or panther's hide; which he places beneath him. So Bacchus did. The phallus is the emblem of each. Bághés has several temples in Méwar.

⁶ First lord.

⁷ Véla is the general term for a climber, sacred to the Indian Bacchus (Bághés, Adiswára, or Mahadeva), whose priests, following his example, are fond of intoxicating beverages, or drugs. The im-mur, or immortal véla, is a noble climber.

Caubul, and Ghizni, would be the exterior points. The former of these cities is known to possess remains of the religion of Boodha, in its caves and colossal statues.¹ The Paropamisan Alexandria is near Bamian; but the Méru and Nyssa² of Alexander are placed more to the eastward by the Greek writers, and according to the cautious Arrian between the Cophas and Indus. Authority localises it between Peshawur and Jillalabad, and calls it *Mér-coh*, or *Mar-coh*,³ "a bare rock 2000 feet high with caves to the westward, termed Bé-dowlut by the Emperor Hemayoon from its dismal appearance."⁴ This designation, however, of Deshté

¹ "In Zohac Bamian, the castle, a monument of great antiquity, is in good condition, while the castle of Bamian is in ruins.

"In the midst of the mountains are twelve thousand caves cut out of the rock, and ornamented with carving and plaster reliefs. These are called summij, and were the winter retreat of the natives. Here are three astonishing idols: one representing a man eighty ells high; another of a woman fifty, and a third of a child fifteen ells in height. In one of these summijes is a tomb, where is a coffin containing a corpse, concerning which the oldest man can give no account: it is held in high veneration. The ancients were possessed of some medical preparations, with which they anointed dead bodies, and by which they suffered no injury from time."—*Ayin Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 169.

² Nissida is mentioned in the *Poorán* as a mountain. If in the genitive case (which the final syllable marks), it would be a local term given from the city of Nissa.

³ *Mér*, Sanscrit, and *coh*, Persian, for a 'hill.'

⁴ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 497, Wilford appears to have borrowed largely from that ancient store-house (as the Hindu would call it) of learning, Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*. He combines, however, much of what that great man had so singularly acquired and condensed, with what he himself collected, and with the aid of imagination has formed a curious mosaic. But when he took a peep into "the chorographical description of the Terrestrial Paradise," I am surprised he did not separate the nurseries of mankind before and after the flood. There is one passage, also, of Sir Walter Raleigh which would have aided his hypothesis, that Eden was in Higher Asia, between the common sources of the Jihun and other grand rivers; the abundance of the *figus Indica*, or bur-tree, sacred to the first lord, Adnat'h or Mahadeva.

"Now for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, some men have presumed further; especially Gorapius Bocanus, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this tree, which none of the writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat Gorapius much marvelleth."

—"Both together went
Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose
The fig tree; not that kind for fruit renowned,
But such as at this day, to Indians known
In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High overarched, and echoing walks between.
There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
Shelters in cool and tends his pasturing herds."

—"Those leaves

They gathered, broad as Amazonian targe."

—*Paradise Lost*, Book ix.

Sir Walter strongly supports the Hindu hypothesis regarding the locality of the nursery for rearing mankind, and that "India was the first planted and peopled cuntry after the flood" (p. 99). His first argument is, that it was a place where the vine and olive were indigenous, as amongst the Sacæ Scythæ (and as they still are, together with oats, between Caubul and Bamian); and that Ararat could not be in Armenia, because the Gordian mountains on which

Bé-dowlut, or 'unhappy plain,' was given to the tract between the cities beforementioned.

The only scope of these remarks on Soomér is to show that the Hindus themselves do not make India within the Indus the cradle of their race, but west, amidst the hills of Caucasus,¹ whence the sons of Vaivaswata, or the 'sun-born,' migrated eastward to the Indus and Ganges, and founded their first establishment in Kosulya, the capital, Ayodia, or Oude.

Most nations have indulged the desire of fixing the source whence they issued, and few spots possess more interest than this elevated *Media-Bhoomi*, or 'central region' of Asia, where the Amu, Oxus, or Jihoon, and other rivers, have their rise, and in which both the Soorya and Indu² races (*Sacæ*) claim *the hill*,³ sacred to a great patriarchal ancestor, whence they migrated eastward.

the ark rested were in longitude 75°, and the Valley of Shináár 79° to 80°, which would be reversing the tide of migration. "As they journeyed *from the East*, they found a plain, in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there"—(Genesis, chap. xi, ver. 2). He adds, "Ararat, named by Moses, is not any one hill, but a general term for the great Caucasian range; therefore we must blow up this mountain Ararat, or dig it down and carry it out of Armenia, or find it elsewhere in a warmer country, and east from Shinár." He therefore places it in Indo-Scythia, in 140° of longitude and 35° to 37° of latitude, "where the mountains do build themselves exceeding high": and concludes, "It was in the plentiful warm East where Noah rested, where he planted the vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. Placuit vero Noacho agriculturæ studium in quâ tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur; ob eamque rem, suâ ipsius linguâ, *Ish-Adamath*:¹ hoc est, *Telluris Vir*, appellatur, celebratusque est. The study of husbandry pleased Noah (says the excellent learned man, Arius Montanus) in the order and knowledge of which it is said that Noah excelled all men, and therefore was he called in his own language, *a man exercised in the earth*." The title, character, and abode, exactly suit the description the Jains give of their first Jiniswâra, Adnat'h, the first lordly man, who taught them agriculture, even to "muzzling the bull in treading out the corn."

Had Sir Walter been aware that the Hindu sacred books styled their country *Aryaverta*,² and of which the great Imaus is the northern boundary, he would doubtless have seized it for his Ararat.

¹ Hindu, or Indu-cush or kho, is the local appellation; 'mountains of the moon.'

² Solar and lunar.

³ *Mêru*, 'the hill,' is used distinctively, as in Jessul-mér (the capital of the Bhatti tribe in the Western Desert), 'the hill of Jessul'; Mérwarra, or the 'mountainous region'; and its inhabitants Méras, or 'mountaineers.' Thus, also, in the grand epic the *Ramayuna* (Book i. p. 236), Méra is the mountain-nymph, the daughter of Méru and spouse of Himavut; from whom sprung two daughters, the river goddess Gunga and the mountain nymph Parbutti. She is, in the *Mahabharat*, also termed Syeela, the daughter of Syeel, another designation of the snowy chain; and hence mountain streams are called in Sanscrit *silletee*. Syeela bears the same attributes with the Phrygian Cybele, who was

¹ In Sanscrit, *Ish*, 'Lord,' *dda*, 'the first,' *mat'h* or *mut'h*, 'Earth.' Here the Sanscrit and Hebrew have the same meaning, 'first lord of the earth.' In these remote Rajpoot regions, where early manners and language remain, the strongest phrase to denote a man or human being is literally 'earth.' A chief describing a fray between his own followers and borderers whence death ensued, says, '*Mera mat'hi mara*,' 'My earth has been struck': a phrase requiring no comment, and denoting that he must have blood in return.

² *Aryaverta*, or the land of promise or virtue, cannot extend to the flat plains of India south of the Himavut; for this is styled in the *Poorâns* the very reverse, '*coocarma des*,' or land of vice.

The Rajpoot tribes could scarcely have acquired some of their still existing Scythic habits and warlike superstitions on the burning plains of Ind. It was too hot to hail with fervent adoration the return of the sun from his southern course to enliven the northern hemisphere. This should be the religion of a colder clime, brought from their first haunts, the sources of the Jihoon and Jaxartes. The grand solstitial festival, the *Aswamedha*, or sacrifice of the horse (the type of the sun), practised by the children of Vaivaswata, the 'sun-born,' was most probably simultaneously introduced from Scythia into the plains of Ind, and west, by the sons of Odin, Woden, or Boodha, into Scandinavia, where it became the *Hi-él* or *Hi-ul*,¹ the festival of the winter solstice; the grand jubilee of northern nations, and in the first ages of Christianity, being so near the epoch of its rise, gladly used by the first fathers of the church to perpetuate that event.²

CHAPTER II

Genealogies continued—Fictions in the Pooráns—Union of the regal and the priestly characters—Legends of the Pooráns confirmed by the Greek historians.

THE chronicles of the *Bhagvat* and *Agni*, containing the genealogies of the Soorya (*sun*) and Indu (*moon*) races, shall now be examined. The first of these, by calculation, brings down the chain to a period six centuries subsequent to Vicramaditya (A.D. 650), so that these books may have been remodelled or commented on about this period: their fabrication cannot be supposed.

Although portions of these genealogies by Sir William Jones, Mr. Bentley, and Colonel Wilford, have appeared in the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*, yet no one should rest satisfied with the inquiries of others, if by any process he can reach the fountain-head himself.

If, after all, these are fabricated genealogies of the ancient families of India, the fabrication is of ancient date, and they are all they know themselves upon the subject. The step next in importance to obtaining a

also the daughter of a mountain of the same name; the one is carried, the other drawn, by lions. Thus the Greeks also metamorphosed *Parbut Pámer*, or 'the mountain Pámer,' into Paropamisan, applied to the Hindu Kho west of Bamian: but the *Parbut put Pámer*, or 'Pámer chief of hills,' is mentioned by the bard *Chund* as, being far east of that tract, and under it resided Hamira, one of the great feudatories of Prithwi-raja of Dehli. Had it been Paropamisan (as some authorities write it), it would better accord with the locality where it takes up the name, being near to Nyssa and Méru, of which Parbut or Pahár would be a version, and form Paronisan, 'the Mountain of Nyssa,' the range Nissida of the Pooráns.

¹ *Hya* or *Hi*, in Sanscrit, 'horse'—*El*, 'sun': whence ἵππος and ἥλιος. *Ha* appears to have been a term of Scythian origin for the sun; and *Heri*, the Indian Apollo, is addressed as the sun. *Hiul*, or *jul*, of northern nations (qu. *Noel* of France?), is the Hindu Sacrauta, of which more will be said hereafter.

² Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*.

perfect acquaintance with the genuine early history of nations, is to learn what those nations repute to be such.

Doubtless the original *Pooráns* contained much valuable historical matter ; but, at present, it is difficult to separate a little pure metal from the base alloy of ignorant expounders and interpolators. I have but skimmed the surface : research, to the capable, may yet be rewarded by many isolated facts and important transactions, now hid under the veil of ignorance and allegory.

The Hindus, with the decrease of intellectual power, their possession of which is evinced by their architectural remains, where just proportion and elegant mythological device are still visible, lost the relish for the beauty of truth, and adopted the monstrous in their writings, as well as their edifices. But for detection and shame, matters of history would be hideously distorted even in civilised Europe ; but in the East, in the moral decrepitude of ancient Asia, with no judge to condemn, no public to praise, each priestly expounder may revel in an unfettered imagination, and reckon his admirers in proportion to the mixture of the marvellous.¹ Plain historical truths have long ceased to interest this artificially-fed people.

If at such a comparatively modern period as the third century before Christ, the Babylonian historian Berosus composed his fictions, which assigned to that monarchy such incredible antiquity, it became capable of refutation from the many historians of repute who preceded him. But on the fabulist of India we have no such check. If Vyasu himself penned these legends as *now* existing, then is the stream of knowledge corrupt from the fountain-head. If such the source, the stream, filtering through ages of ignorance, has only been increased by fresh impurities. It is difficult to conceive how the arts and sciences could advance, when it is held impious to doubt the truth of whatever has been handed down, and still more to suppose that the degenerate could improve thereon. The highest ambition of the present learned priesthood, generation after generation, is to be able to comprehend what has thus reached them, and to form commentaries upon past wisdom ; which commentaries are commented on *ad infinitum*. Whoever dare now aspire to improve thereon must keep the secret in his own breast. They are but the expounders of the olden oracles ; were they more they would be infidels. But this could not always have been the case.

With the Hindus, as with other nations, the progress to the heights of science they attained must have been gradual ; unless we take from them the merit of original invention, and set them down as borrowers of a system. These slavish fetters of the mind must have been forged at a later period, and it is fair to infer that the monopoly of science and religion were simultaneous. What must be the effect of such monopoly on the impulses and operations of the understanding ? Where such exists, knowledge could not long remain stationary ; it must perforce retro-

¹ The celebrated Goguet remarks on the madness of most nations pretending to trace their origin to infinity. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Scythians, particularly, piqued themselves on their high antiquity, and the first assimilate with the Hindus in boasting they had observed the course of the stars 473,000 years. Each heaped ages on ages ; but the foundations of this pretended antiquity are not supported by probability, and are even of modern invention.—*Origin of Laws*,

grade. Could we but discover the period when religion¹ ceased to be a *profession* and became hereditary (and that such there was these very genealogies bear evidence), we might approximate the era when science attained its height.

In the early ages of these Solar and Lunar dynasties, the priestly office was not hereditary in families; it was a profession; and the genealogies exhibit frequent instances of branches of these races terminating their martial career in the commencement of a religious sect, or *gotra*, and of their descendants reassuming their warlike occupations. Thus, of the ten sons of Icshwáca,² three are represented as abandoning worldly affairs and taking to religion; and one of these, Canin, is said to be the first who made an *agnihotra*, or pyreum, and worshipped fire, while another son embraced commerce. Of the Lunar line and the six sons of Proorwa, the name of the fourth was Reh; "from him the fifteenth generation was Harita, who with his eight brothers took to the office of religion, and established the Causika Gotra, or *tribe* of Brahmins."

From the twenty-fourth prince in lineal descent from Yáyát, by name Bhardhwaja, originated a celebrated sect, who still bear his name, and are the spiritual teachers of several Rajpoot tribes.

Of the twenty-sixth prince, Munevu, two sons devoted themselves to religion, and established celebrated sects, viz. Mahavira, whose descendants were the Poshkur Brahmins; and Sanskritti, whose issue were learned in the *védas*. From the line of Ujamida these ministers of religion were continually branching off.

In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power, and this whether Brahminical or Boodhist.³ Many of the royal line, before and subsequent to Rama passed great part of their lives as ascetics; and in ancient sculpture and drawings, the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic, as with the diadem of royalty.⁴

The greatest monarchs bestowed their daughters on these royal hermits and sages. Ahelya, the daughter of the powerful Panchalica,⁵ became the wife of the ascetic Gotama. The sage Jamdagni espoused the daughter

¹ It has been said that the Brahminical religion was foreign to India; but as to the period of importation we have but loose assertion. We can easily give credit to various creeds and tenets of faith being from time to time incorporated, ere the present books were composed, and that previously the sons of royalty alone possessed the office. Authorities of weight inform us of these grafts; for instance, Mr. Colebrooke gives a passage in his *Indian Classes*: "A chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishnu's eagle from Saca Dwipa; hence Saca Dwipa Brahmins were known in Jambu Dwipa." By Saca Dwipa, Scythia is understood, of which more will be said hereafter.

Ferishta also, translating from ancient authorities, says, to the same effect, that "in the reign of Mahraje, King of Canouj, a Brahmin came from Persia, who introduced magic, idolatry, and the worship of the stars": so that there is no want of authority for the introduction of new tenets of faith.

² See Table I.

³ Some of the earlier of the twenty-four *Tirt'hancaras*, or Jain hierarchs, trace their origin from the solar race of princes.

⁴ Even now the Rana of Méwar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple of the tutelary deity of his race, he performs himself all the offices of the high priest for the day. In this point a strong resemblance exists to many of the races of antiquity.

⁵ Prince of the country of Punj-áb, or five streams east of the Indus.

of Sehesra¹ Arjoona, of Muhésvati,² king of the Hihya tribe, a great branch of the Yadu race.

Among the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, the priests succeeded to sovereignty, as they and the military class alone could hold lands ; and Sethos, the priest of Vulcan, caused a revolution, by depriving the military of their estates.

We have various instances in India of the Brahmins from Jamdagni to the Mahratta Peishwa, contesting for sovereignty ; power³ and homage being still their great aim, as in the days of Vishwamitra⁴ and Vasishta,

¹ The legend of this monarch stealing his son-in-law's, the hermit's, cow (of which the *Ramayana* gives another version), the incarnation of Parswa-ram, son of Jamdagni, and his exploits, appear purely allegorical, signifying the violence and oppression of royalty over the earth (*prithu*), personified by the sacred *gao*, or cow ; and that the Brahmins were enabled to wrest royalty from the martial tribe, shows how they had multiplied.

On the derivatives from the word *gao*, I venture an etymology for others to pursue :—

ΓΑΙΑ, γέα, γῆ (*Dor.* γᾶ), that which produces all things (from γάω, *genero*) ; the earth.—*Jones's Dictionary*.

ΓΑΛΑ, Milk. *Gao-la*, Herdsman, in Sanscrit. Γαλατικοί, Κέλτοι, Galatians, or Gauls, and Celts (allowed to be the same), would be the shepherd races, the pastoral invaders of Europe.

² Mahéswar, on the Nerbudda river.

§³ Hindust'han abounds with Brahmins, who make excellent soldiers, as far as bravery is a virtue ; but our officers are cautious, from experience, of admitting too many into a troop or company, for they still retain their intriguing habits. I have seen nearly as many of the Brahmins as of military in some companies ; a dangerous error.

⁴ The Brahmin Vasishta possessed a cow named Shuboola, so fruitful that with her assistance he could accomplish whatever he desired. By her aid he entertained King Vishwamitra and his army. It is evident that this cow denotes some *tract of country which the priest held* (bearing in mind that *gao*, *prithu*, signify 'the earth,' as well as 'cow') : a grant, beyond doubt, by some of Vishwamitra's unwise ancestors, and which he wished to resume. From her were supplied "the oblations to the gods and the *pitriswars* (father-gods, or ancestors), the perpetual sacrificial fire, the burnt-offerings and sacrifices." This was "the fountain of devotional acts" ; this was the Shuboola for which the king offered "a hundred thousand cows" ; this was "the jewel of which a king only should be proprietor."—The subjects of the Brahmin appeared not to relish such transfer, and by "the lowing of the cow Shuboola" obtained numerous foreign auxiliaries, which enabled the Brahmin to set his sovereign at defiance. Of these "the Pehlavi (Persian) kings, the dreadful Sakas (Sacæ), and Yavanas (Greeks), with scymitars and gold armour, the Kambojas," etc., were each in turn created by the all-producing cow. The armies of the Pehlavi kings were cut to pieces by Vishwamitra ; who at last, by continual reinforcements, was overpowered by the Brahmin's levies.

These reinforcements would appear to have been the ancient Persians, the Sacæ, the Greeks, the inhabitants of Assam and southern India, and various races out of the pale of the Hindu religion ; all classed under the term *M'lech'ha*, equivalent to the 'barbarian' of the Greeks and Romans.

The King Vishwamitra, defeated and disgraced by this powerful priest, "like a serpent with his teeth broken, like the sun robbed by the eclipse of its splendour, was filled with perturbation. Deprived of his sons and array, stripped of his pride and confidence, he was left without resource as a bird bereft of his wings." He abandoned his kingdom to his son, and like all Hindu princes in distress, determined, by penitential rites and austerities, "to obtain Brahmin-hood."

He took up his abode at the sacred Poshkur, living on fruits and roots, and fixing his mind, said, "I will become a Brahmin." By these penances he attained such spiritual power that he was enabled to usurp the Brahmin's office. The theocrats caution Vishwamitra, thus determined to become a

the royal sages whom "Janaka, sovereign of Mit'hila, addressed with folded hands in token of superiority."

But this deference for the Brahmins is certainly, with many Rajpoot classes, very weak. In obedience to prejudice, they show them outward civility; but, unless when their fears or wishes interfere, they are less esteemed than the bards.

The story of the King Vishwamitra of Gadhipoora¹ and the Brahmin Vasishta, which fills so many sections of the first book of the *Ramayana*,² exemplifies, under the veil of allegory, the contests for power between the Brahminical and military classes, and will serve to indicate the probable period when the castes became immutable. Stripped of its allegory, the legend appears to point to a time when the division of the classes was yet imperfect; though we may infer, from the violence of the struggle, that it was the last in which 'Brahminhood' could be obtained by the military.

Vishwamitra was the son of Gadhi (of the race of Causika), King of Gadhipoora, and contemporary of Umbareesha, King of Ayodia or Oude, the fortieth prince from Ishwāca; consequently about two hundred years anterior to Rama. This event therefore, whence we infer that the system of castes was approaching perfection, was probably about one thousand four hundred years before Christ.

If proof can be given that these genealogies existed in the days of Alexander, the fact would be interesting. The legend in the *Poorāns*, of the origin of the Lunar race, appears to afford this testimony.

Vyasu, the author of the grand epic the *Mahabharat*, was son of Santana (of the race of Heri),³ sovereign of Dehli, by Yojnaganda, a fisherman's daughter,⁴ consequently illegitimate. He became the spiritual father, or preceptor, of his nieces, the daughters of Vichitravira, the son and successor of Santana.

Vichitravira had no male offspring. Of his three daughters, one was Brahmin by austerity, that "the divine books are to be observed with care only by those acquainted with their evidence; nor does it become thee (Vishwamitra) to subvert the order of things established by the ancients."

The history of his wanderings, austerities, and the temptations thrown in his way, is related. The celestial fair were commissioned to break in upon his meditations. The mother of love herself descended; while Indra, joining the cause of the Brahmins, took the shape of the kokila, and added the melody of his notes to the allurements of Rembha, and the perfumed zephyrs which assailed the royal saint in the wilderness. He was proof against all temptation, and condemned the fair to become a pillar of stone. He persevered "till every passion was subdued," till "not a tincture of sin appeared in him," and gave such alarm to the whole priesthood, that they dreaded lest his excessive sanctity should be fatal to them: they feared "mankind would become atheists." "The gods and Brimha at their head were obliged to grant his desire of Brahminhood; and Vashista, conciliated by the gods, acquiesced in their wish, and formed a friendship with Vishwamitra."

¹ Canouj, the ancient capital of the present race of Marwar.

² See translation of this epic, by Messrs. Carey and Marshman.

³ Heri-cūla.

⁴ It is a very curious circumstance, that Hindu legend gives to two of their most celebrated authors, whom they have invested with a sacred character, a descent from the aboriginal and impure tribes of India: Vyasu from a fisherman, and Valmika, the author of the other grand epic the *Ramayana*, from a budhék or robber, an associate of the *Bhil* tribe at Aboo. The conversion of Valmika (said to have been miraculous, when in the act of robbing the shrine of the deity), is worked into a story of considerable effect, in the works of Chund, from olden authority.

named Pandea ;¹ and Vyasú, being the sole remaining male branch of the house of Santana, took his niece, and *spiritual daughter*, Pandea, to wife, and became the father of Pandu, afterwards sovereign of Indraprest'ha.

Arrian gives the story thus : " He (Hercules²) had a daughter when he was advanced in years ;³ and being unable to find a husband worthy of

¹ The reason for this name is thus given. One of these daughters being by a slave, it was necessary to ascertain which : a difficult matter, from the seclusion in which they were kept. It was therefore left to Vyasú to discover the pure of birth ; who determined that nobility of blood would show itself, and commanded that the princesses should walk uncovered before him. The elder, from shame, closed her eyes, and from her was born the blind Dhertarashtra, sovereign of Hastinapoorá ; the second, from the same feeling, covered herself with yellow ochre, called *pandú*, and henceforth she bore the name of Pandea, and her son was called Pandu ; while the third stepped forth unabashed. She was adjudged not of gentle blood, and her issue was Vidura.

² A generic term for the sovereigns of the race of Heri, used by Arrian as a proper name. A section of the *Mahabharat* is devoted to the history of the Hericúla, of which race was Vyasú.

Arrian notices the similarity of the Theban and the Hindu Hercules, and cites as authority the ambassador of Seleucus, Megasthenes, who says : " He uses the same habit with the Theban ; and is particularly worshipped by the Suraseni, who " have two great cities belonging to them, namely, *Meithoras* (Mat'hoora) and *Clisoboras*."

Diodorus has the same legend, with some variety. He says : " Hercules was born amongst the Indians, and like the Greeks they furnish him with a club and lion's hide. In strength (*bala*) he excelled all men, and cleared the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts. He had many sons, but only one daughter. It is said that he built Palibothra, and divided his kingdom amongst his sons (the Balica-pútras, sons of Bali). They never colonised ; but in time most of the cities assumed a democratical form of government (though some were monarchical) till Alexander's time." The combats of Hercules, to which Diodorus alludes, are those in the legendary haunts of the *Hericúlas*, during their twelve years' exile from the seats of their forefathers.

How invaluable such remnants of the ancient race of Heri-cúla ! How refreshing to the mind yet to discover, amidst the ruins on the Yamuna, Hercules (Baldeva, god of strength) retaining his club and lion's hide, standing on his pedestal at Buldeo, and yet worshipped by the *Suraseni* ! This name was given to a large tract of country round Mat'hoora, or rather round Soorpoora, the ancient capital founded by Soorséh, the grandfather of the Indian brother-deities, Crishna and Baldeva, Apollo and Hercules. The title would apply to either ; though Baldeva has the attributes of the ' god of strength.' Both are *es* (lords) of the race (*cúla*) of *Heri* (Heri-cul-és), of which the Greeks might have made the compound Hercules. Might not a colony after the great war have migrated westward ? The period of the return of the Heraclidæ, the descendants of Atreus (Atri is progenitor of the Heri-cúla) would answer : it was about half a century after the great war.

It is unfortunate that Alexander's historians were unable to penetrate into the arcana of the Hindus, as Herodotus appears to have done with those of the Egyptians. The shortness of Alexander's stay, the unknown language in which their science and religion were hid, presented an insuperable difficulty. They could have made very little progress in the study of the language without discovering its analogy to their own.

³ Arrian generally exercises his judgment in these matters, and is the reverse of credulous. On this point he says, " My opinion of this story is, that if Hercules were capable of having an affair of this kind, and getting children, he was not so near his end as they wish to make us believe."

Sandrocottus is mentioned by Arrian to be of this line ; and we can have no hesitation, therefore, in giving him a place in the dynasty of Pooru, the second son of Yáyát, whence the patronymic used by the race now extinct, as was *Yadu*, the elder brother of Pooru. Hence Sandrocottus, if not a Pooru himself, is connected with the chain of which the links are Jarasand'ha (a hero of the *Bharat*) Ripoonjaya, the twenty-third in descent, when a new race, headed by Sonuka

her, he *married her himself*, that he might supply the throne of India with monarchs. Her name was Pandeā, and he caused the whole province in which she was born to receive its name from her."

This is the very legend contained in the *Poorāns*, of Vyasū (who was Heri-cul-ēs, or chief of the race of Heri) and his *spiritual daughter* Pandeā from whom the grand race *the Pandua*; and from whom Dehli and its dependencies were designated the Pandua sovereignty.

Her issue ruled for thirty-one generations in direct descents, or from 1120 to 610 before Christ; when the military minister,¹ connected by blood was chosen by the chiefs who rebelled against the last Pandu king, represented as "neglectful of all the cares of government," and whose deposition and death introduced a new dynasty.

Two other dynasties succeeded in like manner by the usurpation of these military ministers, until Vicramaditya, when the Pandua sovereignty and era of Yoodishtra were both overturned.

Indraprest'ha remained without a sovereign, supreme power being removed from the north to the southern parts of India, till the fourth, or, according to some authorities, the eighth century after Vicrama, when the throne of Yoodishtra was once more occupied by the Tuár tribe of Rajpoots, claiming descents from the *Pandus*. To this ancient capital, thus re-founded, the new appellation of *Dehli* was given; and the dynasty of the founder, Anungpal, lasted to the twelfth century, when he abdicated in favour of his grandson,² Pirthwirájá, the last imperial Rajpoot sovereign of India, whose defeat and death introduced the Mahomedans.

This line has also closed with the pageant of a prince, and a colony returned from the extreme west is now the sole arbiter of the thrones of *Pandu* and *Timoor*.

Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprest'ha raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ella; to the iron pillar of the Pandus, "whose pedestal³ is fixed in hell"; to the columns reared to victory, inscribed with characters yet unknown; to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses,⁴ the very

and Séhesnag, about six hundred years before Christ, usurped the seat of the lineal descendants of Pooru; in which line of usurpation is Chandragupta, of the tribe Mori, the Sandrocottus of Alexander, a branch of this Sehesnag, Takshac, or *Snake* race, a race which, stripped of its allegory, will afford room for subsequent dissertation. The Prasii of Arrian would be the stock of Pooru: Prág is claimed in the annals yet existing as the cradle of their race. This is the modern Allahabad; and the Eranaboas must be the Jumna, and the point of junction with the Ganges, where we must place the capital of the *Prasii*.

¹ Analogous to the *maire du palais* of the first races of the Franks.

² His daughter's son. This is not the first or only instance of the Salic law of India being set aside. There are two in the history of the sovereigns of Anhulwarra Puttun. In all adoptions of this nature, when the child "binds round his head the turban" of his adopted father, he is finally severed from the stock whence he had his birth.

³ The kheel, or iron pillar of the Pandus, is mentioned in the poems of Chund. An infidel Tuár prince wished to prove the truth of the tradition of its depth of foundation: "blood gushed up from the earth's centre; the pillar became loose (*dhilla*)," as did the fortune of the house from such impiety. This is the origin of *Dehli*.

⁴ I doubt if Shapoor is yet known. I traced its extent from the remains of a tower between Hemayoon's tomb and the grand column, the Cootub. In 1809 I resided four months at the mausoleum of Sudfer Jung, the ancestor of the

of the Lunar lines ; yet is that now given fuller than any I have met with. Sir William Jones' lists of the Solar line give fifty-six, and of the Lunar (Boodha to Yoodishtra) forty-six, being one less in each than in the tables now presented ; nor has he given the important branch terminating with Crishna. So close an affinity between lists, derived from such different authorities as this distinguished character and myself had access to, shows that there was some general source extitled to credit.

Mr. Bentley's ¹ lists agree with Sir William Jones', exhibiting fifty-six and forty-six, respectively, for the last-mentioned Solar and Lunar races. But, on a close comparison, he has either copied them or taken from the same original source ; afterwards transposing names which, though aiding a likely hypothesis, will not accord with their historical belief.

Colonel Wilford's ² Solar list is of no use : but his two dynasties of Pooru and Yadu of the Lunar race are excellent, that part of the line of Pooru, from Jarasandha to Chandragoopta, being the only correct one in print.

It is surprising Wilford did not make use of Sir William Jones' Solar chronology ; but he appears to have dreaded bringing down Rama to the period of Crishna, as he is known to have preceded by four generations " the great war " of the Yadu races.

It is evident that the Lunar line has reached us defective. It is supposed so by their genealogists ; and Wilford would have increased the error by taking it as the standard, and reducing the Solar to conform thereto.

Mr. Bentley's method is therefore preferable ; namely, to suppose eleven princes omitted in the Lunar between Janmeyja and Prachinwat. But as there is no authority for this, the Lunar princes are distributed in the tables collaterally with the Solar, preserving contemporaneous affinity where synchronisms will authorise. By this means all hypothesis will be avoided, and the genealogies will speak for themselves.

There is very little difference between Sir William Jones' and Colonel Wilford's lists, in that main branch of the Lunar race, of which Pooru, Hasti, Ujmida, Cooru, Santana, and Yoodishtra, are the most distinguished links. The coincidence is so near as to warrant a supposition of identity of source ; but close inspection shows Wilford to have had a fuller supply, for he produces new branches, both of Hasti's and Cooru's progeny. He has also one name (Bhimséna) towards the close, which is in my lists, but not in Sir William Jones' ; and immediately following Bhimséna, both these lists exhibit *Dulipa*, wanting in my copy of the *Bhagvat*, though contained in the *Agni Poorán* : proofs of the diversity of the sources of supply, and highly gratifying when the remoteness of those sources is considered. There is also in my lists *Tunsu*, the nineteenth from Boodha, who is not in the lists either of Sir William Jones or Wilford. Again ; Wilford has a *Suhotra* preceding Hasti, who is not in Sir William Jones' genealogies.³

Again ; *Jahnu* is made the successor to Cooru ; whereas the *Poorán* (whence my extracts) makes Parikhrit the successor, who adopts the son of Jahnu. This son is Porat'ha, who has a place in all three. Other variations are merely orthographical.

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 341.

² *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 241.

³ I find them, however, in the *Agni Poorán*.

A comparison of Sir William Jones' Solar genealogies with my tables will yield nearly the same satisfactory result as to original authenticity. I say Sir William Jones' list, because there is no other efficient one. We first differ at the fourth from Ieshwāca. In my list this is Un-Prit'hu, of which he makes two names, Aneas and Prit'hu. Thence to Pooroocutsa, the eighteenth, the difference is only in orthography. To Irisuaka, the twenty-third in mine, the twenty-sixth in Sir William Jones' list, one name is above accounted for ; but here are two wanting in mine, Irasadadya and Hyaswa. There is, also, considerable difference in the orthography of those names which we have in common. Again; we differ as to the successors of Champa, the twenty-seventh, the founder of Champapoor in Bahar. In Sir Williams', Sudeva succeeds, and he is followed by Vijya : but my authorities state these both to be sons of Champa, and that Vijya, the younger, was his successor, as the elder, Sudeva, took to religious austerity. The thirty-third and thirty-sixth, Kesi and Dulipa, are not noticed by Sir William Jones ; but there is a much more important person than either of these omitted, who is a grand link of connection, and affording a good synchronism of the earliest history. This is Ambarisha, the fortieth, the contemporary of Gadhi, who was the founder of Gadhipoora or Canouj. Nala, Suroora, and Dulipa (Nos. 44, 45, 54 of my lists), are all omitted by Sir William Jones.

This comparative analysis of the chronologies of both these grand races cannot fail to be satisfactory. Those which I furnish are from the sacred genealogies in the library of a prince who claims common origin with them, and are less liable to interpolation. There is scarcely a chief of character for knowledge who cannot repeat the genealogy of his line. The Prince of Méwar has a peculiarly retentive memory in this way. The professed genealogists, the Bháts, must have them graven on their memory, and the Charunas (the encomiasts) ought to be well versed therein.

The first table exhibits two dynasties of the Solar race of Princes of Ayodia and Mit'hil Dés, or Tirhoot, which latter I have seen nowhere else. It also exhibits four great and three lesser dynasties of the Lunar race ; and an eighth line is added, of the race of Yadu, from the annals of the Bhatti tribe at Jessulmér.

Ere quitting this halting-place in the genealogical history of the ancient races, where the celebrated names of Rama, Crishna, and Yoodishtra, close the brazen age of India, and whose issue introduce the present iron age, or kal yuga, I shall shortly refer to the few synchronic points which the various authorities admit.

Of periods so remote, approximations to truth are the utmost to be looked for ; and it is from the *Ramayuna* and the *Pooráns* these synchronisms are hazarded.

The first commences with a celebrated name of the Solar line, Harchandra, son of Trisunkha, still proverbial for his humility. He is the twenty-fourth,¹ and declared contemporary of Parswa-rama, who slew the celebrated Sehesra-Arjoona² of the Hihya (Lunar) race, Prince of Mahés-

¹ Syadri Khanda of the *Scanda Poorána*.

² In the *Bhavishya Poorána* this prince, Sehesra-Arjoona, is termed a chakravarta, or paramount sovereign. That he conquered Kurkotaka of the Takshac, Toorshka, or Snake race, and brought with him the population of Mahesvati,

vati on the Nerbudda. This is confirmed by the *Ramayuna*, which details the destruction of the military class and assumption of political power by the Brahmins, under their chief Parswa-rama, marking the period when the military class "lost the umbrella of royalty," and, as the Brahmins ridiculously assert, their purity of blood. This last, however, their own books sufficiently contradict, as the next synchronism will show.

This synchronism we have in Ságára, the thirty-second prince of the Solar line, the contemporary of Taljanga, of the Lunar line, the sixth in descent from Sehesra Arjoona, who had five sons preserved from the general slaughter of the military class by Parswa-rama, whose names are given in the *Bhavishya*.

Wars were constantly carried on between these great rival races, Soorya and Indu, recorded in the *Pooráns* and *Ramayuna*. The *Bhavishya* describes that between Ságára and Taljanga "to resemble that of their ancestors, in which the Hihyas suffered as severely as before." But that they had recovered all their power since Parswa-rama, is evident from their having completely retaliated on the Sooryas, and expelled the father¹ of Ságára from his capital of Ayodia. Ságára and Taljanga appear to have been contemporary with Hasti of Hastinapoor, and with Anga, descended from Boodha, the founder of Angdésa,² or Ongdeas, and the Anga race.

The *Ramayuna* affords another synchronism; namely, that Ambarisha of Ayodia, the fortieth prince of the Solar line, was the contemporary of Gadhi, the founder of Canouj, and of Lompada the Prince of Angdésa.

The last synchronism is that of Crishna and Yoodishtra, which terminates the brazen, and introduces the kal yuga or iron age. But this is

and founded Hemanágára in the north of India, on his expulsion from his dominions on the Nerbudda. Traditionary legends yet remain of this prince on the Nerbudda, where he is styled Sehesra Bahu, or 'with a thousand arms,' figurative of his numerous progeny.

The Takshac, or Snake race, here alluded to, will hereafter engage our attention. The names of animals in early times, planets, and things inanimate, all furnished symbolic appellations for the various races. In Scripture we have the fly, the bee, the ram, to describe the princes of Egypt, Assyria, and Macedonia; here we have the snake, horse, monkey, etc.

The Snake or Takshac race was one of the most extensive and earliest of Higher Asia, and celebrated in all its extent, and to which I shall have to recur hereafter.

In the *Ramayuna* it is stated that the sacrificial horse was stolen by "a serpent (Takshac) assuming the form of Anunta."

¹ "Usita, the father of Ságára, expelled by hostile kings of the Haihyas, the Talajungas, and the Susoo-vindhas, fled to the Himvat mountains, where he died leaving his wives pregnant, and from one of these Ságára was born."¹ It was to preserve the Solar race from the destruction which threatened it from the prolific Lunar race, that the Brahmin Parswa-rama armed: evidently proving that the Brahminical faith was held by the Solar race; while the religion of Boodha, the great progenitor of the Lunar, still governed his descendants. This strengthened the opposition of the sages of the Solar line to Vishwamitra's (of Boodha's or the Lunar line) obtaining Brahminhood. That Crishna, of Lunar stock, prior to founding a new sect, worshipped Boodha, is susceptible of proof.

² Angdés, Ongdés, or Oondés, adjoins Thibet. The inhabitants call themselves Hoongias, and appear to be the Hong-niu of the Chinese authors, the Hüns (Hoons) of Europe and India, which prove this Tartar race to be Lunar, and of Boodha.

¹ Forty-first section, Book i. of the *Ramayuna*, translation by Carey.

in the Lunar line ; nor have we any guide by which the difference can be adjusted between the appearance of Rama of the Solar, and Crishna of the Lunar races.

Thus of the race of Crust'ha we have Kansa, Prince of Mat'hoora, the fifty-ninth, and his cousin Crishna, the fifty-eighth from Boodha ; while of the line of Pooru, descending through Ujmida and Deomida, we have Sul, Jarasandha, and Yoodishtra, the fifty-first, fifty-third, and fifty-fourth, respectively.

The race of Anga gives Prit'hoo-séna as one of the actors and survivors of the *Mahabharat*, and the fifty-third from Boodha.

Thus, taking an average of the whole, we may consider fifty-five princes to be the number of descents from Boodha to Crishna and Yoodishtra ; and, admitting an average of twenty years for each reign, a period of eleven hundred years : which being added to a like period calculated from thence to Vicramaditya, who reigned fifty-six years before Christ, I venture to place the establishment in India Proper of these two grand races, distinctively called those of Soorya and Chandra, at about 2256 years before the Christian era ; at which period, though somewhat later, the Egyptian, Chinese, and Assyrian monarchies are generally stated to have been established,¹ and about a century and a half after that great event, the Flood.

Though a passage in the *Agni Poorán* indicates that the line of Soorya, of which Icshwáca was the head, was the first colony which entered India from central Asia, yet we are compelled to place the patriarch Boodha as his contemporary, he being stated to have come from a distant region, and married to Ella, the sister of Icshwáca.

Ere we proceed to make any remarks on the descendants of Crishna and Arjoona, who carry on the Lunar line, or of the Cushites and Lavites, from Cush and Lava, the sons of Rama, who carry on that of the Sun, a few observations on the chief kingdoms established by their progenitors on the continent of India will be hazarded in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER IV

Foundations of states and cities by the different tribes.

AYODIA² was the first city founded by the race of Soorya. Like other capitals, its importance must have risen by slow degrees ; yet, making

¹ Egyptian, under Misraim, B.C. 2188 ; Assyrian, 2059 ; Chinese, 2207.

² The picture drawn by Valmiki of the capital of the Solar race is so highly coloured, that Ayodia might stand for Utopia, and it would be difficult to find such a catalogue of metropolitan embellishments, in this, the iron age of Oude. " On the banks of the Surayoo is a large country called Koshula, in which is Ayodhia, built by Menu, twelve yojuns (forty-eight miles) in extent, with streets regular and well watered. It was filled with merchants, beautified by gardens, ornamented with stately gates and high-arched porticos, furnished with arms, crowded with chariots, elephants, and horses, and with ambassadors from foreign lands ; embellished with palaces whose domes resembled the mountain tops, dwellings of equal height, resounding with the delightful music of the tabor, the flute, and the harp. It was surrounded by an impassable moat, and guarded by archers. Desarat'ha was its king, a mighty charioteer. There were no

every allowance for exaggeration, it must have attained great splendour long anterior to Rama. Its site is well known at this day under the contracted name of Oude, which also designates the country appertaining to the titular vizier of the Mogul empire ; which country, twenty-five years ago, nearly marked the limits of Kosula, the pristine kingdom of the Soorya race. Overgrown greatness characterised all the ancient Asiatic capitals, and that of Ayodia was immense. Lucknow, the present capital, is traditionally asserted to have been one of the suburbs of ancient Oude, and so named by Rama, in compliment to his brother Lacshman.

Nearly coeval in point of time with Ayodia was Mit'hila,¹ the capital of a country of the same name, founded by Mit'hila, the grandson of Icshwáca.

The name of Janika,² son of Mit'hila, eclipsed that of the founder, and became the patronymic of this branch of the Solar race.

These are the two chief capitals of the kingdoms of the Solar line described in this early age ; though there were others of a minor order, such as Rotas, Champapoor, etc., all founded previously to Rama.

By the numerous dynasties of the Lunar race of Boodha many kingdoms were founded. Much has been said of the antiquity of Poorág ; yet the first capital of the Indu or Lunar race appears to have been founded by Sehesra Arjoona, of the Hihya tribe. This was Mahésvati on the Nerbudda, still existing in Muheswar.³ The rivalry between the Lunar race and that of the Sooryas of Ayodia, in whose aid the priesthood armed, and expelled Sehesra Arjoona from Mahésvati, has been mentioned. A small branch of these ancient Hihyas⁴ yet exist in the line of the Nerbudda, near the very top of the valley at Sohagpoor, in Bhagel-khund, aware of their ancient lineage ; and, though few in number, are still celebrated for their valour.⁵

Koosust'hulli Dwarica, the capital of Crishna, was founded prior to Poorág, to Soorpoor, or Mat'hoora. The *Bhagvat* attributes the foundation of the city to Anirt, the brother of Icshwáca, of the Solar race, but states not how or when the Yadus became possessed thereof.

The ancient annals of the Jessulmér family of the Yadu stock give the priority of foundation to *Poorág*, next to *Mat'hoora*, and last to *Dwarica*.

atheists. The affections of the men were in their consorts. The women were chaste and obedient to their lords, endowed with beauty, wit, sweetness, prudence, and industry, with bright ornaments and fair apparel ; the men devoted to truth and hospitality, regardful of their superiors, their ancestors and their gods.

"There were eight councillors ; two chosen priests profound in the law, besides another inferior council of six. Of subdued appetites, disinterested, forbearing, pleasant, patient ; not avaricious ; well acquainted with their duties and popular customs ; attentive to the army, the treasury ; impartially awarding punishment even on their own sons ; never oppressing even an enemy ; not arrogant ; comely in dress ; never confident about doubtful matters ; devoted to the sovereign."

¹ Mit'hila, the modern Tirhoot in Bengal.

² Koosad'hwaja, father of Seeta (spouse of Rama), is also called Janika ; a name common in this line, and borne by the third prince in succession after *Soo-verna Roma*, the 'golden-haired' chief Mit'hila.

³ Familiarly designated as Sehesra Bahu Ka Bustee, or 'the town of the thousand-armed.'

⁴ The Hihya race, of the line of Boodha, may claim affinity with the Chinese race which first gave monarchs to China.

⁵ Of this I have heard the most romantic proofs in very recent times.

All these cities are too well known to require description ; especially Poorág, at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges. The Prasii were the descendants of Poorú¹ of Poorág, visited by Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus, and the principal city of the Yadus, ere it sent forth the four branches from Satwati. At Poorág resided the celebrated Bharat, the husband of Sacoontala.

In the *Ramayuna*, the Susoovindhas² (another Yadu race) are inscribed as allied with the Hihyas in the wars with the race of Soorya ; and of this race was Sisoopal³ (the founder of Chedya⁴), one of the foes of Crishna.

We are assured by Alexander's historians that the country and people round Mat'hoora, when he invaded India, were termed *Surséni*. There are two princes of the name of Sursén in the immediate ancestry of Crishna ; one his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these founded the capital Soorpoor,⁵ whence the country and inhabitants had their appellation, we cannot say. Mathoora and Clesobaras are mentioned by the historians of Alexander as the chief cities of the Suraseni. Though the Greeks sadly disfigure names, we cannot trace any affinity between Clesobaras and Soorpoor.

The city of Hastinapoor was built by Hasti, a name celebrated in the Lunar dynasties. The name of this city is still preserved on the Ganges, about forty miles south of Hari-dwar,⁶ where the Ganges breaks through the Sewaluk mountains and enters the plains of India. This

¹ Poorú became the patronymic of this branch of the Lunar race. Of this Alexander's historians made Porus. The *Suraseni* of *Methoras* (descendants of the Soor Sén of Mat'hoora) were all *Poorus*, the Prasii of Megasthenes. Allahabad yet retains its Hindu name of Poorag, pronounced Prag.

² The Hares. Seesodia is said to have the same derivation.

³ The princes of Rinthum-bowur, expelled by Pirthwiraja of Dehli, were of this race.

⁴ The modern Chanderi is said to be this capital, and one of the few to which no Englishman has obtained entrance, though I tried hard in 1807. Doubtless it would afford food for curiosity ; for, being out of the path of armies in the days of conquest and revolution, it may, and I believe does retain, much worthy of research.

⁵ I had the pleasure, in 1814, of discovering a remnant of this city, which the Yamuna has overwhelmed. The sacred place of pilgrimage, Bhatésvara, stands on part of it. My discovery of it was doubly gratifying, for while I found out the Suraseni of the Greeks, I obtained a medal of the little known Apollodotus, who carried his arms to the mouths of the Indus, and possibly to the centre of the land of the Yadus. He is not included by Bayer in his lists of the kings of Bactria, but we have only an imperfect knowledge of the extent of that dynasty. The *Bhagvat Poorán* asserts thirteen Yavan or Ionian princes to have ruled in Balich-dés, or Bactria, in which they mention Pushpamitra *Doomitra*. We are justified in asserting this to be Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, but who did not succeed his father, as Menander intervened. Of this last conqueror I also possess a medal, obtained amongst the Suraseni, and struck in commemoration of victory, as the winged messenger of heavenly peace extends the palm branch from her hand. These two will fill up a chasm in the Bactrian annals, for Menander is well known to them. Apollodotus would have perished but for Arrian, who wrote the *Periplus* of the Erythræan sea in the second century, while commercial agent at Baroach, or classically Brigugatcha, the Barugaza of the Greeks.

Without the notice this writer has afforded us, my Apollodotus would have lost half its value. Since my arrival in Europe I have also been made acquainted with the existence of a medal of Demetrius, discovered in Bokhara, and on which an essay has been written by a *scavant* at St. Petersburg.

⁶ The portal of Huri or Hari, whose trisula or trident is there.

mighty stream, rolling its masses of waters from the glaciers of the Himalaya, and joined by many auxiliary streams, frequently carries destruction before it. In one night a column of thirty feet in perpendicular height has been known to bear away all within its sweep, and to such an occurrence the capital of Hasti is said to have owed its ruin.¹

As it existed, however, long after the Mahabharat, it is surprising it is not mentioned by the historians of Alexander, who invaded India probably about eight centuries after that event. In this abode of the sons of Pooru resided Porus, one of the two princes of that name, opponents of Alexander, and probably Barusar the son of Chandragoota, surmised to be the Abisares and Sandracoptos of Grecian authorities. Of the two princes named Porus mentioned by Alexander's historians, one resided in the very cradle of the Pooru dynasties; the abode of the other bordered on the Punjâb: warranting an assertion that the Pori of Alexander were of the Lunar race, and destroying all the claims various authors² have advanced on behalf of the princes of Méwar.³

Hasti sent forth three grand branches, Ujamida, Deomida, and Poor-mida. Of the two last we lose sight altogether; but Ujamida's progeny spread over all the northern parts of India, in the Punjâb and across the Indus. The period, probably one thousand six hundred years before Christ.

From Ujamida,⁴ in the fourth generation, was Bajaswa, who obtained possessions towards the Indus, and whose five sons gave their name, *Panchalica*, to the Punjâb, or space watered by the five rivers. The capital founded by the younger brother, Kampila, was named Kampil-nagara.⁵

The descendants of Ujamida by his second wife, Késunee, founded another kingdom and dynasty, celebrated in the heroic history of northern India. This is the *Cūsika* dynasty.

Cush had four sons, two of whom, Cushnabha and Cushamba, are well known to traditional history, and by the still surviving cities founded by them. Cushnabha founded the city of Muhadya on the Ganges, afterwards changed to Canyacubja, or Canouj, which maintained its celebrity until the Mahomedan invasion of Shabudin (A.D. 1193), when this overgrown city was laid prostrate for ever. It was not unfrequently called

¹ Wilford says this event is mentioned in two *Poorâns* as occurring in the sixth or eighth generation of the great war: Those who have travelled in the Doâb must have remarked where both the Ganges and Jumna have shifted their beds.

² Sir Thomas Roe; Sir Thomas Herbert; the Holstein ambassador (by Olearius); Della Valle; Churchill, in his collection: and borrowing from these, D'Anville, Bayer, Orme, Rennell, etc.

³ The ignorance of the family of Méwar of the fact would by no means be a conclusive argument against it, could it be otherwise substantiated; but the race of Soorya was completely eclipsed at that period by the Lunar and new races which soon poured in from the west of the Indus, and in time displaced them all.

⁴ Ujamida, by his wife Nila, had five sons, who spread their branches (Sachâ) on both sides the Indus. Regarding three the *Poorâns* are silent, which implies their migration to distant regions. Is it possible they might be the origin of the Medes? These Medes are descendants of Yâdyt, third son of the patriarch Menu; and Madai, founder of the Medes, was of Japhet's line. Aja-mede, the patronymic of the branch of *Bajaswa*, is from *Aja* 'a goat.' The Assyrian Mede, in Scripture, is typified by the goat.

⁵ Of this house was Droopdevi, the wife, in common, of the five Pandua brothers: manners peculiar to Scythia.

Gadhipoor, or the 'city of Gadhi.' This practice of multiplying names of cities in the east is very destructive to history. Abul Fuzil has taken from Hindu authorities an account of Canouj; and could we admit the authority of a poet on such subjects, Chund, the bard of Pirthwirájá,¹ would afford materials. Ferishta states it in the early ages to have been twenty-five coss (thirty-five miles) in circumference, and that there were thirty thousand shops for the sale of the areca or beetle-nut only; and this in the sixth century, at which period the Rahtore dynasty, which terminated with Jeichund, in the twelfth, had been in possession from the end of the fifth century.

Cushamba also founded a city, called after his own name *Causambi*.² The name was in existence in the eleventh century; and ruins might yet exist, if search were made on the shores of the Ganges, from Canouj southward.

The other sons built two capitals, Dharmarunya and Vasumuttee; but of neither have we any correct knowledge.

Cooru had two sons, Sudina and Parikhita. The descendants of the former terminated with Jarasandha, whose capital was Rajgraha (the modern Rajmahl) on the Ganges, in the province of Bahar. From Parikhita descended the monarchs Santana and Balica: the first producing the rivals of the Great War, Yoodishtra and Duryodhana; the other the Balicaputras.

Duryodhana, the successor to the throne of Cooru, resided at the ancient capital, Hastinapoor; while the junior branch, Yoodishtra, founded Indraprest'ha, on the Yamuna of Jumna, which name in the eighth century was changed to Dehli.

The sons of Balica founded two kingdoms; *Palibot'hra*, on the lower Ganges: and *Arore*,³ on the eastern bank of the Indus, founded by Sehl.

¹ King of Dehli.

² An inscription was discovered at Kurrah on the Ganges, in which Yaspal is mentioned as prince of the realm of Causambi.—*As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 440. Wilford, in his Essay on the Geography of the Purans, says "Causambi, near Alluhabad."—*As. Res.* vol. xiv.

³ Arore, or Alore, was the capital of Sinde in remote antiquity: a bridge over the stream which branched from the Indus, near Dura, is almost the sole vestige of this capital of the Sogdi of Alexander. On its site the shepherds of the desert have established an extensive hamlet; it is placed on a ridge of siliceous rock, seven miles east of the insular Bekher, and free from the inundations of the Indus. The Soda tribe, a powerful branch of the Pramara race, has ruled in these countries from remote antiquity, and to a very late period they were lords of Omrakote and Oomrasoomra, in which divisions was Arore.

Sehl and his capital were known to Abul Fuzil, though he was ignorant of its position, which he transferred to Debeil, or Dewul, the modern Tatta. This indefatigable historian thus describes it: "In ancient times there lived a raja named Sehris (Sehl), whose capital was Alore, and his dominions extended north to Cashmere and south to the ocean."

Sehl, or Sehr, became a titular appellation of the country, its princes, and its inhabitants, the Sehraes.

Alore appears to have been the capital of the kingdom of Sigertis, conquered by Menander of Bactria. Ebn Haukul, the Arabian geographer, mentions it; but a superfluous point in writing has changed Arore into Azore, or Azour, as translated by Sir W. Ouseley.

The illustrious D'Anville mentions it; but, in ignorance of its position, quoting Abulfeda, says, in grandeur "Azour est presque comparable à Mooltan."

I have to claim the discovery of several ancient capital cities in the north of India; Soorpoor, on the Jumna, the capital of the Yadus; Alore, on the Indus,

One great arm of the tree of Yáyát remains unnoticed, that of Ooru or Oorvasu, written by others *Turvasu*.

Ooru was the father of a line of kings who founded several empires.

Viroota, the eighth prince from Ooru, had eight sons, two of whom are particularly mentioned as sending forth two grand shoots, Druhya and Babru.

From Druhya a dynasty was established in the north. Ar, with his son Khandar, is stated to have founded a state: Pritchita is said to have become king of Mile-cha-dés, or the *barbarous regions*.

This line terminated with Dushkhanta, the father of the celebrated Sacoontala, married to Bharat, and who, labouring under the displeasure of some offended deity, is said by the Hindus to have been the cause of all the woes which subsequently befell the race.

The four grandsons of Dushkhanta, Kalinjra, Keril, Pand, and Chowal, gave their names to countries.

Kalinjra is the celebrated fortress in Boondelkhund, so well known for its antiquities, which have claimed considerable notice.

Of the second, Keril, it is only known that in the list of the thirty-six royal races in the twelfth century, the Keril makes one, but the capital is unknown.

The kingdom founded by Pand may be that on the coast of Malabar, the Pandu-Mandel of the Hindus, the *Regia Pandiona* of the geographers of the west, and of which, probably, Tanjore is the modern capital.

Chowal¹ is in the Saurashtra peninsula, and on the coast, towards Jugut Koont, 'the world's end,' and still retains its appellation.

The other shoot from Babru became celebrated. The thirty-fourth prince, Anga, founded the kingdom of Anga-désa, of which Champa² Malini was the capital, established about the same time with Canouj, probably fifteen hundred years before Christ. With him the patronymic was changed, and the Anga race became famous in ancient Hindu history ;

the capital of the Sodas; Mundodri, capital of the Puriharas; Chandravati, at the foot of the Aravulli mountains; and Balabhipoora, in Guzerat, capital of the Balica-raes, the Balharas of Arab travellers. The Balla Rajpoot of Saurashtra may have given the name to Balabhipoora, as descendants of *Balica*, from Sehl of Arore. The blessing of the bard to them is yet, *Tattá Mooltán ca Ráo* ('lord of Tattá and Mooltán,' the seats of the Balica-putras): nor is it improbable that a branch of these under the Indian Hercules, Bala-ram, who left India after the Great War, may have founded Balich, or Balkh, emphatically called the "mother of cities." The Jessulmér annals assert that the Yadu and Balica branches of the Indu race ruled Khorassan after the Great War, the Indo-Scythic races of Grecian authors.

Besides the Balicas, and the numerous branches of the Indo-Medes, many of the sons of Cooru dispersed over these regions: amongst whom we may place Ootooru Cooru (*Northern Coorus*) of the *Pooráns*, the Ottorocuræ of the Greek authors. Both the Indu and Soorya races were eternally sending their superfluous population to those distant regions, when probably the same primeval religion governed the races east and west of the Indus.

¹ From Chowal on the coast, in journeying towards Joonagurh, and about seven miles from the former, are the remains of an ancient city.

² From the description in the *Ramayana* of King Desarat'ha proceeding to Champa-malina, the capital of Lompada, king of Anga (sixth in descent from the founder), it is evident that it was a very mountainous region, and the deep forests and large rivers presented serious obstructions to his journey. From this I should imagine it impossible that Anga-désa should apply to a portion of Bengal, in which there is a Champa-malina, described by Colonel Francklin in his *Essay on Palibothra*.

and to this day *An-dés* still designates the Alpine regions of Thibet bordering on Chinese Tartary.

Pristooséna terminates the line of Anga ; and as he survived the disasters of the Great War, his race probably multiplied in those regions, where caste appears never to have been introduced.

Thus have we rapidly reviewed the dynasties of Soorya and Chandra, from Menu and Boodha to Rama, Crishna, Yoodishtra, and Jarasandha ; establishing, it is hoped, some new points, and perhaps adding to the credibility of the whole.

The wrecks of almost all the vast cities founded by them are yet to be traced in ruins. The city of Ichhwáca and Rama, on the Sarjoo ; Indraprest'ha, Mat'hoora, Soorpóora, Poorag on the Yamuna ; Hastinapoorá, Canyacubja, Raj-graha on the Ganges ; Mahéswar on the Nerbudda ; Arore on the Indus ; and Koosust'hulli Dwarica on the shore of the Indian ocean. Each has left some memorial of former grandeur : research may discover others.

There is yet an unexplored region in Panchalica ; Kampilnagara its capital, and those cities established west of the Indus by the sons of Bajaswa.

Traces of the early Indo-Scythic nations may possibly reward the search of some adventurous traveller who may penetrate into Transoxiana, on the sites of Cyropolis, and the most northern Alexandria ; in Balkh, and amidst the caves of Bamian.

The plains of India retain yet many ancient cities, from whose ruins somewhat may be gleaned to add a mite to knowledge ; and where inscriptions may be found in a character which, though yet unintelligible, will not always remain so in this age of discovery. For such let the search be general, and when once a key is obtained, they will enlighten each other. Wherever the races of Cooru, Ooru, and Yadu have swayed, have been found ancient and yet undeciphered characters.

Much would reward him who would make a better digest of the historical and geographical matter in the *Pooráns*. But we must discard the idea that the history of Rama, the *Mahabharat* of Crishna and the five Pandua¹ brothers, are mere allegory : an idea supported by some, although their races, their cities, and their coins still exist. Let us master the characters on the columns of Indraprest'ha, of Poorag and Méwar, on the rocks of Joonagurh² at Bijolli, on the Aravulli, and in the Jain temples scattered over India, and then we shall be able to arrive at just and satisfactory conclusions.

¹ The history and exploits of the Pandus and Hériculas are best known in the most remote parts of India : amidst the forest-covered mountains of Saurashtra, the deep woods and caves of Herimba and Virat (still the shelter of the savage Bhil and Koli), or on the craggy banks of the Charmati (Chumbul). In each, tradition has localised the shelter of these heroes when exiled from the Yamuna ; and colossal figures cut from the mountain, ancient temples and caves inscribed with characters yet unknown, attributed to the Pandus, confirm the legendary tale.

² The 'ancient city,' *par éminence*, is the only name this old capital, at the foot of, and guarding, the sacred mount Girnar, is known by. Abul Fuzil says it had long remained desolate and unknown, and was discovered by mere accident. Tradition even being silent, they gave it the emphatic appellation of Juna (old) Gur'h (fortress). I have little doubt that it is the Asildurga, or Asilgurh, of the Grahilote annals ; where it is said that prince Asil raised a fortress, called after him, near to Girnar, by the consent of the Dabi prince, his uncle.

CHAPTER V

The dynasties which succeeded Rama and Crishna—The Pandu family—Periods of the different dynasties.

HAVING investigated the line from Icshwáca to Rama, and that from Boodha (the parent and first emigrant of the Indu¹ race, from Saca Dwipa, or Scythia, to Hindúst'han) to Crishna and Yoodishtra, a period of twelve hundred years, we proceed to the second division and second table of the genealogies.

(From Rama all the tribes termed Sooryavansa, or 'Race of the Sun,' claim descent, as the present princes of Méwar, Jeipoor, Marwar, Bikanér, and their numerous clans; while from the Lunar (Indu) line of Boodha and Crishna, the families of Jessulmér and Cutch (the Bhatti² and Jaréja races), extending throughout the Indian desert from the Sutledge to the ocean, deduce their pedigrees.)

Rama preceded Crishna; but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasu, who wrote the events they witnessed, were contemporaries, it could not have been by many years.

(The present table contains the dynasties which succeeded these great beacons of the Solar and Lunar races, and are three in number.³

1. The Sooryavansa, descendants of Rama.
2. The Induvansa, descendants of Pandu through Yoodishtra.
3. The Induvansa, descendants of Jarasandha, monarch of Rajgraha.

The *Bhagvat* and *Agni Pooráns* are the authorities for the lines from Rama and Jarasandha; while that of Pandu is from the *Raj-Tarringingini* and *Rajaolie*.

The existing Rajpoot tribes of the Solar race claim descent from Lava and Cush, the two elder sons of Rama; nor do I believe any existing tribes trace their ancestry to his other children, or to his brothers.

From the eldest son, Lava, the Ranas of Méwar claim descent: so do the Birgoogir tribe, formerly powerful within the confines of the present Ambér, whose representative now dwells at Anoopshehr on the Ganges.

From Cush descend the Cushwaha⁴ princes of Nirwar and Ambér, and their numerous clans. Ambér, though the first in power, is but a scion of Nirwar, transplanted about one thousand years back, whose chief, the representative of the celebrated Prince Nala, enjoys but a sorry district⁵ of all his ancient possessions.

The house of Marwar also claims descent from this stem, which appears to originate in an error of the genealogists, confounding the race of Cush

¹ Indu, Som, Chandra, in Sanscrit 'the moon'; hence the Lunar race is termed the Chandra-vansa, Som-vansa, or Indu-vansa, most probably the root of *Hindu*.

² The isolated and now dependent chieftainship of Dhát, of which Omrakote is the capital, separates the Bhattis from the Jaréjas. Dhát is now amalgamated with Sinde. Its prince, of Pramara race and Soda tribe, ancient lords of all Sinde.

³ A fourth and fifth might have been given, but imperfect. First the descendants of Cush, second son of Rama, from whence the princes of Nirwar and Ambér: secondly, the descendants of Crishna, from whom the princes of Jessulmér.

⁴ In modern times always written and pronounced *Cutchwaha*.

⁵ It is in the plateau of Central India, near Shahabad.

with the Causika of Canouj and Causambi. Nor do the Solar genealogists admit this assumed pedigree.

The Ambér prince in his genealogies traces the descent of the Méwar¹ family from Rama to Sumitra, through Lava, the eldest brother, and not through Cush,² as in some copies of the *Pooráns*, and in that whence Sir William Jones had his lists.

Mr. Bentley, taking this genealogy from the same authority as Sir William Jones, has mutilated it by a transposition, for which his reasons are insufficient, and militate against every opinion of the Hindus. Finding the names Vrihadbalu and Vridasura, declared to be princes contemporary with Yoodishtra, he transposes the whole ten princes of his list intervening between Takshac³ and Bahuman.⁴

Bahuman,⁵ or 'the man with arms' (Derazdusht or Longimanus) is the thirty-fourth prince from Rama; and his reign must be placed nearly intermediate between Rama and Sumitra, or his contemporary Vicrama, and in the sixth century from either.

Sumitra concludes the line of Soorya or Rama from the *Bhagvat Poorán*. Thence it is connected with the present line of Méwar, by Jey Sing's authorities; which list has been compared with various others, chiefly Jain, as will be related in the annals of Méwar.

It will be seen that the line of Soorya exhibits fifty-six princes, from Lava, the son of Rama, to Sumitra, the last prince given in the *Pooráns*. Sir William Jones exhibits fifty-seven.

To these fifty-six reigns I should be willing to allow the average of twenty years, which would give 1120 from Rama to Sumitra, who preceded by a short period Vicramaditya; and as 1100 have been already calculated to have preceded the era of Rama and Yoodishtra, the inference is, that 2200 years elapsed from Icshwáca, the founder of the Solar line, to Sumitra.

¹ Whatever dignity attaches to this pedigree, whether true or false, every prince, and every Hindu of learning, admit the claims of the princes of Méwar as heir to 'the chair of Rama'; and a degree of reverence has consequently attached, not only to his person, but to the seat of his power.

When Madajee Sindia was called by the Rana to reduce a traitorous noble in Cheetore, such was the reverence which actuated that (in other respects) little scrupulous chieftain, that he could not be prevailed on to point his cannon on the walls within which consent established 'the throne of Rama.' The Rana himself, then a youth, had to break the ice, and fired a cannon against his own ancient abode.

² Bryant, in his *Analysis*, mentions that the children of the Cushite Ham used his name in salutation as a mark of recognition. 'Ram, Ram,' is the common salutation in these Hindu countries; the respondent often joining Seeta's name with that of her consort Rama, 'Seeta Ram.'

³ Twenty-eighth prince from Rama in Mr. Bentley's list, and twenty-fifth in mine.

⁴ Thirty-seventh in Mr. Bentley's list and thirty-fourth in mine; but the intervening names being made to follow Rama, Bahuman (written by him *Banumat*) follows Takshac.

⁵ The period of time, also, would allow of their grafting the son of Artaxerxes and father of Darius, the worshipper of Mithras, on the stem of the adorers of Soorya, while a curious notice of the Raja Jey Sing's on a subsequent name on this list which he calls Noshirwan, strengthens the coincidence. Bahuman (see article 'Bahaman,' D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.*) actually carried his arms into India, and invaded the kingdoms of the Solar race of Mit'hila and Magadha. The time is appropriate to the first Darius and his father; and Herodotus tells us that the riches⁶ and best of the satrapies of his empire was the Hindu.

From the *Raj-Tarringini* and *Rajaolie*, the Induvansa family (descendants of Pandu through Yoodishtra) is supplied. These works, celebrated in Rajwarra as collections of genealogies and historical facts, by the Pundhits Vedyadhara and Ragonat'h, were compiled under the eye of the most learned prince of his period, Sowae Jey Sing of Ambér, and give the various dynasties which ruled at Indraprest'ha, or Dehli, from Yoodishtra to Vicramaditya; and although barren of events, may be considered of value in filling up a period of entire darkness.

The *Tarringini* commences with Adnat'h¹ or Rishubdeva,² being the Jain³ theogony. Rapidly noticing the leading princes of the dynasties discussed, they pass to the birth of the kings Dhertarashtra and Pandu, and their offspring, detailing the causes of their civil strife, to that conflict termed the Mahabharat or Great War.

The origin of every family, whether of east or west, is involved in fable. That of the Pandu⁴ is entitled to as much credence as the birth of Romulus, or other founders of a race.

Such traditions⁵ were probably invented to cover some great disgrace in the Pandu family, and have relation to the story already related of Vyasu, and the debasement of this branch of the Héri-culas. Accordingly, on the death of Pandu, Duryodhanu, nephew of Pandu (son of Dhertarashtra, who from blindness could not inherit), asserted their illegitimacy before the assembled kin at Hastinapoor.

With the aid, however, of the priesthood, and the blind Dhertarashtra, his nephew, Yoodishtra, elder son of Pandu, was invested by him with the seal of royalty, in the capital, Hastinapoor.

Duryodhanu's plots against the Pandu and his partisans were so numerous that the five brothers determined to leave for a while their ancestral abodes on the Ganges. They sought shelter in foreign countries about the Indus, and were first protected by Droopdeva, king of Panchalica, at whose capital, Kampilnagara, the surrounding princes had arrived as suitors for the hand of his daughter, Droopdevi.⁶ But the prize was destined for the exiled Pandu, and the skill of Arjoona in archery obtained him the fair, who "threw round his neck the (burmala) garland of marriage." The disappointed princes indulged their resentment against the exile; but by Arjoona's bow they suffered the fate of Penelope's suitors, and the Pandu brought home his bride, who became the wife in common of the five brothers: manners ? decisively Scythic.

¹ First lord.

² Lord of the Bull.

³ Vedhydar was a Jain.

⁴ Pandu not being blessed with progeny, his queen made use of a charm by which she enticed the deities from their spheres. To Dherma-Raj (Minos) she bore Yoodishtra; by Pavan (Eolus) she had Bhima; by Indra (Jupiter Cælus) she had Arjoona, who was taught by his sire the use of the bow, so fatal in the Great War; and Nycula and Sydeva owed their birth to Aswini Kumar (Esculapius) the physician of the gods.

⁵ We must not disregard the intellect of the Ambér prince, who allowed these ancient traditions to be incorporated with the genealogy compiled under his eye. The prince who obtained De Silva from Emmanuel III. of Portugal, who combined the astronomical tables of Europe and Asia, and raised these monuments of his scientific genius in his favourite pursuit (astronomy) in all the capital cities of India, while engrossed in war and politics, requires neither eulogy nor defence.

⁶ Droopdeva was of the Aswa race, being descended from Bajaswa (or Hyaswa) of the line of Ujamida.

⁷ This marriage, so inconsistent with Hindu delicacy, is glossed over. Admitting the polyandry, but in ignorance of its being a national custom, puerile

The deeds of the brothers abroad were bruited in Hastinapoorā, and the blind Dhertarashtra's influence effected their recall. To stop, however, their intestine feuds, he partitioned the Pandu sovereignty; and while his son, Duryodhanu, retained Hastinapoorā, Yoodishtra founded the new capital of Indraprest'ha; but shortly after the Mahabharat he abdicated in favour of his grand nephew, Parikhita, introducing a new era, called after himself, which existed for eleven hundred years, when it was overturned, and Indraprest'ha was conquered by Vicramaditya Tūar of Oojein, of the same race, who established an era of his own.

On the division of the Pandu sovereignty, the new kingdom of Indraprest'ha eclipsed that of Hastinapoorā. The brothers reduced to obedience the surrounding¹ nations, and compelled their princes to sign tributary engagements (*paenamah*).²

Yoodishtra, firmly seated on his throne, determined to signalise his reign and paramount sovereignty, by the imposing and solemn rites of '*Aswamedha*'³ and '*Rajsoo*.'

In these magnificent ceremonies, in which princes alone officiate, every duty, down to that of porter, is performed by royalty.

The '*Steed of Sacrifice*' was liberated under Arjoona's care, having wandered whither he listed for twelve months; and none daring to accept this challenge of supremacy, he was reconducted to Indraprest'ha, where, in the meanwhile, the hall of sacrifice was prepared, and all the princes of the land were summoned to attend.

The hearts of the Coorus⁴ burned with envy at the assumption of supremacy by the Pandus, for the Prince of Hastinapoorā's office was to serve out the sacred food.

The rivalry between the races burst forth afresh; but Duryodhanu, who so often failed in his schemes against the safety of his antagonists, determined to make the virtue of Yoodishtra the instrument of his success. He availed himself of the national propensity for play, in which the Rajpoot continues to preserve his Scythic⁵ resemblance. Yoodishtra fell into the snare prepared for him. He lost his kingdom, his wife, and even his personal liberty and that of his brothers, for twelve years, and became an exile from the plains of the Yamuna.

The traditional history of these wanderers during the term of probation reasons are interpolated. In the early annals of the same race, predecessors of the Jessulmér family, the younger son is made to succeed: also Scythic or Tatar.

The manners of the Scythæ described by Herodotus are found still to exist among their descendants: "a pair of slippers at the wife's door" is a signal well understood by all Eimauk husbands.—Elphinstone's *Cambul*, vol. ii. p. 251.

¹ *Tarringini*.

² *Paenamah* is a word peculiarly expressive of subserviency to paramount authority, whether the engagement be in money or service: from *paé*, 'the foot.'

³ Sacrifice of the horse to the sun, of which a full description is given hereafter.

⁴ Duryodhanu, as the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Coorus; while the junior, Yoodishtra, on the separation of authority, adopted his father's name, Pandu, as the patronymic of his new dynasty. The site of the great conflict (or Mahabharat) between these rival clans, is called Cooru-Khétu, or 'Field of the Coorus.'

⁵ Herodotus describes the ruinous passion for play amongst the Scythic hordes, and which may have been carried west by Odin into Scandinavia and Germany. Tacitus tells us that the Germans, like the Pandus, staked even personal liberty, and were sold as slaves by the winner.

tion, their many lurking places now sacred, the return to their ancestral abodes, and the grand battle (Mahabharat) which ensued, form highly interesting episodes in the legends of Hindu antiquity.

To decide this civil strife, every tribe and chief of fame, from the Caucasus to the ocean, assembled on Cooru-Khétu, the field on which the empire of India has since more than once been contested¹ and lost.

This combat was fatal to the dominant influence of the "fifty-six tribes of Yadu." On each of its eighteen days' combat, myriads were slain; for "the father knew not the son, nor the disciple his perceptor."

Victory brought no happiness to Yoodishtra. The slaughter of his friends disgusted him with the world, and he determined to withdraw from it; previously performing, at Hastinapoor, funeral rites for Duryodhanu (slain by the hands of Bhima), whose ambition and bad faith had originated this exterminating war.

"Having regained his kingdom, he proclaimed a new era, and placing on the throne of Indraprest'ha, Parikhita, grandson to Arjoona, retired to Dwarica with Crishna and Buldeva: and since the war to the period of writing, 4636 years have elapsed."²

Yoodishtra, Buldeva, and Crishna, having retired with the wreck of this ill-fated struggle to Dwarica, the two former had soon to lament the death of Crishna, slain by one of the aboriginal tribes of Bhils; against whom, from their shattered condition, they were unable to contend. After this event, Yoodishtra, with Buldeva and a few followers, entirely withdrew from India, and emigrating northwards, by Sinde, to the Himalayan mountains, are there abandoned by Hindu traditional history, and are supposed to have perished in the snows.³

¹ On it the last Hindu monarch, Pirthwirájá, lost his kingdom, his liberty, and life.

² *Raj Tarringini*. The period of writing was A.D. 1740.

³ Having ventured to surmise analogies between the Hercules of the east and west, I shall carry them a point farther. Amidst the snows of Caucasus, Hindu legend abandons the Hericúlas, under their leaders Yoodishtra and Buldeva: yet if Alexander established his altars in Panchalica, amongst the sons of Pooru and the Hericúlas, what physical impossibility exists that a colony of them, under Yoodishtra and Buldeva, eight centuries anterior, should have penetrated to Greece? Comparatively far advanced in science and arms, the conquest would have been easy. When Alexander attacked the "free cities" of Panchalica, the Poorus and Hericúlas who opposed him evinced the recollections of their ancestor, in carrying the figure of Hercules as their standard. Comparison proves a common origin to Hindu and Grecian mythology; and Plato says the Greeks had theirs from Egypt and the East. May not this colony of the Hericúlas be the Heraclidæ, who penetrated into the Peloponnesus (according to Volney) 1078 years before Christ, sufficiently near our calculated period of the Great War?

The Heraclidæ claimed from Atreus: the Hericúlas claim from Atri.

Euristhenes was the first king of the Heraclidæ: Yoodishtra has sufficient affinity in name to the first Spartan king, not to startle the etymologist, the *d* and *r* being always permutable in Sanscrit.

The Greeks or Ionians are descended from Yavan, or Javan, the seventh from Japhet. The Hericúlas are also Yavans claiming from Javan or Yavan, the thirteenth in descent from Yáyát, the third son of the primeval patriarch.

The ancient Heraclidæ of Greece asserted they were as old as the sun, and older than the moon. May not this boast conceal the fact that the Heliadæ (or *Suryavansa*) of Greece had settled there anterior to the colony of the Indu (Lunar) race of Hericúla?

In all that relates to the mythological history of the Indian demi-gods, Buldeva

From Parikhita, who succeeded Yoodishtra, to Vicramaditya, four¹ dynasties are given in a continuous chain, exhibiting sixty-six princes to Rájpal, who, invading Kemaon, was slain by Sukwanta. The Kemaon conqueror seized upon Dehli, but was soon dispossessed by Vicramaditya, who transferred the seat of imperial power from Indraprest'ha to Avanti, or Oojein, from which time it became the first meridian of the Hindu astronomy.

Indraprest'ha ceased to be a regal abode for eight centuries, when it was re-established by Anungpal,² the founder of the Tuár race, claiming descent from the Pandus. Then the name of Dehli superseded that of Indraprest'ha.

"Sukwanta, a prince from the northern mountains of Kemaon, ruled fourteen years, when he was slain by Vicramaditya;³ and from the Bharat to this period 2915 years have elapsed."⁴

Such a period asserted to have elapsed while sixty-six princes occupied the throne, gives an average of forty-four years to each; which is incredible, if not absolutely impossible.

In another passage the compiler says: "I have read many books (shastras), and all agreed to make one hundred princes, all of Khetri⁵ race, occupy the throne of Dehli from Yoodishtra to Pirthwirájá, a period of 4100 years,⁶ after which the Rawad⁷ race succeeded."

It is fortunate for these remnants of historical data that they have only extended the duration of reigns, and not added more heads. Sixty-six links are quite sufficient to connect Yoodishtra and Vicramaditya.

We cannot object to the "one hundred princes" who fill the space assigned from Yoodishtra to Pirthwirájá, though there is no proportion

(Hercules), Crishna or Karnya (Apollo), and Boodha (Mercury), a powerful and almost perfect resemblance can be traced between those of Hindu legend, Greece, and Egypt. Buldeva (the god of strength) Hericúla, is still worshipped as in the days of Alexander; his shrine at Buldeo in Vrij (the Suraseni of the Greeks), his club a ploughshare, and a lion's skin his covering.

An Hindu intaglio of rare value, represents Hercules exactly as described by Arrian, with a monogram consisting of two ancient characters now unknown, but which I have found wherever tradition assigns a spot to the Hericúlas; especially in Saurashtra, where they were long concealed on their exile from Dehli.

This we may at once decide to be the exact figure of Hercules which Arrian describes his descendants to have carried as their standard, when Porus opposed Alexander. The intaglio will appear in the *Trans. R.A.S.*

¹ The twenty-eighth prince, Khemraj, was the last in lineal descent from Parikhita, the grand nephew of Yoodishtra. The first dynasty lasted 1864 years. The second dynasty was of Viserwa, and consisted of fourteen princes; this lasted five hundred years. The third dynasty was headed by Mahraj, and terminated by Untinai, the fifteenth prince. The fourth dynasty was headed by Dhoodsen, and terminated by Rájpal, the ninth and last king.—*Raj Tarringtoni*.

² The *Raj Tarringtoni* gives the date A.V. 848, or A.D. 792, for this; and adds: "Princes from Sewaluk, or northern hills, held it during this time, and it long continued desolate until the Túars."

³ Fifty-six years, A.C.

⁴ Ragoonat'h.

⁵ Rajpoot, or Chátrya.

⁶ This period of 4100 years may have been arrived at by the compiler taking for granted the number of years mentioned by Ragoonat'h as having elapsed from the Mahabharat to Vicramaditya, namely, 2915, and adding thereto the well authenticated period of Pirthwirájá, who was born in Samvat 1215: for if 2915 be subtracted from 4100, it leaves 1185, the period within thirty years of the birth of Pirthwirájá, according to the Chohan chronicles.

⁷ Solar.

between the number which precedes and that which follows Vicramaditya, the former being sixty-six, the latter only thirty-four princes, although the period cannot differ half a century.

Let us apply a test to these one hundred kings, from Yoodishtra to Pirthwirájá : the result will be 2250 years.

This test is derived from the average rate of reigns of the chief dynasties of Rajast'hán, during a period of 633¹ to 663² years, or from Pirthwirájá to the present date.

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Of Méwar | . | . | 34 ³ princes, or 19 years to each reign. | | |
| Of Marwar | . | . | 28 princes, or 23½ | " | " |
| Of Ambér | . | . | 29 princes, or 22½ | " | " |
| Of Jessulmér | . | . | 28 princes, or 23½ | " | " |

giving an average of twenty-two years for each reign.

It would not be proper to ascribe a longer period to each reign, and it were perhaps better to give the minimum, nineteen, to extended dynasties ; and to the sixty-six princes from Yoodishtra and Vicramaditya not even so much, four revolutions⁴ and usurpations marking this period.

The remaining line, that of Jarasandha, taken from the *Bhagvat*, is of considerable importance, and will afford scope for further speculation.

Jarasandha was the monarch of Rajgrahi,⁵ or Behar, whose son Sydeva, and grandson Marjairi, are declared to have been contemporaries of the Mahabharat, and consequently coeval with Parikhita, the Dehli sovereign.

The direct line of Jarasandha terminates in twenty-three descents with Ripoonjya, who was slain, and his throne assumed by his minister, Sonuka, whose dynasty terminated in the fifth generation with Nundivardan. Sonuka derived no personal advantage from his usurpation, as he immediately placed his son, Pradhyota, on the throne. To these five princes one hundred and thirty-eight years are assigned.

A new race entered Hindust'hán, led by a conqueror termed Sehesnag, from Sehesnagdésa,⁶ who ascended the Pandu throne, and whose line terminates in ten descents with Mahananda, of spurious birth. This last prince, who was also named Bykya, carried on an exterminating warfare against the ancient Rajpoot princes of pure blood, the *Pooráns* declaring that since the dynasty of Sehesnag the princes were Soodras. Three hundred and sixty years are allotted to these ten princes.

A fourth dynasty commenced with Chandragopta Mori, of the same

¹ From S. 1250, or A.D. 1194, captivity and dethronement of Pirthwirájá.

² From S. 1212, A.D. 1516, the founding of Jessulmér by Jessul, to the accession of Guj Sing, the present prince, in S. 1876, or A.D. 1820.

³ Many of its early princes were killed in battle ; and the present prince's father succeeded his own nephew, which was retrograding.

⁴ The historians sanction the propriety of these changes, in their remarks, that the deposed were " deficient in [capacity for] the cares and duties of government."

⁵ Rajgrahi, or Rajmahl, capital of Magad-dés, or Behar.

⁶ Figuratively, the country of the ' head of the Snakes ' ; *Nag*, *Tak*, or *Takshac*, being synonymous : and which I conclude to be the abode of the ancient Scythic *Tachari* of Strabo, the *Tak-i-uks* of the Chinese, the *Tajuks* of the present day of Turkistan. This race appears to be the same with that of the *Toorshka* (of the *Pooráns*), who ruled on the *Arverma* (the *Araxes*), in *Saca-Dwipa*, or *Scythia*.

Takshac race. The Mori dynasty consisted of ten princes, who are stated to have passed away in one hundred and thirty-seven years.

The fifth dynasty of eight princes were from Sringi-dés, and are said to have ruled one hundred and twelve years, when a prince of Canva-dés deprived the last of life and kingdom. Of these eight princes, four were of pure blood, when Kistna, by a Soodra woman, succeeded. The dynasty of Canva-dés terminates in twenty-three generations with Salombdhi.

Thus from the Great War six successive dynasties are given, presenting a continuous chain of eighty-two princes, reckoning from Sahadeva, the successor of Jarasandha, to Salombdhi.

To some of the short dynasties periods are assigned of moderate length: but as the first and last are without such data, the test already decided on must be applied; which will yield 1704 years, being six hundred and four after Vicramaditya, whose contemporary will thus be Basdeva, the fifty-fifth prince from Sahadeva of the sixth dynasty, said to be a conqueror from the country of Kuttér. If these calculations possess any value, the genealogies of the *Bhagvat* are brought down to the close of the fifth¹ century following Vicramaditya. As we cannot admit the gift of prophesy to the compilers of these books, we may infer that they remodelled their ancient chronicles during the reign of Salombdhi, about the year of Vicrama 600, or A.D. 546.

With regard to calculations already adduced, as to the average number of years for the reigns of the foregoing dynasties, a comparison with those which history affords of other parts of the world will supply the best criterion of the correctness of the assumed data.

From the revolt of the ten tribes against Rehoboam² to the capture of Jerusalem, a period of three hundred and eighty-seven years, twenty kings sat on the throne of Judah, making each reign nineteen and a half years; but if we include the three anterior reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, prior to the revolt, the result will be twenty-six and a half years each.

From the dismemberment of the Assyrian³ empire under Sardanapalus, nearly nine hundred years before Christ, the three consequent confluent dynasties of Babylonia, Assyria, and Media, afford very different results for comparison.

The Assyrian preserves the medium, while the Babylonish and Median run into extremes. Of the nine princes who swayed Babylon, from the period of its separation from, till its reunion to Assyria, a space of fifty-two years, Darius, who ruled Media sixty years, outlived the whole. Of the line of Darius there were but six princes, from the separation of

¹ Mr. Bentley¹ states, that the astronomer, Brahmagupta, flourished about A.D. 527, or of Vicrama 583, shortly preceding the reign of Salombdhi; that he was the founder of the system called the Calpa of Brahma, on which the present Hindu chronology is founded, and to which Mr. Bentley says their historical data was transferred. This would strengthen my calculations; but the weight of Mr. Bentley's authority has been much weakened by his unwarrantable attack on Mr. Colebrooke, whose extent of knowledge is of double value from his entire aversion to hypothesis.

² 987 years before Christ.

³ For these and the following dates I am indebted to Goguet's chronological tables in his *Origin of Laws*.

¹ "On the Hindu System of Astronomy," *As. Res.* vol. viii. pp. 236-7.

the kingdoms to their reunion under Cyrus, a period of one hundred and seventy-four years, or twenty-nine to each reign.

The Assyrian reigns form a juster medium. From Nebuchadnezzar to Sardanapalus we have twenty-two years to a reign ; but from thence to the extinction of this dynasty, eighteen.

The first eleven kings, the Heraclidæ of Lacedæmon, commencing with Euristhenes (1078 before Christ), average thirty-two years ; while in republican Athens, nearly contemporaneous, from the first perpetual archon until the office became decennial in the seventh Olympiad, the reigns of the twelve chief magistrates average twenty-eight years and a half.

Thus we have three periods, Jewish, Spartan, and Athenian, each commencing about eleven hundred years before Christ, not half a century remote from the Mahabharat ; with those of Babylonia, Assyria, and Media, commencing where we quit the Grecian, in the eighth century before the Christian era, the Jewish ending in the sixth century.

However short, compared with our Solar and Lunar dynasties, yet these, combined with the average reigns of existing Hindu dynasties, will aid the judgment in estimating the periods to be assigned to the lines thus afforded, instead of following the improbable value attached by the Brahmins.

From such data, longevity appears in unison with climate and simplicity of life : the Spartan yielding the maximum of thirty-two to a reign, while the more luxurious Athens gives twenty-eight and a half. The Jews, from Saul to their exile 'to the waters of Babylon,' twenty-six and a half. The Medes equal the Lacedæmonians, and in all history can only be paralleled by the princes of Anshulwarra, one of whom, Chaond, almost equalled Darius.

Of the separated ten tribes, from the revolt to the captivity, twenty kings of Israel passed away in two centuries, or ten years each.

The Spartan and Assyrian present the extremes of thirty-two and eighteen, giving a medium of twenty-five years to a reign.

The average result of our four Hindu dynasties, in a period of nearly seven hundred years, is twenty-two years.

From all which data, I would presume to assign from twenty to twenty-two years to each reign in lines of fifty princes.

If the value thus obtained be satisfactory, and the lines of dynasties derived from so many authorities correct, we shall arrive at the same conclusion with Mr. Bentley ; who, by the more philosophical process of astronomical and genealogical combination, places Yoodishtra's era in the year 2825 of the world ; which being taken from 4004 (the world's age at the birth of Christ) will leave 1179 before Christ for Yoodishtra's era, or 1123 before Vicramaditya.

CHAPTER VI

Genealogical history of the Rajpoot tribes subsequent to Vicramaditya—Foreign races which entered India—Analogies between the Scythians, the Rajpoots, and the tribes of Scandinavia.

HAVING thus brought down the genealogical history of the ancient martial races of India, from the earliest period to Yoodishtra and Crishna, and thence to Vicramaditya and the present day, a few observations on the races invading India during that time, and now ranked amongst the thirty-six royal races of Rajast'han, affording scope for some curious analogies, may not be inopportune.

The tribes here alluded to are the Hya or Aswa, the Takshac, and the Jit or Gete; the similitude of whose theogony, names in their early genealogies, and many other points, with the Chinese, Tatar, Mogul, Hindu, and Scythic races, would appear to warrant the assertion of one common origin.

Though the periods of the passage of these tribes into India cannot be stated with exactitude, the regions whence they migrated may more easily be ascertained.

Let us compare the origin of the Tatars and Moguls, as given by their historian, Abulgazi, with the races we have been treating of from the *Pooráns*.

Mogul was the name of the Tatarian patriarch. His son was Ogz,¹ the founder of all the races of those northern regions, called Tatars and Mogul.

Ogz, or Oguz, had six sons.² First, Kiun,³ 'the sun,' the Soorya of the *Pooráns*; secondly, Ay,⁴ 'the moon,' the Indu of the *Pooráns*.

In the latter, Ayu, we have even the same name as in the *Pooráns* for the Lunar ancestor.

The Tatars all claim from Ayu, 'the moon,' the Indus of the *Pooráns*. Hence with them, as with the German tribes, the moon was always a male deity.

The Tatar Ay had a son, Juldus. His son was Hyu, from whom⁵ came the first race of the kings of China.

The Pooranic Ayu had a son, Yadu (pronounced Jadoo); from whose third son, Hyu, the Hindu genealogist deduces no line, and from whom the Chinese may claim their Indu⁵ origin.

El Khan (ninth from Ay) had two sons: first, Kaian; and secondly, Nagas; whose descendants peopled all Tatary.

From Kaian, Jungeez Khan claimed descent.

¹ Query, if from Mogul and Ogz, compounded, we have not the Magog, son of Japhet, of Scripture?

² The other four sons are the remaining elements, personified: whence the six races of Tatars. The Hindus had long but two races, till the four agni-cula made them also six, and now thirty-six!

³ In Tatar, according to Abulgazi, the sun and moon.

⁴ De Guignes.

⁵ Sir W. Jones says the Chinese assert their Hindu origin; but a comparison proves both these Indu races to be of Scythic origin.

Nagas was probably the founder of the Takshac, or *Snake* race ¹ of the Pooráns and Tatar genealogists, the Tak-i-uk Moguls of De Guignes.

Such are the comparative genealogical origin of the three races. Let us compare their theogony, the fabulous birth assigned by each for the founder of the Indu race.

1. The Pooranic. "Ella (*the earth*), daughter of the sun-born Icsh-wáca, while wandering in the forests was encountered by Boodha (*Mercury*), and from the rape of Ella sprung the Indu race."

2. The Chinese account of the birth of Yu (Ayu), their first monarch. "A star ² (*Mercury* or *Fo*), struck his mother while journeying. She conceived, and gave to the world Yu, the founder of the first dynasty which reigned in China. Yu divided China into nine provinces, and began to reign 2207 ³ years before Christ."

Thus the Ay of the Tatars, the Yu of the Chinese, and the Ayu of the Pooráns, evidently indicate the great Indu (Lunar) progenitor of the three races.

Boodha (*Mercury*), the son of Indu (the moon), became the patriarchal and spiritual leader; as *Fo*, in China; Woden and Teutates,⁴ of the tribes migrating to Europe.

Hence it follows that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India Proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Sooryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into its present mild form, the Jain.

Let us contrast with these the origin of the Scythic nations, as related by Diodorus; ⁵ when it will be observed the same legends were known to him which have been handed down by the Pooráns and Abulgazi.

"The Scythians had their first abodes on the Araxes.⁶ Their origin was from a virgin born of the earth (Ella),⁷ of the shape of a woman from the waist upwards, and below a serpent (symbol of Boodha or Mercury); that Jupiter had a son by her, named Scythes,⁸ whose name the nation adopted. Scythes had two sons, Palas and Napas (*qu.* the Nagas, or Snake race, of the Tatar genealogy?), who were celebrated for their great actions, and who divided the countries; and the nations were called after them, the Palians (*qu.* Pali?)⁹ and Napians. They led their forces as far as the Nile on Egypt, and subdued many nations. They enlarged the

¹ Naga and Takshac are Sanscrit names for a snake or serpent, the emblem of Boodha or Mercury. The Naga race, so well known to India, the Takshacs or Takiuks of Scythia, invaded India about six centuries before Christ.

² De Guignes, *Sur les Dynasties des Huns*, vol. i. p. 7.

³ Nearly the calculated period from the Pooráns.

⁴ *Taut'h*, 'father' in Sanscrit. *Qu.* Teuths, and Toth, the Mercury of Egypt?

⁵ Diodorus, *Siculus*, book ii.

⁶ The Arverma of the Pooráns; the Jaxartes or Sihoon. The Pooráns thus describe Saca-Dwipa or Scythia. Diodorus (lib. ii.) makes the Hemodus the boundary between Saca-Scythia and India Proper.

⁷ Ella, the mother of the Lunar race, is the earth personified. Ertha of the Saxons; *ēpa* of the Greeks; *ard* in Hebrew.

⁸ Scythes, from *Sacatai*, 'Saca-dwipa,' and *és*, 'Lord': Lord of Sacatai, or Scythia.

⁹ *Qu.* Whether the Scythic Pali may not be the shepherd invaders of Egypt. The Pali character yet exists, and appears the same as ancient fragments of the Boodha inscriptions in my possession: many letters assimilate with the Coptic.

empire of the Scythians as far as the Eastern ocean, and to the Caspian and lake Mœotis. The nation had many kings, from whom the Sacans (*Sacæ*), the Massagetæ (*Getes* or *Jits*), the Ari-aspians (*Aswas* of Aria), and many other races. They overran Assyria and Media,¹ overturning the empire, and transplanting the inhabitants to the Araxes under the name of Sauro-Matians."²

As the Sacæ, Gete, Aswa, and Takshac are names which have crept in amongst our thirty-six royal races, common with others also to early civilisation in Europe, let us seek further ancient authority on the original abodes.

Strabo³ says: "All the tribes east of the Caspian are called Scythic. The Dahæ⁴ next the sea, the Massagetæ (*great Gete*) and Sacæ more eastward; but every tribe has a particular name. All are nomadic: but of these nomades the best known are the *Asi*,⁵ the *Pasiani*, *Tachari*, *Sacaranli*, who took Bactria from the Greeks. The Sacæ⁶ ('races') have made in Asia irruptions similar to those of the Cimmerians; thus they have been seen to possess themselves of Bactria, and the best district of Armenia, called after them *Sacasenæ*."⁷

Which of the tribes of Rajast'han are the offspring of the Aswa and Medes, of Indu race, returned under new appellations, we shall not now stop to inquire, limiting our hypothesis to the fact of invasions, and adducing some evidence of such being simultaneous with migrations of the same bands into Europe. Hence the inference of a common origin between the Rajpoot and early races of Europe; to support which, a similar mythology, martial manners and poetry, language, and even music and architectural ornaments, may be adduced.⁸

Of the first migrations of the Indu-Scythic Getes, Takshac, and Asi, into India, that of Sehesnag (Takshac), from Sehesnagdés (Tocharist'han?) or Sehesnag, six centuries, by calculation, before Christ, is the first noticed.

¹ The three great branches of the Indu (Lunar) Aswa bore the epithet of *Mida* (pronounced *Mede*), viz. Poora-mede, Uja-mede, and Deomede. *Qu.* The Aswa invaders of Assyria and Media, the sons of Bajaswa, expressly stated to have multiplied in the countries west of the Indus, emigrating from their paternal seats in Panchalica?

² Sun worshippers, the Sooryavansa.

³ Strabo, lib. xi. p. 254.

⁴ Dahya (one of the thirty-six tribes), now extinct.

⁵ The Asi and Tachari, the Aswa and Takshac, or Toorshka races, of the Pooráns, of Saca-Dwipa.

"C'est vraisemblablement d'après le nom de Tachari, que M. D'Anville aura cru devoir placer les tribus ainsi dénommées dans le territoire qui s'appelle aujourd'hui Tokarist'han, situé, dit ce grand géographe, entre les montagnes et le Gihon ou Amou."—Note 3, liv. xi. p. 254, Strabon.

⁶ Once more I may state *Sacæ* in Sanscrit has the aspirate, *Sac'hæ*: literally, the 'branches' or 'races.'

⁷ "La Sacasene étoit une contrée de l'Arménie sur les confins de l'Albanie ou du Shirvan."—Note 4, tome i. p. 191, Strabon. "The Sacasenæ were the ancestors of the Saxons."—Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

⁸ Herodotus (*Melpomene*, p. 190) says: "The Cimmerians, expelled by the Massagetæ, migrated to the Crimea." Here were the Thyssagetæ, or western Getæ; and thence both the Gete and Cimbri found their way to the Baltic.

Rubruquis the Jesuit, describing the monuments of the Comani in the Deshtë Kipchak, whence these tribes, says, "their monuments and circles of stones are like our Celtic or Druidical remains."—Bell's *Collection*.

The Comani are a branch of the Catti tribe of Saurashtra, whose pallias, or funeral monumental pillars, are seen in groups at every town and village. The Catti were one of the early German tribes.

by the Pooráns. About this period a grand irruption of the same races conquered Asia Minor, and eventually Scandinavia; and not long after the Asi and Tachari overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the Romans felt the power of the Asi,¹ the Catti, and Cimbri, from the Baltic shore.

"If we can show the Germans to have been originally Scythæ or Goths (Getes or Jits), a wide field of curiosity and inquiry is open to the origin of government, manners, etc.; all the antiquities of Europe will assume a new appearance, and, instead of being traced to the bands of Germany, as Montesquieu and the greatest writers have hitherto done, may be followed through long descriptions of the manners of the Scythians, etc., as given by Herodotus. Scandinavia was occupied by the Scythæ five hundred years before Christ. These Scythians worshipped Mercury (Budha), Woden or Odin, and believed themselves his progeny. The Gothic mythology, by parallel, might be shown to be Grecian, whose gods were the progeny of Coelus and Terra (Budha and Ella).² Dryads, satyrs, fairies, and all the Greek and Roman superstition, may be found in the Scandinavian creed. The Goths consulted the heart of victims, had oracles, had sybils, had a Venus in Freya, and Parcæ in the Valkyrie."³

Ere we proceed to trace these mythological resemblances, let us adduce further opinions in proof of the position assumed of a common origin of the tribes of early Europe and the Scythic Rajpoot.

The translator of Abulgazi, in his preface, observes: "Our contempt for the Tatars would lessen did we consider how nearly we stand related to them, and that our ancestors originally came from the north of Asia, and that our customs, laws, and way of living, were formerly the same as theirs. In short, that we are no other than a colony of Tatars.

"It was from Tataria those people came, who, under the successive names of Cymbrians,⁴ Kelts, and Gauls, possessed all the northern part of Europe. What were the Goths, Huns, Alans, Swedes, Vandals, Franks, but swarms of the same hive? The Swedish chronicles bring the Swedes⁵ from Cashgar, and the affinity between the Saxon language and Kipchak is great; and the Keltick language still subsisting in Britany and Wales is a demonstration that the inhabitants are descended from Tatar nations."

From between the parallels of 30° and 50° of north latitude, and from 75° to 95° of east longitude, the highlands of Central Asia, alike removed from the fires of the equator and the cold of the arctic circle, migrated the

¹ Asi was the term applied to the Getes, Yeuts, or Juts, when they invaded Scandinavia and founded Yeutland or Jutland.—See *Edda*, Mallet's Introduction.

² Mercury and earth.

³ Pinkerton, *On the Goths*, vol. ii. p. 94.

⁴ Camari was one of the eight sons of Japhet, says Abulgazi: whence the Camari, Cimnerii, or Cimbri. Camari is one of the tribes of Saurashtra.

⁵ The Suiones, Suevi, or Su. Now the Su, Yuchi, or Yuti, are Getes, according to De Guignes. Marco Polo calls Cashgar, where he was in the sixth century, the birthplace of the Swedes; and De la Croix adds, that in 1691 Sparvenfeldt, the Swedish ambassador at Paris, told him he had read in Swedish chronicles that Cashgar was their country. When the Huns were chased from the north of China, the greater part retired into the southern countries adjoining Europe. The rest passed directly to the Oxus and Jaxartes; thence they spread to the Caspian and Persian frontiers. In Mawer-ool-nehr (Transoxiana) they mixed with the Su, the Yuchi, or Getes, who were particularly powerful, and extended into Europe. One would be tempted to regard them as the ancestors of those Getes who were known in Europe. Some bands of Su might equally pass into the north of Europe, known as the Suevi.

racés which passed into Europe and within the Indus. We must therefore voyage up the Indus, cross the Paropamisana, to the Oxus or Jihoon, to Sakitai¹ or Saca-Dwipa, and from thence and the Deshté Kipchak conduct the Takshacs, the Getes, the Camari, the Catti, and the Huns, into the plains of Hindust'han.

We have much to learn in these unexplored regions, the abode of ancient civilisation, and which, so late as Jungeez Khan's invasion, abounded with large cities. It is an error to suppose that the nations of Higher Asia were merely pastoral; and De Guignes, from original authorities, informs us that when the Su invaded the Yuchi or Jits, they found upwards of a hundred cities containing the merchandise of India, and with the currency bearing the effigies of the prince.

Such was the state of Central Asia long before the Christian era, though now depopulated and rendered desert by desolating wars, which have raged in these countries, and to which Europe can exhibit no parallel. Timoor's wars, in more modern times, against the Getic nation, will illustrate the paths of his ambitious predecessors in the career of destruction.

If we examine the political limits of the great Getic nation in the time of Cyrus, six centuries before Christ, we shall find them little circumscribed in power on the rise of Timoor, though twenty centuries had elapsed.

At this period (A.D. 1330), under the last prince of Getic race, Toglug Timoor Khan, the kingdom of Chagitai² was bounded on the west by the Deshté Kipchak, and on the south by the Jihoon, on which river the Getic Khan, like Tomyris, had his capital. Kogend, Tashkant, Ootrar,³ Cyropolis, and the most northern of the Alexandrias, were within the bounds of Chagitai.

The Gete, Jote, or Jit, and Takshac races, which occupy places amongst the thirty-six royal races of India, are all from the region of Sakatai. Regarding their earliest migrations, we shall endeavour to make the Pooráns contribute; but of their invasions in more modern times the histories of Mahmood of Ghizni, and Timoor, abundantly acquaint us.

From the mountains of Joud⁴ to the shores of Mekran,⁵ and along the Ganges, the Jit is widely spread; while the Takshac name is now confined to inscriptions or old writings.

Inquiries in their original haunts, and among tribes now under different names, might doubtless bring to light their original designation, now best known within the Indus; while the Takshac or Takiuk may probably be discovered in the Tajik, still in his ancient haunts, the Transoxiana and

¹ Mr. Pinkerton's research had discovered Sakitai, though he does not give his authority (D'Anville) for the Saca-dwipa of the Pooráns! "Sakitai, a region at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes, styled Sakita from the Sacæ."—D'Anville, *Anc. Geog.*

The Yadus of Jessulmér, who ruled Zabulist'han and founded Guzni, claim the Chagitais as of their own Indu stock: a claim which, without deep reflection, appeared inadmissible; but which I now deem worthy of credit.

² Chagitai, or Sakatai, the Saca-dwipa of the Pooráns (corrupted by the Greeks to Scythia), "whose inhabitants worship the sun, and whence is the river Arverma."

³ Ootrar, probably the Ottoracuræ of ancient geography: the ootroo (northern) cooru (race); a branch of Indu stock.

⁴ Jiddoo Ca dang, the Joudes of Rennell's map; the Yadu hills high up in the Punjáb, where a colony of the Yadu race dwelt when expelled Saurashtra.

⁵ The Noomri, or Loomri (foxes) of Balochist'han, are Jits. These are the Nomardies of Rennell.

Chorasmia of classic authors ; the Mawer-ool-nehr of the Persians ; the Turan, Turkist'han, or Tocharist'han of native geography ; the abode of the Tachari, Takshac, or Toorshka invaders of India, described in the Pooráns and existing inscriptions.

The Getes had long maintained their independence when Tomyris defended their liberty against Cyrus. Driven in successive wars across the Sutledge, we shall elsewhere show them preserving their ancient habits, as desultory cavaliers, under the Jit leader of Lahore, in pastoral communities in Bikanér, the Indian desert and elsewhere, though they have lost sight of their early history. The transition from pastoral to agricultural pursuits is but short, and the descendant of the nomadic Gete of Transoxiana is now the best husbandman on the plains of Hindust'han.

The invasion of these Indu-Scythic tribes, Getes, Takshacs, Asi, Catti, Rajpali,¹ Huns, Camari, introduced the worship of Boodha, the founder of the Indu or Lunar race.

Herodotus says the Getes were theists,² and held the tenets of the soul's immortality ; so with the Boodhists.

Before, however, touching on points of religious resemblance between the Asi, Gete, or Jut of Scandinavia (who gave his name to the Cimbric Chersonese) and the Gete of Scythia and India, let us make a few remarks on the Asi or Aswa.

To the Indu race of Aswa (the descendants of Deomida and Bajaswa), spread over the countries on both sides the Indus, do we probably owe the distinctive appellation of Asia.

Herodotus³ says the Greeks denominated Asia from the wife of Prometheus ; while others deduce it from a grandson of Manes, indicating the Aswa descendants of the patriarch Menu.

Asa,⁴ Sacambhari,⁵ Mata,⁶ is the divinity *Hope*, 'mother-protectress of the Sacæ,' or races.

Every Rajpoot adores Asapoorna, 'the fulfiller of desire' ; or, as Sacambhari Devi (goddess protectress), she is invoked previous to any undertaking.

The Aswas were chiefly of the Indu race ; yet a branch of the Sooryas also bore this designation. It appears to indicate their celebrity as horsemen.⁷ All of them worshipped the horse, which they sacrificed to the sun. This grand rite, the Aswamedha, on the festival of the winter solstice, would alone go far to exemplify their common Scythic origin with the Getic Sacæ, authorising the inference of Pinkerton, "that a grand Scythic nation extended from the Caspian to the Ganges."

The Aswamedha was practised on the Ganges and Sarjoo by the

¹ Royal pastors.

² The sun was their 'great deity,' though they had in Xamolxis a lord of terror, with affinity to Yama, or the Hindu Pluto. "The chief divinity of the Fenns, a Scythic race, was Yammalu."—Pinkerton's *Hist. of the Goths*, vol. ii. p. 215.

³ *Melpomene*, chap. xiv.

⁴ Asa, 'hope.'

⁵ Sacambhari : from *sacam*, the plural of *sachæ*, 'branch or race,' and *ambhar*, 'covering, protecting.'

⁶ Mata, 'mother.'

⁷ *Aswa* and *hya* are synonymous Sanscrit terms for 'horse' ; *asp* in Persian ; and as applied by the prophet Ezekiel to the Getic invasion of Scythia, A.C. 600 : "the sons of Togarmah riding on horses" ; described by Diodorus, the period the same as the Takshac invasion of India.

Solar princes, twelve hundred years before Christ, as by the Getes in the time of Cyrus ; "deeming it right," says Herodotus, "to offer the swiftest of created to the chief of uncreated beings" : and this worship and sacrifice of the horse has been handed down to the Rajpoot of the present day. A description of this grand ceremony shall close these analogies.

The Getic Asi carried this veneration for the steed, symbolic of their chief deity the sun, into Scandinavia : equally so of all the early German tribes, the Su, Suevi, Catti, Sucimbri, Getes, in the forests of Germany, and on the banks of the Elbe and Weser.

The milk-white steed was supposed to be the organ of the gods, from whose neighing they calculated future events ; notions possessed also by the Aswa, sons of Boodha (Woden), on the Yamuna and Ganges, when the rocks of Scandinavia and the shores of the Baltic were yet untrod by man. It was this omen which gave Darius Hystaspes (*hysna*, 'to neigh,' *aspa*, 'a horse') a crown. The bard Chund makes it the omen of death to his principal heroes.

The steed of the Scandinavian god of battle was kept in the temple of Upsala, and always "found foaming and sweating after battle." "Money," says Tacitus, "was only acceptable to the German when bearing the effigies of the horse."

In the *Edda* we are informed that the Getes, or Jits, who entered Scandinavia, were termed Asi, and their first settlement As-gard.¹

Pinkerton rejects the authority of the *Edda* and follows Torfæus, who "from Icelandic chronicles and genealogies concludes Odin to have come into Scandinavia in the time of Darius Hystaspes, five hundred years before Christ."

This is the period of the last Boodha, or Mahavira, whose era is four hundred and seventy-seven years before Vicrama, or five hundred and thirty-three before Christ.

The successor of Odin in Scandinavia was Gotama ; and Gotama was the successor of the last Boodha, Mahavira,² who as Gotama, or Gaudama, is still adored from the Straits of Malacca to the Caspian Sea.

"Other antiquaries," says Pinkerton, "assert another Odin, who was put as the supreme deity one thousand years before Christ."

Mallet admits two Odins, but Mr. Pinkerton wishes he had abided by that of Torfæus, in 500 A.C.

It is a singular fact, that the periods of both the Scandinavian Odins should assimilate with the twenty-second Boodha, Naimnat'h, and twenty-fourth and last, Mahavira ; the first the contemporary of Crishna, about 1000 or 1100 years, the last 533, before Christ. The Asi, Getes, etc., of Europe worshipped Mercury as founder of their line, as did the Eastern Asi, Takshacs, and Getes.

The Chinese and Tatar historians also say Boodha, or Fo, appeared 1027 years before Christ.

"The Yuchi, established in Bactria and along the Jihoon, eventually bore the name of Jeta or Yetan,³ that is to say, Getes. Their empire subsisted a long time in this part of Asia, and extended even into India. These are the people whom the Greeks knew under the name of Indo-

¹ Asi-gur'h, 'fortress of the Asi.'

² The great (*maha*) warrior (*vir*).

³ Yentland was the name given to the whole Cimbric Chersonese, or Jutland.—Pinkerton, *On the Goths*.

Scythes. Their manners are the same as those of the Turks.¹ Revolutions occurred in the very heart of the East, whose consequences were felt afar."²

The period allowed by all these authorities for the migration of these Scythic hordes into Europe is also that for their entry into India.

The sixth century is that calculated for the Takshac from Sehesnagdésa ; and it is on this event and reign that the Pooráns declare, that from this period "no prince of pure blood would be found, but that the Soodra, the Turshka, and the Yavan, would prevail."

All these Indu-Scythic invaders held the religion of Boodha : and hence the conformity of manners and mythology between the Scandinavian or German tribes and the Rajpoots increased by comparing their martial poetry.

Similarity of religious manners affords stronger proofs of original identity than language. Language is eternally changing—so are manners ; but an exploded custom or rite traced to its source, and maintained in opposition to climate, is a testimony not to be rejected.

PERSONAL HABITS AND DRESS.—When Tacitus informs us that the first act of a German on rising was ablution, it will be conceded this habit was not acquired in the cold climate of Germany, but must have been of eastern³ origin ; as were "the loose flowing robe ; the long and braided hair, tied in a knot at the top of the head" ; with many other customs, personal habits, and superstitions of the Scythic Cimbri, Juts, Catti, Suevi, analogous to the Getic nations of the same name, as described by Herodotus, Justin, and Strabo, and which yet obtain amongst the Rajpoot Sachæ of the present day.

Let us contrast what history affords of resemblance in religion or manners. First, as to religion.

THEOGONY.—Tuisto (Mercury) and Ertha (the earth) were the chief divinities of the early German tribes.

Tuisto⁴ was born of the Earth (Ella) and Manus (Menu). He is often confounded with Odin, or Woden, the Boodha of the eastern tribes, though they are the Mars and Mercury of these nations.

RELIGIOUS RITES.—The Suiones or Suevi, the most powerful Getic nation of Scandinavia, was divided into many tribes, one of whom, the Su (Yuchi or Jit), made human sacrifices in their consecrated groves⁵

¹ Turc, Turshka, Takshac, or 'Taunak, fils de Turc.'—Abulgazi, *History of the Tatars*.

² *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. p. 42.

³ Though Tacitus calls the German tribes indigenous, it is evident he knew their claim to Asiatic origin, when he asks, "who would leave the softer abodes of Asia for Germany, where nature yields nothing but deformity."

⁴ In an inscription of the Gete or Jit Prince of Salindrapoor (Sulpoor) of the fifth century, he is styled "of the race of Tusta" (*qu.* Tuisto?). It is in that ancient nail-headed character used by the ancient Boodhists of India, and still the sacred character of the Tatar Lamas : in short, the Pali. All the ancient inscriptions I possess of the branches of the Agniculas, as the Chohan, Pramara, Solanki, and Puriharu, are in this character. That of the Jit prince style him "Jit Cat'hi-da" (*qu.* of (da) Cathay?). From Tuisto and Woden we have our Tuesday and Wednesday. In India, Wednesday is Bud-war (Dies Mercurii), and Tuesday Mungul-war (Dies Martis), the *Mardi* of the French.

⁵ Tacitus, xxxviii.

to Ertha (Ella), whom all worshipped, and whose chariot was drawn by a cow.¹

The Suevi worshipped Isis (Isa, Gowri, the Isis and Ceres of Rajast'han), in whose rites the figure of a ship is introduced; "symbolic," observes Tacitus, "of its foreign origin." The festival of Isa, or Gowri, wife of Iswara, at Oodipoor, is performed on the lake, and appears to be exactly that of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, as described by Herodotus. On this occasion Iswara (Osiris), who is secondary to his wife, has a stalk of the onion in blossom in his hand; a root detested by the Hîndus generally, though adored by the Egyptians.

WARLIKE CUSTOMS.—They sung hymns in praise of Hercules, as well as Tuisto or Odin, whose banners and images they carried to the field; and fought in clans, using the feram or javelin, both in close and distant combat. In all maintaining the resemblance to the Hericûla, descendants of Boodha, and the Aswa, offspring of Bajaswa, who peopled those regions west of the Indus, and whose redundant population spread both east and west.

The Suevi, or Suiones, erected the celebrated temple of Upsala, in which they placed the statues of Thor, Woden, and Freya, the triple divinity of the Scandinavian Asi, the Tri-murti of the Solar and Lunar races. The first (Thor, the thunderer, or god of war) is Har, or Mahadeva, the destroyer; the second (Woden) is Boodha,² the preserver; and the third (Freya) is Oomia, the creative power.

The grand festival to Freya was in spring, when all nature revived; then boars were offered to her by the Scandinavians, and even boars of paste were made and swallowed by the peasantry.

As Vassanti, or spring personified, the consort of Har is worshipped by the Rajpoot, who opens the season with a grand hunt,³ led by the prince and his vassal chiefs, when they chase, slay, and eat the boar. Personal danger is disregarded on this day, as want of success is ominous that the *Great Mother* will refuse all petitions throughout the year.

Pinkerton, quoting Ptolemy (who was fifty years after Tacitus), says there were six nations in Yeutland or Jutland, the country of the Jûts; of whom were the Sablingii (Suevi,⁴ or Suiones), the Catti and Hermandri, who extended to the estuary of the Elbe and Weser. There they erected the pillar *Irmanseul* to "the god of war," regarding which Sammes⁵ observes: "some will have it to be Mars his pillar, others *Hermes Saul*, or the pillar of Hermes or Mercury"; and he naturally asks, "how did the Saxons come to be acquainted with the Greek name of Mercury?"

Sacrificial pillars are termed *Sura* or *Sula* in Sanscrit; which, conjoined with Har,⁶ the Indian god of war, would be Har-sula. The Rajpoot warrior invokes Har with his trident (tri-sula) to help him in battle, while his battle-shout is 'mar! mar!'

The Cimbri, one of the most celebrated of the six tribes of Yeutland, derive their name from their fame as warriors.⁷

¹ The gao, or cow, symbolic of Prit'hu, the earth. On this see note, p. 24.

² Crishna is the preserving deity of the Hindu triad. Crishna is of the Indu line of Boodha, whom he worshipped prior to his own deification.

³ 'Muhoorut ca sikar.'

⁴ The Siebi of Tacitus.

⁵ Sammes' *Saxon Antiquities*.

⁶ Har is the Thor of Scandinavia; Heri is Boodha, Hermes, or Mercury.

⁷ Mallet derives it from *kempfer*, 'to fight.'

Ku-mara¹ is the Rajpoot god of war. He is represented with seven heads in the Hindu mythology : the Saxon god of war has six.²

The six-headed Mars of the Cimbri Chersonese, to whom was raised the Irmanseul on the Weser, was worshipped by the Sacasenæ, the Catti, the Siebi or Suevi, the Jotæ or Gete, and the Cimbri, evincing in name, as in religious rites, a common origin with the martial warriors of Hindust'han.

The religion of the martial Rajpoot, and the rites of Har, the god of battle, are little analogous to those of the meek Hindus, the followers of the pastoral divinity, the worshippers of kine, and feeders on fruits, herbs, and water. The Rajpoot delights in blood : his offerings to the god of battle are sanguinary, blood and wine. The cup (cupra) of libation is the human skull. He loves them because they are emblematic of the deity he worships ; and he is taught to believe that Har loves them, who in war is represented with the skull to drink the foeman's blood, and in peace is the patron of wine and women. With Parbutti on his knee, his eyes rolling from the juice of the p'fool and opium, such is this Bacchanalian divinity of war. Is this Hinduism, acquired on the burning plains of India ? Is it not rather a perfect picture of the manners of the Scandinavian heroes ?

The Rajpoot slays buffaloes, hunts and eats the boar and deer, and shoots ducks and wild fowl (*cookru*) ; he worships his horse, his sword, and the sun, and attends more to the martial song of the bard than to the litany of the Brahmin. In the martial mythology and warlike poetry of the Scandinavians a wide field exists for assimilation, and a comparison of the poetical remains of the Asi of the east and west would alone suffice to suggest a common origin.

BARDS.—In the sacred *Bardai* of the Rajpoot we have the bard of our Saxon ancestry ; those reciters of warlike poetry, of whom Tacitus says, " with their barbarous strains, they influence their minds in the day of battle with a chorus of military virtue."

A comparison, in so extensive a field, would include the whole of their manners and religious opinions, and must be reserved for a distinct work.³ The Valkyrie, or fatal sisters of the Suevi or Siebi, would be the twin sisters of the Apsaras, who summon the Rajpoot warrior from the field of battle, and bear him to " the mansion of the sun," equally the object of attainment with the children of Odin in Scandinavia, and of Boodha and Soorya in the plains of Scythia and on the Ganges, like the Elysium⁴ of the Heliadæ of Græce.

¹ *Cu* or *Ku* is a mere prefix, meaning ' evil ' ; ' the evil striker (*Már*). ' Hence, probably, the Mars of Rome. The birth of Ku-mar, the general of the army of the gods, with the Hindus, is exactly that of the Grecians, born of the goddess Jahnuvi (Juno) without sexual intercourse. Kumara is always accompanied by the peacock, the bird of Juno.

² For a drawing of the Scandinavian god of battle, see Sammes.

³ I have in contemplation to give to the public a few of the sixty-nine books of the poems of Chund, the last great bard of the last Hindu emperor of India, Pirthwirájá. They are entirely heroic : each book a relation of one of the exploits of this prince, the first warrior of his time. They will aid a comparison between the Rajpoot and Scandinavian bards, and show how far the Provençal Troubadour, the Neustrienne Trouveur, and Minnesinger of Germany, have anything in common with the Rajpoot Bardai.

⁴ Ἡλύσιος, from ἥλιος, ' the sun ' ; also a title of Apollo, the Heri of India.

In the day of battle we should see in each the same excitements to glory and contempt of death, and the *dramatis personæ* of the field, both celestial and terrestrial, move and act alike. We should see Thor, the thunderer, leading the Siebi, and Har (Siva) the Indian Jove, his own worshippers (Sivséba); in which Freya, or Bhavani, and even the preserver (Chrishna) himself, not unfrequently mingle.

WAR-CHARIOT.—The war-chariot is peculiar to the Indu-Scythic nations, from Désarat'ha,¹ and the heroes of the Mahabharat, to the conquest of Hindust'han by the Mahomedans, when it was laid aside. On the plains of Coorukhéta, Chrishna became charioteer to his friend Arjoon; and the Getic hordes of the Jaxartes, when they aided Xerxes in Greece, and Darius on the plains of Arbela,² had their chief strength in the war-chariot.

The war-chariot continued to be used later in the south-west of India than elsewhere, and the Catti,³ Comani, Comari of Saurashtra have to recent times retained their Scythic habits, as their monumental stones testify, expressing their being slain from their cars.

CONDUCT TO FEMALES.—In no point does resemblance more attach between the ancient German and Scandinavian tribes, and the martial Rajpoot or ancient Gete, than in their delicacy towards females.

"The Germans," says Tacitus, "deemed the advice of a woman in periods of exigence oracular." So does the Rajpoot, as the bard Chund often exemplifies; and hence they append to her name the epithet *Devi* (or contracted *Dé*), 'godlike.' "To a German mind," says Tacitus, "the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable"; and to prevent this the Rajpoot raises the poignard against the heart which beats only for him, though never to survive the dire necessity. It is then they perform the sacrifice 'johura,' when every sachæ (branch) is cut off: and hence the Rajpoot glories in the title of *Sacha-band*, from having performed the

¹ This title of the father of Rama denotes a 'charioteer.'

² The Indian satrapy of Darius, says Herodotus, was the richest of all the Persian provinces, and yielded six hundred talents of gold. Arrian informs us, that his Indo-Scythic subjects, in his wars with Alexander, were the élite of his army. Besides the Sacasæ, we find tribes in name similar to those included in the thirty-six Rajcula; especially the Dahæ (Dahya, one of the thirty-six races).

The Indo-Scythic contingent was two hundred war chariots and fifteen elephants, which were marshalled with the Parthii on the right, and also near Darius's person. By this disposition they were opposed to the cohort commanded by Alexander in person.

The chariots commenced the action, and prevented a manœuvre of Alexander to turn the left flank of the Persians. Of their horse, also, the most honourable mention is made; they penetrated into the division where Parmenio commanded, to whom Alexander was compelled to send reinforcements. The Grecian historian dwells with pleasure on Indo-Scythic valour: "there were no equestrian feats, no distant fighting with darts, but each fought as if victory depended on his sole "arm." They fought the Greeks hand to hand.

But the loss of empire was decreed at Arbela, and the Sacæ and Indo-Scythæ had the honour of being slaughtered by the Yavans of Greece, far from their native land, in the aid of the king of kings.

³ The Catti are celebrated in Alexander's wars. The Cattiawar Catti can be traced from Mool-t'han (*the ancient abode*). The Dahya (Dahæ), Johya (the latter Hunnish), and Catti, are amongst the thirty-six races. All dwelt, six centuries ago, within the five streams and in the deserts south of the Gara. The two last have left but a name.

sacha ; an awful rite, and with every appearance of being the *sacæa* of the Scythic Gete, as described by Strabo.¹

GAMING.—In passion for play at games of chance, its extent and dire consequences, the Rajpoot, from the earliest times, has evinced a predilection, and will stand comparison with the Scythian and his German offspring.

The German staked his personal liberty, became a slave, and was sold as the property of the winner. To this vice the Pandus owed the loss of their sovereignty and personal liberty, involving at last the destruction of all the Indu races ; nor has the passion abated. Religion even consecrates the vice ; and once a year, on ' the Festival of Lamps ' (*Dewali*), all propitiate the goddess of wealth and fortune (Latchmi) by offering at her shrine.

Destitute of mental pursuits, the martial Rajpoot is often slothful or attached to sensual pleasures, and when roused, reckless on what he may wreak a fit of energy. Yet when order and discipline prevail in a wealthy chieftainship, there is much of that patriarchal mode of life, with its amusements, alike suited to the Rajpoot, the Gete of the Jihoon, or Scandinavian.

OMENS AND AUGURIES.—Divination by lots, auguries, and omens by flights of birds, as practised by the Getic nations described by Herodotus, and amongst the Germans by Tacitus, will be found amongst the Rajpoots, from whose works² on this subject might have been supplied the whole of the Augurs and Aruspices, German or Roman.

¹ The *Sacæ* had invaded the inhabitants on the borders of the Pontic sea : whilst engaged in dividing the booty, the Persian generals surprised them at night, and exterminated them. To eternise the remembrance of this event, the Persians heaped up the earth round a rock in the plain where the battle was fought, on which they erected two temples, one to the goddess Anaitis, the other to the divinities Omanus and Anandate, and then founded the annual festival called *Sacæa*, still celebrated by the possessors of Zela. Such is the account by some authors of the origin of *Sacæa*. According to others it dates from the reign of Cyrus only. This prince, they say, having carried the war into the country of the *Sacæ* (*Massagetæ* of Herodotus) lost a battle. Compelled to fall back on his magazines, abundantly stored with provisions, but especially wine, and having halted some time to refresh his army, he departed before the enemy, feigning a flight, and leaving his camp standing full of provisions. The *Sacæ*, who pursued, reaching the abandoned camp stored with provisions, gave themselves up to debauch. Cyrus returned and surprised the inebriated and senseless barbarians. Some, buried in profound sleep, were easily massacred ; others occupied in drinking and dancing, without defence, fell into the hands of armed foes : so that all perished. The conqueror, attributing his success to divine protection, consecrated this day to the goddess honoured in his country, and decreed it should be called ' the day of the *Sacæa*. ' ¹

Amongst the Rajpoot *Sachæ*, all grand battles attended with fatal results are termed *saca*. When besieged, without hope of relief, in the last effort of despair, the females are immolated, and the warriors, decorated in saffron robes, rush on inevitable destruction. This is to perform *saca*, where every branch (*sacha*) is cut off. Cheetore has to boast of having thrice (and a half) suffered *saca*. *Cheetore sac'ha ka pāp*, ' by the sin of the sack of Cheetore,' the most solemn adjuration of the Gehlote Rajpoot.

If such the origin of the festival from the slaughter of the *Sacæ* of Tomyris, it will be allowed to strengthen the analogy contended for between the *Sacæ* east and west the Indus.

² I presented a work on this subject to the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as another on Palmistry, etc.

¹ This is the battle related by Herodotus, to which Strabo alludes, between the Persian monarch and Tomyris queen of the Getæ.

LOVE OF STRONG DRINK.—Love of liquor, and indulgence in it to excess, were deep-rooted in the Scandinavian Asi and German tribes, and in which they showed their Getic origin ; nor is the Rajpoot behind his brethren either of Scythia or Europe. It is the free use of this and similar indulgences, prohibited by ordinances which govern the ordinary Hindu, that first induced me to believe that these warlike races were little indebted to India.

The Rajpoot welcomes his guest with the *munwar peala*, or 'cup of request,' in which they drown ancient enmities. The heroes of Odin never relished a cup of mead more than the Rajpoot his *madhva* ;¹ and the bards of Scandinavia and Rajwarra are alike eloquent in the praise of the bowl, on which the Bardai exhausts every metaphor, and calls it ambrosial, immortal.² "The bard, as he sipped the ambrosia, in which sparkled the ruby seed of the pomegranate, rehearsed the glory of the race of the fearless."³ May the king live for ever, alike bounteous in gifts to the bard and the foe ! "

Even in the heaven of Indra, the Hindu warrior's paradise, akin to Valhalla, the Rajpoot has his cup, which is served by the Apsara, the twin sister of the celestial Hebe of Scania. "I shall quaff full goblets amongst the gods," says the dying Getic warrior ;⁴ "I die laughing" : sentiments which would be appreciated by a Rajpoot.

A Rajpoot inebriated is a rare sight : but a more destructive and recent vice has usurped much of the honours of the "invitation cup," which has been degraded from the pure "flower"⁵ to an infusion of the poppy, destructive of every quality. Of this pernicious habit we may use the words which the historian of German manners applies to the tribes of the Weser and Elbe, in respect to their love of strong drink : "Indulge it, and you need not employ the terror of your arms ; their own vices will subdue them."

The cup of the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor, the god of battle, was a human skull, that of the foe, in which they showed their thirst of blood ; also borrowed from the chief of the Hindu Triad, Har, the god of battle, who leads his heroes in the "red field of slaughter" with the *cupra*⁶ in his hand, with which he gorges on the blood of the slain.

Har is the patron of all who love war and strong drink, and is especially the object of the Rajpoot warrior's devotion : accordingly blood and wine form the chief oblations to the great god of the Indus. The *goséns*,⁷ the

¹ *Madhva* is intoxicating drink, from *madhu*, 'a bee,' in Sanscrit. It is well known that mead is from honey. It would be curious if the German mead was from the Indian *madhu* (bee) : then both cup (*cupra*) and beverage would be borrowed.

² *Imvrit* (immortal), from the initial privative and *mrit*, 'death.' Thus the *Immuri'hal*, or 'vale of immortality,' at Neufchatel, is as good Sanscrit as German.

³ Ubhye Sing, 'the fearless lion,' prince of Marwar, whose bard makes this speech at the festal board, when the prince presented with his own hand the cup to the bard.

⁴ Regner Lodbrog, in his dying ode, when the destinies summon him.

⁵ P'fool, the flower of the mahwa tree, the favourite drink of a Rajpoot. Classically, in Sanscrit it is *madhūca*, of the class Polyandria Monogynia.—See *As. Res.* vol. i. p. 300.

⁶ A human skull ; in the dialects pronounced *cupar* : *Qu. cup* in Saxon ?

⁷ The Kanfurra jogis, or *goséns*, are in great bodies, often in many thousands, and are sought as allies, especially in defensive warfare. In the grand military

peculiar priests of Har, or Bál, the sun, all indulge in intoxicating drugs, herbs and drinks. Seated on their lion, leopard, or deer-skins, their bodies covered with ashes, their hair matted and braided, with iron tongs to feed the penitential fires, their savage appearance makes them fit organs for the commands of the blood and slaughter. Contrary, likewise, to general practise, the minister of Har, the god of war, at his death is committed to the earth, and a circular tumulus is raised over him; and with some classes of goséns, small tumuli, whose form is the frustrum of a cone, with lateral steps, the apex crowned with a cylindrical stone.¹

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.—In the last rites for the dead, comparison will yield proofs of original similarity. The funeral ceremonies of Scandinavia have distinguished the national eras, and the 'age of fire' and 'the age of hills,'² designated the periods when the warrior was committed to mother earth or consumed on the pyre.

Odin (Boodha) introduced the latter custom, and the raising of tumuli over the ashes when the body was burned; as also the practice of the wife burning with her deceased lord. These manners were carried from Sacadwipa, or Saca Scythia, "where the Gete," says Herodotus, "was consumed on the pyre or burned alive with her lord."

With the Getæ, the Siebi or Suevi of Scandinavia, if the deceased had more than one wife, the elder claimed the privilege of burning.³ Thus, "Nanna was consumed in the same fire with the body of her husband, Balder, one of Odin's companions." But the Scandinavians were anxious to forget this mark of their Asiatic origin, and were not always willing to burn, or to make "so cruel and absurd a sacrifice to the manes of their husbands, the idea of which had been picked up by their Scythian ancestors, when they inhabited the warmer climates of Asia, where they had their first abodes."⁴

"The Scythic Gete," says Herodotus, "had his horse sacrificed on his funeral pyre; and the Scandinavian Gete had his horse and arms buried with him, as they could not approach Odin on foot."⁵ The Rajpoot warrior is carried to his final abode armed at all points as when alive, his shield on his back and brand in hand; while his steed, though not sacrificed, is often presented to the deity, and becomes a perquisite of the priest.

The burning of the dead warrior, and female immolation, or *Sati*, are well-known rites, though the magnificent cenotaphs raised on the spot of sacrifice are little known or visited by Europeans; than which there are no better memorials of the rise and decline of the states of the Rajpoot heptarchy. It is the son who raises the mausoleum to the memory of his father; which last token of respect, or laudable vanity, is only limited by the means of the treasury. It is commemorative of the splendour of

festivals at Oodipoor to the god of war, the scymitar, symbolic of Mars, worshipped by the Gehlotes, is entrusted to them.

¹ An entire cemetery of these, besides many detached, I have seen, and also the sacred rites to their manes by the disciples occupying these abodes of austerity, when the flowers of the *dh* and leaves of evergreen were strewed on the grave, and sprinkled with the pure element.

² Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, chap. xii.

³ Mallet, chap. xii. vol. i. p. 289.

⁴ Edda.

⁵ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, chap. xii. The Celtic Franks had the same custom. The arms of Chilperic, and the bones of the horse on which he was to be presented to Odin, were found in his tomb.

his reign that the dome of his father should eclipse that of his predecessor. In every principality of Rajwarra, the remark is applicable to chieftains as well as princes.

Each sacred spot, termed 'the place of great sacrifice' (Maha-Sati), is the haunted ground of legendary lore. Amongst the altars on which have burned the beauteous and the brave, the harpy¹ takes up her abode, and stalks forth to devour the hearts of her victims. The Rajpoot never enters these places of silence but to perform stated rites, or anniversary offerings of flowers and water to the manes (pitri-iswars²) of his ancestors.

Odin³ guarded his warriors' final abode from rapine by means of "wandering fires which played around the tombs"; and the tenth chapter of the Salic law is on punishments against "carrying off the boards or carpets of the tombs." Fire and water are interdicted to such sacrilegious spoliators.

The shahaba,⁴ or wandering meteoric fires, on fields of battle and in the places of "great sacrifice," produce a pleasing yet melancholy effect; and are the source of superstitious dread and reverence to the Hindu, having their origin in the same natural cause as the "wandering fires of Odin"; the phosphorescent salts produced from animal decomposition.

The Scandinavian reared the tumulus over the ashes of the dead; so did the Gete of the Jaxartes, and the officiating priests of Har, the Hindu god of battle.

The noble picture drawn by Gibbon of the sepulture of the Getic Alaric, is paralleled by that of the great Jungheez Khan. When the lofty mound was raised, extensive forests were planted, to exclude for ever the footsteps of man from his remains.

The tumulus, the cairn, or the pillar, still rises over the Rajpoot who falls in battle; and throughout Rajwarra these sacrificial monuments are found, where are seen carved in relief the warrior on his steed, armed at all points; his faithful wife (*Sati*) beside him, denoting a sacrifice, and the sun and moon on either side, emblematic of never-dying fame.

In Saurashtra, amidst the Catti, Comani, Balla, and others of Scythic descent, the Palia, or Joojar (sacrificial pillars), are conspicuous under the walls of every town, in lines, irregular groups, and circles. On each is displayed in rude relief the warrior, with the manner of his death, lance

¹ The Dhakun (the Jigger Khor of Sinde) is the genuine vampire. Capt. W., after a long chase in the valley of Oodipoor, speared a hyena, whose abode was the tombs, and well known as the steed on which the witch of Ar sallied forth at night. Evil was predicted: and a dangerous fall, subsequently, in chasing an elk, was attributed to his sacrilegious slaughter of the weird sister's steed.

² Pitri-ès, 'Father-Jords.'

³ Mallet, chap. xii.

⁴ At Gwalior, on the east side of that famed fortress, where myriads of warriors have fattened the soil, these phosphorescent lights often present a singular appearance. I have, with friends whose eyes this will meet, marked the procession of these lambent night-fires, becoming extinguished at one place and rising at another, which, aided by the unequal *locale*, have been frequently mistaken for the Mahratta prince returning with his numerous torch-bearers from a distant day's sport. I have dared as bold a Rajpoot as ever lived to approach them; whose sense of the levity of my desire was strongly depicted, both in speech and mien: "mén he would encounter, but not the spirits of those erst slain in battle." It was generally about the conclusion of the rains that these lights were observed, when evaporation took place from these marshy grounds impregnated with salts.

in hand, generally on horseback, though sometimes in his car; and on the coast "the pirates of Boodha"¹ are depicted boarding from the shrouds.

Amidst the Comani of Tataria the Jesuits found stone circles, similar to those met with wherever the Celtic rites prevailed; and it would require no great ingenuity to prove an analogy, if not a common origin, between Druidic circles and the Indo-Scythic monumental remains.

The trilithon, or seat, in the centre of the judicial circle, is formed by a number sacred to Har, Bál, or the sun, whose priest expounds the law.

WORSHIP OF ARMS. THE SWORD.—The devotion of the Rajpoot is still paid to his arms, as to his horse. He swears 'by the steel,' and prostrates himself before his defensive buckler, his lance, his sword, or his dagger.

The worship of the sword (*asi*) may divide with that of the horse (*aswa*) the honour of giving a name to the continent of Asia. It prevailed amongst the Scythic Getæ, and is described exactly by Herodotus. To Dacia and Thrace it was carried by Getic colonies from the Jaxartes, and fostered by these lovers of liberty when their hordes overran Europe.

The worship of the sword in the Acropolis of Athens by the Getic Atila, with all the accompaniments of pomp and place, forms an admirable episode in the history of the decline and fall of Rome; and had Gibbon witnessed the worship of the double-edged sword (*khandā*) by the prince of Méwar and all his chivalry, he might even have embellished his animated account of the adoration of the scymitar, the symbol of Mars.

INITIATION TO ARMS.—Initiation to military fame was the same with the German as with the Rajpoot, when the youthful candidate was presented with the lance, or buckled with the sword; a ceremony which will be noticed when their feudal manners are described; many other traits of character will then be depicted. It would be easy to swell the list of analogous customs, which even to the objects of dislike in food² would furnish comparison between the ancient Celt and Rajpoot; but they shall close with the detail of the most ancient of rites.

ASWAMEDHA, OR SACRIFICE OF THE HORSE.—There are some things, animate and inanimate, which have been common objects of adoration amongst the nations of the earth, the sun, the moon, and all the host of heaven; the sword; reptiles, as the serpent; animals, as the noblest, the horse. This last was not worshipped as an abstract object of devotion, but as a type of that glorious orb which has had reverence from every child of nature. The plains of Tataria, the sands of Libya, the rocks of Persia, the valley of the Ganges, and the wilds of Orinoco, have each yielded votaries alike ardent in devotion to his effulgence,

"Of this great world both eye and soul."

His symbolic worship and offerings varied with clime and habit; and while the altars of Bál in Asia, of Belenus among the Celts of Gaul and Britain, smoked with human sacrifices, the bull³ bled to Mithras in

¹ At Dwarica, the god of thieves is called Boodha Trivicrama, or of triple energy:—the Hermes Triplex, or three-headed Mercury of the Egyptians.

² Cæsar informs us that the Celts of Britain would not eat the hare, goose, or domestic fowl. The Rajpoot will hunt the first, but neither eats it, nor the goose, sacred to the god of battle (Har). The Rajpoot of Méwar eats the jungle fowl, but rarely the domestic.

³ As he did also to Bál-nat'h (the god Bál) in the ancient times of India. The

Babylon, and the steed was the victim to Soorya on the Jaxartes and Ganges.

The father of history says, that the great Gete of Central Asia deemed it right to offer the swiftest of created to the swiftest of non-created beings. It is fair to infer that the sun's festival with the Gete and Aswa nations of the Jaxartes, as with those of Scandinavia, was the winter solstice, the Sacrant of the Rajpoot and Hindu in general.

Hi, Hya, Hywor, Aswa, denote the steed in Sanscrit and its dialects. In Gothic, *hyrsa* ; Teutonic, *hors* ; Saxon, *horse*.

The grand festival of the German tribes of the Baltic was the *Hi-ul*, or *Hi-el* (already commented on), the Aswa-Medha ¹ of the children of Soorya, on the Ganges.

The ceremonies of the Aswamedha are too expensive, and attended with too great risk, to be attempted by modern princes. Of its fatal results we have many historical records, from the first dawn of Indian history to the last of its princes, Pirthwirájá. The *Ramayuna*, the *Mahabharata*, and the poems of Chund, all illustrate this imposing rite and its effects.²

The *Ramayuna* affords a magnificent picture of the Aswamedha. Désarat'ha, monarch of Ayodia, father of Rama, is represented as commanding the rite : " Let the sacrifice be prepared, and the horse ³ liberated from the north bank of the Sarjoo ! " ⁴

A year being ended, and the horse having returned from his wanderings,⁵ the sacrificial ground was prepared on the spot of liberation.

bul-dán, or gift of the bull to the sun, is well recorded. There are numerous temples in Rajast'han of Baalim ; and Balpoor (Mahadeo) has several in Saurashtra. All represent the sun—

" Peor his other name, when he enticed
Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile."

—*Paradise Lost*, Book i.

The temple of Solomon was to Bál, and all the idolators of that day seem to have held to the grosser tenets of Hinduism.

¹ In *Aswa* (*medha* signifies ' to kill ') we have the derivation of the ancient races, sons of Bajaswa, who peopled the countries on both sides the Indus, and the probable etymon of *Asia*. The Assa-séni, the Ari-aspi of Alexander's historians, and Aspasianæ, to whom Arsaces fled from Seleucus, and whom Strabo terms a Getic race, have the same origin ; hence *Asi-gurh*, ' the fortress of the Asi ' (erroneously termed Hansi), and *As-gard* were the first settlements of the Getic Asi in Scandinavia.

Alexander received the homage of all these Getic races at ' the mother of cities,' Balk'h, ' seat of Cat'háian Khan ' (the Jit Cathi-da of my inscription), according to Marco Polo, from whom Milton took his geography.

² The last was undertaken by the celebrated Sowaie Jey Sing, of Ambér ; but the milk-white steed of the sun, I believe, was not turned out, or assuredly the Rahtores would have accepted the challenge.

³ A milk-white steed is selected with peculiar marks. On liberation, properly guarded, he wanders where he listeth. It is a virtual challenge. Arjoona guarded the steed liberated by Yoodishtra ; but that sent round by Parikhita, his grandson, " was seized by the Takshac of the north." The same fate occurred to Sagara, father of Désarat'ha, which involved the loss of his kingdom.

⁴ The Sarjoo, or Gunduk, from the Kemaon mountains, passes through Kosul-dés, the dominion of Désarat'ha.

⁵ The horse's return after a year, evidently indicates an astronomical revolution, or the sun's return to the same point in the ecliptic. This return from his southern declination must have been always a day of rejoicing to the Scythic and Scandinavian nations, who could not, says Gibbon, fancy a worse hell than

Invitations were sent to all surrounding monarchs to repair to Ayodia. King Kykaya,¹ the king of Cassi,² Lompada of Ang-dés,³ Coshula of Magad-dés,⁴ with the kings of Sindha,⁵ Soovira,⁶ and Saurashtra.⁷

When the sacrificial pillars are erected, the rites commence. This portion of the ceremony, termed *Yuparchraya*, is thus minutely detailed : "There were twenty-one yupas, or pillars,⁸ of octagonal shape, each twenty-one feet in height and four feet in diameter, the capitals bearing the figure of a man, an elephant, or a bull. They were of the various sorts of wood appropriated to holy rites, overlaid with plates of gold and ornamented cloth, and adorned with festoons of flowers. While the yupas were erecting, the Udhwaryoo, receiving his instructions from the Hotri, or sacrificing priest, recited aloud the incantations.

"The sacrificial pits were in triple rows, eighteen in number, and arranged in the form of the eagle. Here were placed the victims for immolation ; birds, aquatic animals, and the horse.

"Thrice was the steed of King Désarat'ha led round the sacred fire by Coshula, and as the priests pronounced the incantations he was immolated⁹ amidst shouts of joy.

"The king and queen, placed by the high priest near the horse, sat up all night watching the birds ; and the officiating priest, having taken out the hearts, dressed them agreeably to the holy books. The sovereign of men smelled the smoke of the offered hearts, acknowledging his transgressions in the order in which they were committed.

"The sixteen sacrificing priests then placed (as commanded in the ordinances) on the fire the parts of the horse. The oblation of all the animals was made on wood, except that of the horse, which was on cane.

a large abode open to the cold wind of the north. To the south they looked for the deity ; and hence, with the Rajpoots, a religious law forbids their doors being to the north.

¹ Kykaya is supposed by the translator, Dr. Carey, to be a king of Persia, the Ky-vansa preceding Darius. The epithet *Ky* not unfrequently occurs in Hindu traditional couplets. One, which I remember, is connected with the ancient ruins of Abhanér in Jeipoor, recording the marriage of one of its princes with a daughter of Ky Camb.

Tu béti Ky Camb ca, nam Permdla ho, etc. 'Thou art the daughter of Ky Camb : thy name Fairy Garland.' *Ky* was the epithet of one of the Persian dynasties. *Qu. Cam-buksh*, the Cambyases of the Greeks ?

² Benares.

³ Thibet or Ava.

⁴ Bahar.

⁵ Sindé valley.

⁶ Unknown to me.

⁷ Peninsula of Cattiwar.

⁸ I have seen several of these sacrificial pillars of stone of very ancient date. Many years ago, when all the Rajpoot states were suffering from the thralldom of the Mahrattas, a most worthy and wealthy banker of Surat, known by the family name of Tribeda, who felt acutely for the woes inflicted by incessant predatory foes on the sons of Rama and Crishna, told me, with tears in his eyes, that the evils which afflicted Jeipoor were to be attributed to the sacrilege of the prince, Jaggat Sing, who had dared to abstract the gold plates of the sacrificial pillars, and send them to his treasury. Worse than Rehoboam, who, when he took away from the temple "the shields of gold Solomon had made," had the grace to substitute others of brass. Whether, when turned into currency, it went as a war contribution to the Mahrattas, or was applied to the less worthy use of his concubine queen, "the essence of camphor," it was of a piece with the rest of this prince's unwise conduct. Jey Sing, who erected the pillars, did honour to his country, of which he was a second founder, and under whom it attained the height from which it has now fallen.

⁹ On the Noroza, or festival of the new year, the great Mogul slays a camel with his own hand, which is distributed, and eaten by the court favourites.

"The rite concluded with gifts of land to the sacrificing priests and augurs; but the holy men preferring gold, ten millions of jambanuda¹ were bestowed on them."

Such is the circumstantial account of the Aswamedha, the most imposing and the earliest heathen rite on record. It were superfluous to point out the analogy between it and similar rites of various nations, from the chosen people to the Aurespex of Rome and the confessional rite of the Catholic church.

The Sacrant,² or Sivrát (night of Siva), is the winter solstice. On it the horse bled to the sun, or Bál-nat'h.

The Scandinavians termed the longest night the 'mother night,'³ on which they held that the world was born. Hence the Beltane, the fires of Bál or Belenus; the Hi-ul of northern nations, the sacrificial fires on the Aswamedha, or worship of the sun, by the Sooryas on the Ganges, and the Syrians (Συροι) and Sauromatæ on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The altars of the Phœnician Heliopolis, Balbec⁴ or Tadmor,⁵ were sacred to the same divinity as on the banks of Sarjoo, or Balpoor, in Saurashtra, where "the horses of the sun ascended from his fountain (Soorya-coond)," to carry its princes to conquest.

From Syria came the instructors of the Celtic Druids, who made human sacrifices, and set up the pillar of Belenus on the hills of Cambria and Caledonia.

When "Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill and under every tree," the object was Bál, and the pillar (the lingam) was his symbol. It was on his altar they burned incense, and "sacrificed unto the calf on the fifteenth⁶ day of the month" (the sacred Amavus of the Hindus). The calf of Israel is the bull (*nandi*) of Bálcésar or Iswara; the Apis of the Egyptian Osiris.

The ash was sacred to the sun-god in the west. The aswatat'ha (or peepul)⁷ is the 'chief of trees,' say the books sacred to Bál in the East

¹ This was native gold, of a peculiarly dark and brilliant hue, which was compared to the fruit jamba (not unlike a damson). Everything forms an allegory with the Hindus; and the production of this metal is appropriated to the period of gestation of Jahnuvi, the river-goddess (Ganges), when by Agni, or fire, she produced Ku-mar, the god of war, the commander of the army of the gods. This was when she left the place of her birth, the Himaleh mountain (the great storehouse of metallic substances), whose daughter she is: and doubtless this is in allusion to some very remote period, when, bursting her rock-bound bed, Gunga exposed from "her side" veins of this precious metal.

² Little bags of brocade, filled with seeds of the sesamum or cakes of the same, are distributed by the chiefs to friends on this occasion. While the author writes, he has before him two of these, sent to him by the young Mahratta prince, Holkar.

³ *Siv-rát* would be 'father night.' *Siva-Iswara* is the 'universal father.'

⁴ Ferishta, the compiler of the imperial history of India, gives us a Persian or Arabic derivation of this, from *Bál* 'the sun,' and *bec*, 'an idol.'

⁵ Corrupted to Palmyra, the etymon of which, I believe, has never been given, which is a version of Tadmor. In Sanscrit, *tal*, or *tar*, is the 'date-tree'; *mor* signifies 'chief.' We have more than one 'city of palms' (*Talpoor*) in India; and the tribe ruling in Hyderabad, on the Indus, is called *Talpoorie*, from the place whence they originated.

⁶ Kings, chap. xxiii.

⁷ *Ficus religiosa*. It presents a perfect resemblance to the popul (poplar) of Germany and Italy, a species of which is the aspen. So similar is it, that the specimen of the peepul from Carolina is called, in the Isola Bella of the Lago Maggiore, *populus angulata*; and another, in the *Jardin des Plantes* at Toulon,

and death, or loss of limb, is incurred by the sacrilegious mutilator of his consecrated groves,¹ where a pillar is raised bearing the inhibitory edict.

We shall here conclude the analogy between the Indo-Scythic Rajpoot races and those of early Europe. Much more might be adduced; the old Runic characters of Scandinavia, the Celtic, and the Osci or Etruscan, might, by comparison with those found in the cave temples and rocks in Rajast'han and Saurashtra, yield yet more important evidence of original similarity; and the very name of German (from *wér*, *bellum*)² might be found to be derived from the *feud* (*wér*) and *foe-man* (*wéri*) of the Rajpoot.

If these coincidences are merely accidental, then has too much been already said; if not, authorities are here recorded, and hypotheses founded, for the assistance of others.

is termed the *figus populifolia*, ou *figuier à feuilles de peuplier*. The aspen, or ash, held sacred by the Celtic priests, is said to be the mountain-ash.

'The calf of Bál' is generally placed under the peepul; and Hindu tradition sanctifies a never-dying stem, which marks the spot where the Hindu Apollo, Heri (the sun), was slain by the savage Bhil on the shores of Saurashtra.

¹ The religious feelings of the Rajpoot, though outraged for centuries by Moguls and mercenary Pat'hans, will not permit him to see the axe applied to the noble peepul or umbrageous burr (*figus indica*), without execrating the destroyer. Unhappy the constitution of mind which knowingly wounds religious prejudices of such ancient date! Yet is it thus with our countrymen in the East, who treat all foreign prejudices with contempt, shoot the bird sacred to the Indian Mars, slay the calves of Bál, and fell the noble peepul before the eyes of the native without remorse.

He is unphilosophic and unwise who treats such prejudices with contumely: prejudices beyond the reach of reason. He is uncharitable who does not respect them; impolitic, who does not use every means to prevent such offence by ignorance or levity. It is an abuse of our strength, and an ungenerous advantage over their weakness. Let us recollect who are the guardians of these fanes of Bál, his peepul, and sacred bird (the peacock): the children of Soorya and Chandra, and the descendants of the sages of yore, they who fill the ranks of our army, and are attentive, though silent, observers of all our actions: the most attached, the most faithful, and the most obedient of mankind! Let us maintain them in duty, obedience, and attachment, by respecting their prejudices and conciliating their pride. On the fulfilment of this depends the maintenance of our sovereignty in India: but the last fifteen years have assuredly not increased their devotion to us. Let the question be put to the unprejudiced, whether their welfare has advanced in proportion to the dominion they have conquered for us, or if it has not been in the inverse ratio of this prosperity? Have not their allowances and comforts decreased? Does the same relative standard between the currency and conveniences of life exist as twenty years ago? Has not the first depreciated twenty-five per cent., as half-batta stations and duties have increased? For the good of ruler and servant, let these be rectified. With the utmost solemnity, I aver, I have but the welfare of all at heart in these observations. I loved the service, I loved the native soldier. I have proved what he will do, where devoted, when, in 1817, thirty-two firelocks of my guard attacked, defeated, and dispersed, a camp of fifteen hundred men, slaying thrice their numbers.¹ Having quitted the scene for ever, I submit my opinion dispassionately for the welfare of the one, and with it the stability or reverse of the other.

² D'Anville's derivation of German, from *wer* (*bellum*) and *manus*.

¹ What says the Thermopylæ of India, Corygaum? Five hundred firelocks against twenty thousand men! Do the annals of Napoleon record a more brilliant exploit? Has a column been reared to the manes of the brave, European and native, of this memorable day, to excite to future achievement? What order decks the breast of the gallant Fitzgerald, for the exploit on the field of Nagpore? At another time and place his words, "At my peril be it! Charge!" would have crowned his crest! These things call for remedy!

CHAPTER VII

Catalogue of the thirty-six royal races.

HAVING discussed the ancient genealogies of the martial races of Rajast'han, as well as the chief points in their character and religion analogous to those of early Europe, we proceed to the catalogue of the *Chatees Raj-cûla*, or "thirty-six royal races."

The table before the reader presents, at one view, the authorities on which this list is given: they are as good as abundant. The first is from a detached leaf of an ancient work, obtained from a Yati of a Jain temple at the old city of Nadole in Marwar. The second is from the poems of Chund,¹ the bard of the last Hindu king of Dehli. The third is from an estimable work cotemporary with Chund's, the *Komarpal Charitra*,² or "History of the Monarchy of Anhulwarra Puttun." The fourth list is from the Kheechee bard.³ The fifth, from a bard of Saurashtra.

From every one of the bardic profession, from all the collectors and collections of Rajast'han, lists have been received, from which the catalogue No. 6 has been formed, admitted by the genealogists to be more perfect than any existing document. From it, therefore, in succession, each race shall have its history rapidly sketched; though, as a text, a single name is sufficient to fill many pages.

The first list is headed by an invocation to 'Mata Sacambhari Devi,' or mother-goddess, protectress of the races (sachæ).

Each race (sacha) has its *Gotra Acharya*,⁴ a genealogical creed, describing the essential peculiarities, religious tenets, and pristine locale of the clan. Every Rajpoot should be able to repeat this; though it is now confined to the family priest or the genealogist. Many chiefs, in these degenerate days, would be astonished if asked to repeat their 'gotra acharya,' and would refer to the bard. It is a touchstone of affinities, and guardian of the laws of intermarriage. When the inhibited degrees of propinquity have been broken, it has been known to rectify the mistake, where, however, "ignorance was bliss."⁵

¹ Of his works I possess the most complete copy existing.

² Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

³ Mog-jee, one of the most intelligent bards of the present day; but, heart-broken, he has now but the woes of his race to sing. Yet has he forgot them for a moment to rehearse the deeds of Pursunga, who sealed his fidelity by his death on the Caggar. Then the invisible mantle of Bhavani was wrapt around him; and with the byrd (*furor poeticus*), flowing freely of their deeds of yore, their present degradation, time, and place, were all forgot. But the time is fast approaching when he may sing with the Cambrian bard:

"Ye lost companions of my tuneful art,
Where are ye fled?"

⁴ One or two specimens shall be given in the proper place.

⁵ A prince of Boondi had married a Rajpootni of the Malani tribe; a name now unknown: but a bard repeating the 'gotra acharya,' it was discovered to have been about eight centuries before a ramification (sacha) of the Chohan, to which the Hara of Boondi belonged—divorce and expiatory rites, with great unhappiness, were the consequences. What a contrast to the unhallowed doctrines of Polyandris, as mentioned amongst the Pandus, the Scythic nations, the in-

OM! SACAMBARI MATA.

THE RAJPOOT TRIBES

69

| ANCIENT MSS. ¹ | CHUND BARDAL. ² | KOMAR PAL CHANITRA. ³ | KHEECHIE BARD. ⁴ | CORRECTED LIST BY THE AUTHOR. | |
|---|--|--|---|--|---|
| Ishwāca. Soorya. Soma or Chandra. Yadu. 5 Chahuman (Chohan). Chalook or Solanki. Purthara. Chawura. 10 Dodi. Rahore. Gohil. Dabi. Macwahana. 15 Norka. Aswura. Salar or Silara. Sinda. Seput. 20 Hun or Hoon. Kirjal. Huraira. Rajpali. Dhupali. 25 Agripali. Balla. Jhala. Bhagdola. Moidan. 30 Mohor. Kugair. Kurjeo. Chadlea. Pokara. Nicoompa. 36 Sulala. | Ravya or Soorya. Sulsa or Soma. Yadu. Cacoostha. 5 Pramara. Chohan. Chalook. Chunduk. Silar. 10 Abhira. Macwahana. Gohil. Chapotkut. Purthara. 15 Rahore. Deora. Tāk. Sindoo. Anunga. 20 Patuk. Pritihara. Didiota. Karipal. Kotpala. 25 Hool. Gor. Nicoompa. Rajpalica. Kani. 30 Katchoruk or Koorcurra. | Sanscrit Edition—MSS. Ishwāca. Soma. Yadu. Pramara. 5 Chohan. Chalook. Chunduk. Silar (<i>Raj Tilac</i>). Chapotkut. 10 Pritihara. Sukrunka. Coorpala. Chundail. Ohil. 15 Paluka. Mori. Macwahana. Dhupala. Rajpalica. 20 Dahya. Toorunduleeca. Nicoompa. Hoon. Balla. 25 Hural. Mokur. Pokara. | Guzuruti Dialect—MSS. Gothar Gohil. Uni Gohil. Catti or Cat'hi. Kisair. 5 Nicoompa. Bawurea. Maroo. Macwahana. 10 Dahima. Dodi. Balla. Bhagd. Yadu. 15 Jaitwa. Jareja. Jit. Solanki. Pramara. 20 Kaba. Chawura. Chournsima. Khan. Khyera. 25 Rawuli. Musania. Palani. Halla. 30 Dahira. Bahuria. " <i>Chatrya</i> <i>for Sar</i> ." Purthara. Chohan. | Gehlote. Pramara. Chohan. Solanki. 5 Rahore. Tuar. Birgojur. Purthara. Jhala. 10 Yadu. Cutchwaha. Gor. These sub-divide; the follow- ing do not, and are called Yeka, or single. Sengar. Balla. 15 Khurwur. Chawura. Dahima. Dahya. Byce. 20 Gherwal. Nicoompa. Dewut. Johya. Sikerwal. 25 Dabia. Doda. Mori. Mokarra. Abhira. 30 Katchoruk (Hya race). Agripala. Aswaria or Sarja. Hool. Manutwal. Mallia. 36 Chahil. | Ishwāca, Cacoost'ha, or Soorya. Unweye, Indu, Som, or Chandra. Grahilote or Gehlote . 24 Sachra. Yadu 4 5 Tuar 17 Rahore 13 Cushwaha or Cutchwaha . 35 Pramara 35 Chahuman or Chohan . 26 Chalook or Solanki . 16 Purthara 12 Chawura 12 Tāk, Taulk, or Takshac. Jit or Gate. 15 Hun or Hoon. Catti. Balla. Jhala 2 Jaitwa or Camari. 20 Gohil. Sarweya. Silar. Dabi. Gor 5 25 Doda or Dor. Gherwal. Birgojur 3 Sengar Single. Sikerwal do. Byce do. 30 Dahia. Johya. Mohil. Nicoompa. Rajpali. 36 Dahima do. Extra. Hool. Dahitya. |

¹ The author, after the invocation to "the mother protectress," says, "I write the names of the thirty-six royal tribes."² The bard Chund says, "of the thirty-six races, the four Agripalis are the greatest—the rest are born of woman, but these from fire."³ As the work is chiefly followed with the exploits of Komarpal, who was of Chohan tribe, the author reserves it for a peroration to the last "of all the mightiest is the Chohan."⁴ By name Mogie.

Most of the *cûla* (races) are divided into numerous branches ¹ (*sacha*), and these *sacha* subdivided into innumerable clans (*gotra*),² the most important of which shall be given.

A few of the *cûla* never ramified : these are termed *eka*, or 'single' ; and nearly one-third are *eka*.

A table of the 'eighty-four' mercantile tribes, chiefly of Rajpoot origin, shall also be furnished, in which the remembrance of some races are preserved which would have perished. Lists of the aboriginal, the agricultural and the pastoral tribes are also given to complete the subject.

In the earlier ages there were but two races, Soorya and Chandra, to which were added the four Agnicûlas ;³ in all six. The others are subdivisions of Soorya and Chandra, or the *sacha* of Indo-Scythic origin, who found no difficulty in obtaining a place (though a low one), before the Mahomedan era, amongst the thirty-six regal races of Rajast'han. The former we may not unaptly consider as to the time, as the Celtic, the latter as the Gothic, races of India. On the generic terms Soorya and Chandra, I need add nothing.

GRAHILOTE OR GEHLOTE.—*Pedigree* ⁴ of the Sooryavansi Rana, of royal race, Lord of Cheetore, the ornament of the thirty-six royal races.

By universal consent, as well as by the *gotra* of this race, its princes are admitted to be the direct descendants of Rama, of the Solar line. The pedigree is deduced from him, and connected with Soomitra, the last prince mentioned in the genealogy of the Poorâns.

As the origin and progressive history of this family will be fully discussed in the "Annals of Méwar," we shall here only notice the changes which have marked the patronymic, as well as the regions which have been under their sway, from Kénéksén, who, in the second century, abandoned his native kingdom, Kosula, and established the race of Soorya in Saurashtra.

On the site of Virat, the celebrated abode of the Pandus during exile, the descendant of Icshwâca established his line, and his descendant Vijya, in a few generations, built Vijyapoor.⁵

They became sovereigns, if not founders, of Balabhi, which had a separate era of its own, called the *Balabhi Samvat*, according with S. Vicrama 375.⁶ Hence they became the Balaca-raés, or kings of Balabhi ;

habitants of Sirmor of the present day, and pertaining even to Britain in the days of Cæsar !—"Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes," says that accurate writer, speaking of the natives of this island ; "et maximè fratres cum fratribus, parentesque cum liberis : sed si qui sint ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quæque deducta est." A strange medley of polyandry and polygamy !

¹ *Apâram sacam*, 'of innumerable branches,' is inscribed on an ancient tablet of the Grahilote race.

² *Gote*, *kamp*, denote a clan ; its subdivisions have the patronymic terminating with the syllable '*ote*,' '*awut*,' '*sote*,' in the use of which euphony alone is their guide : thus, *Suktawut*, 'sons of Sukta' ; *Kurmasote*, 'of Kurma' ; *Mair-awut*, or *mairote*, mountaineers, 'sons of the mountains.' Such is the Greek *Mainote*, from *maina*, a mountain, in the ancient Albanian dialect, of eastern origin.

³ From *agni* (*qu. ignis* ?) 'fire,' the sons of Vulcan, as the others of Sol and Luna, or Lunus, to change the sex of the parent of the Indu (moon) race.

⁴ *Vansavuli*, *Sooryavansi Rajcûli Rana Cheetore ca Dhunni*, *Chatees Cûli Sêngâr*.—MSS. from the Rana's library, entitled *Khomân Rasa*.

⁵ Always conjoined with Virat—"Vijyapoor Viratgurh."

⁶ A.D. 319. The inscription recording this, as well as others relating to

a title maintained by successive dynasties of Saurashtra for a thousand years after this period, as can be satisfactorily proved by genuine history and inscriptions.

Gajni, or Gayni, was another capital, whence the last prince, Silladitya (who was slain), and his family, were expelled by Parthian invaders in the sixth century.

A posthumous son, called Grahaditya, obtained a petty sovereignty at Edur. The change was marked by his name becoming the patronymic, and 'Grahilote,' *vulgo* 'Gehlote,' designated the Sooryavansa of Rama.

With reverses and migration from the wilds of Edur to Ahār,¹ the Gehlote was changed to Aharya, by which title the race continued to be designated till the twelfth century, when the elder brother, Rahup, abandoned his claim to 'the throne of Cheetore,' obtained² by force of arms from the Mori,³ and settled at Dongurpoor, which he yet holds, as well as the title 'Aharya'; while the younger, Mahup, established the seat of power at Seesodia, whence Seesodia set aside both Aharya and Gehlote.

Seesodia is now the common title of the race; but being only a subdivision, the Gehlote holds its rank in the cūla.

The Gehlote cūla is subdivided into twenty-four sacha, or ramifications, few of which exist—

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. Aharya | At Dongurpoor. |
| 2. Mangulia | In the Deserts. |
| 3. Seesodia | Méwar. |
| 4. Peeparra | In Marwar. |
| 5. Kalum | In few numbers, and mostly now unknown. |
| 6. Gahor | |
| 7. Dhornia | |
| 8. Godah | |
| 9. Mugrasah | |
| 10. Bhimla | |
| 11. Kamkotuc | |
| 12. Kotecha | |
| 13. Sorah | |
| 14. Oohur | |
| 15. Ooseba | Almost extinct. |
| 16. Nir-roop | |
| 17. Nadoria | |
| 18. Nadhota | |
| 19. Ojakra | |
| 20. Kootchra | |
| 21. Dosaud | |
| 22. Batewara | |
| 23. Paha | |
| 24. Poorote | |

Balahbi and this era, I discovered in Saurashtra, as well as the site of this ancient capital, occupying the position of "Byzantium" in Ptolemy's geography of India. They will be given in the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society.

¹ Anundpoor Ahar, or 'Ahar the city of repose.' By the tide of events, the family was destined to fix their last capital, Oodipoor, near Ahar.

² The middle of the eighth century.

³ A Pramara prince.

YADU.—The Yadu was the most illustrious of all the tribes of Ind, and became the patronymic of the descendants of Boodha, progenitor of the Lunar (Indu) race.

Yoodishtra and Baladeva, on the death of Crishna and their expulsion from Dehli and Dwarica, the last stronghold of their power, retired by Mooltan across the Indus. The two first are abandoned by tradition; but the sons of Crishna, who accompanied them after an intermediate halt in the further Do-áb¹ of the five rivers, eventually left the Indus behind, and passed into Zabulist'han, founded Gajni, and peopled these countries even to Samarkhand.

The annals of Jessulmér, which give this early history of their founder, mix up in a confused manner² the cause of their being again driven back into India; so that it is impossible to say whether it was owing to the Greek princes who ruled all these countries for a century after Alexander, or to the rise of Islamism.

Driven back on the Indus, they obtained possession of the Punjáb and founded Salbhanpoor. Thence expelled, they retired across the Sutledge and Garah into the Indian deserts; whence expelling the Langahas, the Johyas, Mohilas, etc., they founded successively Tannote, Derrawal, and Jessulmér,³ in S. 1212,⁴ the present capital of the Bhattis, the lineal successors of Crishna.

BHATTI was the exile from Zabulist'han, and as usual with the Rajpoot races on any such event in their annals, his name set aside the more ancient patronymic, *Yadu*. The Bhattis subdued all the tracts south of the Garah; but their power has been greatly circumscribed since the arrival of the Rahtores. The Map defines their existing limits, and their annals will detail their past history.

JAREJA is the most important tribe of Yadu race next to the Bhatti. Its history is similar. Descended from Crishna, and migrating simultaneously with the remains of the Hericúlas, there is the strongest ground for believing that their range was not so wide as that of the elder branch, but that they settled themselves in the valley of the Indus, more especially on the west shore in Sewist'han; and in nominal and armorial distinctions, even in Alexander's time, they retained the marks of their ancestry.

Sambus, who brought on him the arms of the Grecians, was in all likelihood a Hericúla; and the Minagara of Greek historians, Samanagara ('city of Sama'), his capital.

The most common epithet of Crishna, or Heri, was Shama or Sama, from his dark complexion. Hence the Jareja bore it as a patronymic, and the whole race were Sama-pootras (children of Sama), whence the titular name Sambus of its princes.

The modern Jareja, who from circumstances has so mixed with the Mahomedans of Sinde as to have forfeited all pretensions to purity of blood, partly in ignorance and partly to cover disgrace, says that his origin is from Sham, or Syria, and of the stock of the Persian Jamsheea: conse-

¹ The place where they found refuge was in the cluster of hills still called *Yadu ca dang*, 'the Yadu hills':—the *Joudes* of Rennell's geography.

² The date assigned long prior to the Christian era, agrees with the Grecian, but the names and manners are Mahomedan.

³ Lodurwa Puttun, whence they expelled an ancient race, was their capital before Jessulmér. There is much to learn of these regions.

⁴ A.D. 1157.

quently, Sam has been converted into Jam ;¹ which epithet designates one of the Jareja petty governments, the Jam Raj.

These are the most conspicuous of the Yadu race ; but there are others who still bear the original title, of which the head is the prince of the petty state of Kerowli on the Chumbul.

This portion of the Yadu stock would appear never to have strayed far beyond the ancient limits of the Suraseni,² their ancestral abodes. They held the celebrated Biana ; whence expelled, they established Kerowli west, and Subbulgurh east, of the Chumbul. The tract under the latter, called Yaduvati, has been wrested from the family by Sindia. Sri Mat'hoora³ is an independent fief of Kerowli, held by a junior branch.

The Yadus, or as pronounced in the dialects Jadoon, are scattered over India, and many chiefs of consequence amongst the Mahrattas are of this tribe.

There are eight sachæ of the Yadu race :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|----------------------|
| 1. Yadu | . | . | . | Chief Kerowli. |
| 2. Bhatti | . | . | . | Chief Jessulmér. |
| 3. Jareja | . | . | . | Chief Cutch Bhooj. |
| 4. Sumaitcha | . | . | . | Mahomedans in Sinde. |
| 5. Mudaicha. | . | . | . | } Unknown. |
| 6. Bidmun | . | . | . | |
| 7. Budda | . | . | . | |
| 8. Soha | . | . | . | |

TUÁR.—The Tuár, though acknowledged as a subdivision of the Yadu, is placed by the best genealogists as one of the ' thirty-six,' a rank to which its celebrity justly entitles it.

We have in almost every case the etymon of each celebrated race. For the Tuár we have none ; and we must rest satisfied in delivering the dictum of the Bardai, who declares it of Pandu origin.

If it had to boast only of Vicramaditya, the paramount lord of India, whose era, established fifty-six years before the Christian, still serves as the grand beacon of Hindu chronology, this alone would entitle the Tuár to the highest rank. But it has other claims to respect. Dehli, the ancient Indraprest'ha, founded by Yoodishtra, and which tradition says lay desolate for eight centuries, was rebuilt and peopled by Anungpal Tuár, in S. 848 (A.D. 792), who was followed by a dynasty of twenty princes, which concluded with the name of the founder, Anungpal, in S. 1220 (A.D. 1164), when, contrary to the Salic law of the Rajpoots, he abdicated (having no issue) in favour of his grandchild, the Chohan Pirthwirájá.

The Tuár must now rest on his ancient fame ; for not an independent possession remains to the race⁴ which traces its lineage to the Pandus, boasts of Vicrama, and which furnished the last dynasty, emperors of Hindust'han.

¹ They have an infinitely better etymology for this, in being descendants of Jambuvati, one of Heri's eight wives.

² The Suraseni of Vrij, the tract-so named, thirty miles around Mat'hoora.

³ Its chief, Rao Munohur Sing, was well known to me, and was, I may say, my friend. For years letters passed between us, and he had made for me a transcript of a valuable copy of the *Mahabharat*.

⁴ Several Mahratta chieftains deduce their origin from the Tuár race, as Ram Rao Falkia, a very gallant leader of horse in Sindia's state.

It would be a fact unparalleled in the history of the world, could we establish to conviction that the last Anungpal Tuár was the lineal descendant of the founder of Indraprest'ha ; that the issue of Yoodishtra sat on the throne which he erected, after a lapse of 2250 years. Universal consent admits it, and the fact is as well established as most others of a historic nature of such a distant period : nor can any dynasty or family of Europe produce evidence so strong as the Tuár, even to a much less remote antiquity.

The chief possessions left to the Tuárs are the district of Tuárgar, on the right bank of the Chumbul towards its junction with the Jumna, and the small chieftainship of Patun Tuárvati in the Jeipoor state, and whose head claims affinity with the ancient kings of Indraprest'ha.

RAHTORE.—A doubt hangs on the origin of this justly celebrated race. The Rahtore genealogies trace their pedigree to Cush, the second son of Rama ; consequently they would be Sooryavansa. But by the bards of this race they are denied this honour ; and although Cushite, they are held to be the descendants of Casyapa, of the Solar race, by the daughter of a Dyte (Titan). The progeny of Hirna Casyapa is accordingly stigmatised as being of demoniac origin.

It is rather singular that they should have succeeded to the Lunar race of Cushnaba, descendants of Ujamida, the founders of Canouj. Indeed, some genealogists maintain the Rahtores to be of Cusika race.

The pristine locale of the Rahtores is Gadhipoora, or Canouj, where they are found enthroned in the fifth century ; and though beyond that period they connect their line with the princes of Kosula or Ayodia, the fact rests on assertion only.

From the fifth century their history is cleared from the mist of ages, which envelops them all prior to this time ; and in the period approaching the Tatar conquest of India, we find them contesting with the last Tuár and Chohan kings of Dehli, and the Balica-raes of Anhulwarra, the right to paramount importance amidst the princes of Ind.

The combats for this phantom supremacy destroyed them all. Weakened by internal strife, the Chohan of Dehli fell, and his death exposed the north-west frontier. Canouj followed ; and while its last prince, Jychund, found a grave in the Ganges, his son sought an asylum in Maroost'hulli, " the regions of death."

Séôji was this son ; the founder of the Rahtore dynasty in Marwar, on the ruins of the Puriharas of Mundore. Here they brought their ancient martial spirit, and a more valiant being exists not than can be found amongst the sons of Séôji. The Mogul emperors were indebted for half their conquests to the *Lakh Turwar Rahtorân*, " the 100,000 swords of the Rahtores" ; for it is beyond a doubt that 50,000 of the blood of Séôji have been embodied at once. But enough of the noble Rahtores for the present.

The Rahtore has twenty-four sachæ :—Dhandul, Bhadail, Chackit, Doohuria, Khokra, Baddura, Chajira, Ramdeva, Kabria, Hatoondia, Malavat, Soondy, Kataicha, Muholi, Gogadeva, Mahaicha, Jeysinga, Moorsia, Jobsia, Jora, etc., etc.

Rahtore Gotra Acharya.—Gotama¹ Gotra (race),—Mardwunduni Sac'ha

¹ From this I should be inclined to pronounce the Rahtores descendants of a race (probably Scythic) professing the Boohdist faith, of which Gotama was the last great teacher, and disciple of the last Boodha Mahivira, in S. 477 (A.D. 533).

(branch),—Sookra-acharya Gooru (Regent of the planet Venus, Preceptor),—Garroopata Agni,¹—Pankhani Devi (tutelary goddess, winged).

CUSHWAHA.—The Cushwaha race² is descended from Cush, the second son of Rama. They are the Cushites,³ as the Rajpoots of Méwar are the Lavites of India.

Two branches migrated from Kosula : one founded Rotas on the Sone, the other established a colony amidst the ravines of the Cohari, at Lahar.⁴

In the course of time they erected the celebrated fortress of Nirwur, or Nirwar, the abode of the celebrated Raja Nala, whose descendants continued to hold possession throughout all the vicissitudes of the Tatar and Moghul domination, when they were deprived of it by the Mahrattas, and the abode of Nala is now a dependency of Sindia.

In the tenth century a branch emigrated and founded Ambér, dispossessing the aborigines, the Meenas, and adding from the Rajpoot tribe Birgoojur, who held Rajore and large possessions around. But even in the twelfth century the Cushwahas were but principal vassals to the Chohan king of Dehli ; and they have to date their greatness, as the other families (especially the Ranas of Méwar) of Rajast'han their decline, from the ascent of the house of Timoor to the throne of Dehli.

The map shows the limits of the sway of the Cushwahas, including their branches, the independent Nirookas of Macherri, and the tributary confederated Shekhavats.

The Cushwaha subdivisions have been mislaid ; but the present partition into Kotrees (chambers), of which there are twelve, shall be given in their annals.

AGNICÚLAS.—1st. *Pramara*. There are four races to whom the Hindu genealogists have given Agni, or the element of fire, as progenitor. The Agnicúlas are therefore the sons of Vulcan, as the others are of Sol,⁵ Mercurius, and Terra.

The Agnicúlas are the Pramara, the Purihara, the Chalook or Solanki, and the Chohan.

That these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and converted

¹ Enigmatical—' Clay formation by fire ' (*agni*).

² Erroneously written and pronounced Cutchwaha.

³ The resemblance between the Cushite Ramesa of Ayodia and the Rameses of Egypt is strong. Each was attended by his army of satyrs, Anubis and Cynocephalus, which last is a Greek misnomer, for the animal bearing this title is of the Simian family, as his images (in the Turin museum) disclose, and the brother of the faithful Hanooman. The comparison between the deities within the Indus (called *Nil-db*, ' blue waters ') and those of the Nile in Egypt, is a point well worth discussion.

⁴ A name in compliment, probably, to the elder branch of their race, Lava.

⁵ There is a captivating elegance thrown around the theogonies of Greece and Rome, which we fail to impart to the Hindu ; though that elegant scholar, Sir William Jones, could make even Sanscrit literature fascinating ; and that it merits the attempt intrinsically, we may infer from the charm it possesses to the learned chieftain of Rajast'han. That it is perfectly analogous to the Greek and Roman, we have but to translate the names to show. For instance :—

| Solar. | | Lunar. | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|--------|--|
| Mireecha | (Lux) | . . . | Atri. |
| Kasyapa | (Uranus) | . . . | Samudra (Oceanus). |
| Vaivaswama or Soorya | (Sol) | . . . | Soma, or Ind (Luna ; <i>qu.</i> Lunus?). |
| Vaivaswamasoot Manoo | (Filius Solis) | . . . | Vrishpati (Jupiter). |
| Ella | (Terra) | . . . | Boodha (Mercurius). |

HISTORY OF

by the Brahmins to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose; and, as the most ancient of their inscriptions are in the Pali character, discovered wherever the Boodhist religion prevailed, their being declared of the race of Tusta or Takshac,¹ warrants our asserting the Agnicúlas to be of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries before Christ. It was about this period that Parswa, the twenty-third Boodha,² appeared in India; his symbol, the serpent.

The legend of the snake (Takshac) escaping with the celebrated work *Pingal*, which was recovered by Garoora, the eagle of Crishna, is purely allegorical; and descriptive of the contentions between the followers of Parswa, figured under his emblem, the snake, and those of Crishna, depicted under his sign, the eagle.

The worshippers of Soorya probably recovered their power on the exterminating civil wars of the Lunar races, but the creation of the Agnicúlas is expressly stated to be for the preservation of the altars of BáI, or Iswara, against the Dytes, or Atheists.

The celebrated Aboo, or Ar-boodha, the Olympus of Rajast'han, was the scene of contention between the ministers of Soorya and these Titans, and their relation might, with the aid of imagination, be equally amusing with the Titanic war of the ancient poets of the west.

The Boodhists claim it for Ad-nat'h, their first Boodha; the Brahmins for Iswara, or, as the local divinity styled Achil-es.³

The Agnicoonda is still shown on the summit of Aboo, where the four races were created by the Brahmins to fight the battles of Achil-es and polytheism, against the monotheistic Boodhists, represented as the serpents or Takshacs.

The probable period of this conversion has been hinted at; but of the dynasties issuing from the Agnicúlas, many of the princes professed the Boodhist or Jain faith, to periods so late as the Mahomedan invasion.

The Pramara, though not, as his name implies, the 'chief warrior,' was the most potent of the Agnicúlas. He sent forth thirty-five sachas, or branches, several of whom enjoyed extensive sovereignties. 'The world is the Pramara's,' is an ancient saying, denoting their extensive sway; and the *No-kote* ⁴ *Marooost'hulli* signified the nine divisions into which the country, from the Sutledge to the ocean, was partitioned amongst them.

Mahéswar, Dhar, Mandoo, Oojein, Chandrabhaga, Cheetore, Aboo,

¹ Figuratively, 'the serpent.'

² To me it appears that there were four distinguished Boodhas or wise men, teachers of monotheism in India, which they brought from Central Asia, with their science and its written character, the arrow or nail-headed, which I have discovered wherever they have been,—in the deserts of Jessulmér, in the heart of Rajast'han, and the shores of Saurashtra; which were their nurseries.

The first Boodha is the parent of the Lunar race, A.C. 2250.

The second (twenty-second of the Jains), Naimnat'h, A.C. 1120.

The third (twenty-third do.), Parswanat'h, A.C. 650.

The fourth (twenty-fourth do.), Mahivira, A.C. 533.

³ *Achil*, 'immovable,' *Es*, contracted from *eswara*, 'lord.'

⁴ It extended from the Indus almost to the Jumna, occupying all the sandy regions, Nokote, Arboodha or Aboo, Dhát. Mundodri, Khyraloo, Parkur, Lodurva, and Poogul.

Salivahana, the conqueror of Vicramaditya, was a Takshac, and his era set aside that of the Tuár in the Dekhan.

Not one remnant of independence exists to mark the greatness of the Pramaras : ruins are the sole records of their power. The prince of Dhát,¹ in the Indian desert, is the last phantom of royalty of the race ; and the descendant of the prince who protected Hemayoon, when driven from the throne of Timoor, in whose capital, Omrakote, the great Akber was born, is at the foot of fortune's ladder ; his throne in the desert, the footstool of the Bulotch, on whose bounty he is dependent for support.

Among the thirty-five sachæ of the Pramaras the Vihil was eminent, the princes of which line appear to have been lords of Chandravati, at the foot of the Aravulli.

The Rao of Bijolli, one of the sixteen superior nobles of the Rana's court, is a Pramara of the ancient stock of Dhar, and perhaps its most respectable representative.

THIRTY-FIVE SACHÆ OF THE PRAMARAS.

Mori.—Of which was Chandragoopta, and the princes of Cheetore prior to the Gehlotes.

Soda.—Sogdi of Alexander, the princes of Dhát in the Indian desert.

Sankla.—Chiefs of Poogul, and in Marwar.

Khyr.—Capital Khyraloo.

Oomra and Soomra.—Anciently in the desert, now Mahomedans.

Vehil, or Bihil.—Princes of Chandravati.

Maipawut.—Present chief of Bijolli in Méwar.

Bulhar.—Northern desert.

Kaba.—Celebrated in Saurashtra in ancient times, a few yet in Sirowi.

Omuta.—The princes of Omutwarra in Malwa, there established for twelve generations. Omutwarra is the largest tract left to the Pramaras. Since the war in 1817, being under the British interference, they cannot be called independent.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>Réhar</i> | . | . | . | . | } Grasia petty chiefs in Malwa. |
| <i>Dhoonda</i> | . | . | . | . | |
| <i>Soruteah</i> | . | . | . | . | |
| <i>Hurair</i> | . | . | . | . | |

Besides others unknown ; as Chaonda, Khejur, Sugra, Burkota, Pooni, Sampal, Bheebe, Kalpoosur, Kulmoh, Kohila, Pupa, Kahoria, Dhund, Déba, Burhur, Jeepra, Posra, Dhoonta, Rikumva, and Tyka. Many of these are proselytes to Islamism, and several beyond the Indus.

CHAHUMAN OR CHOCHAN.—On this race so much has been said elsewhere,²

story of the Ranas being sons of Porus. I have an inscription from a temple on the Chumbul, within the ancient limits of Méwar, which mentions Taksilanagara, 'the stone fort of the Tak,' but I cannot apply it. The city of Thoda (Tonk, or properly Tanka) is called in the Chohan chronicles, Tákatpoor.

¹ Of the Soda tribe, a grand division of the Pramaras, and who held all the desert regions in remote times. Their subdivisions, Oomra and Soomra, gave the names to Omrakote and Oomrasomra, in which was the insular Bekher on the Indus : so that we do not misapply etymology, when we say in Soda we have the Sogdi of Alexander.

² See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 133, "Comments on a Sanscrit Inscription."

that it would be superfluous to give more than a rapid sketch of them here.

This is the most valiant of the Agnicúlas, and it may be asserted not of them only, but of the whole Rajpoot race. Actions may be recorded of the greater part of each of the Chatees-cúla, which would yield to none in the ample and varied pages of history; and though the 'Tulwar Rhatorán' would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision, with a knowledge of their respective merits, must assign to the Chohan the van in the long career of arms.

Its branches (sachæ) have maintained all the vigour of the original stem; and the Haras, the Kheeches, the Deoras, the Sonigurras, and others of the twenty-four, have their names immortalised in the song of the bard.

The derivation of Chohan is coeval with his fabulous birth: 'the four-handed warrior.' (*Chatoor bhooja Chatoor-baha Vira.*) All failed when sent against the demons, but the Chohan, the last creation of the Brahmins to fight their battles against infidelity.

A short extract may be acceptable from the original respecting the birth of the Chohan, to guard the rites of our Indian Jove on this Olympus, the sacred Aboo: "the Gooru of mountains, like Soomér or Kylas, which Achilés made his abode. Fast but one day on its summit, and your sins will be forgiven; reside there for a year, and you may become the preceptor of mankind."

Notwithstanding the sanctity of Aboo, and the little temptation to disturb the anchorites of Bál, "the Moonis, who passed their time in devotion, whom desire never approached, who drew support from the cow, from roots, fruits, and flowers," yet did the Dytes, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods.

"The Brahmins dug the pit for burnt-sacrifice to the south-west (nyrut); but the demons¹ raised storms which darkened the air and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh, with every impurity, on their rites. Their penance was of no avail."

Again they kindled the sacred fire; and the priests, assembling round the *Agnicoonda*,² prayed for aid to Mahadeo.

"From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prit'hiha-dwara.³ A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was named Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara.⁴ He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail.

"Again Vasishta, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid: and, as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand

¹ Asoora-Dyte, which Titans were either the aboriginal Bhils or the Scythic hordes.

² I have visited this classic spot in Hindu mythology. An image of Ad-pal (the 'first-created'), in marble, still adorns its embankment, and is a piece of very fine sculpture. It was too sacred a relic to remove.

³ 'Portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth'; contracted to Prit'hihara and Purihara.

⁴ 'The first striker.'

celebrated are the existing families of Boondi and Kotah, in the division termed Haravati. They have well maintained the Chohan reputation for valour. Six princely brothers shed their blood in one field, in the support of the aged Shah Jehan against his rebellious son Arungzéb, and of the six but one survived his wounds.

The Kheechees of Gagrown and Ragoogurh, the Deoras of Sirohi, the Sonagurras of Jhalore, the Chohans of Sooe Bah and Sanchore, and the Pawaitchas of Pawagurh, have all immortalised themselves by the most heroic and devoted deeds. Most of these families yet exist, brave as in the days of Pirthwirájá.

Many chiefs of the Chohan race abandoned their faith to preserve their lands, the Kaim-Khani,¹ the Surwanis, the Lowanis, the Kururwanis, and the Baidwanas, chiefly residing in Shekavati, are the most conspicuous. No less than twelve petty princes thus deserted their faith : which, however, is not contrary to the Rajpoot creed ; for even Menu says, they may part with wife to preserve their land. Eesurdas, nephew of Pirthwirájá, was the first who set this example.

Twenty-four Sachæ of the Chohans.—Chohan, Hara, Khecchee, Sonigurra, Deora, Pabia, Sanchora, Goelwal, Bhadoria, Nurbhan, Malani, Poorbea, Soora, Madraetcha, Sankraetcha, B'hóoraetcha, Balaetcha, Tussairah, Chachairah, Rosiah, Chundu, Nacoompa, Bhawur, and Bankut.

CHALOOK or SOLANKI.—Though we cannot trace the history of this branch of the Agnicúlas to such periods of antiquity as the Pramara or Chohan, it is from the deficiency of materials, rather than any want of celebrity, that we are unable to place it, in this respect, on a level with them. The tradition of the bard makes the Solankis important as princes of Sooru on the Ganges, ere the Rahtores obtained Canouj. The genealogical test² claims Lokote, said to be the ancient Lahore, as a residence, which makes them of the same Sacha (Madwuni) as the Chohans. Certain it is, that in the eighth century we find the Langahas³ and Tográs inhabiting Moolt'han and the surrounding country, the chief opponents of the Bhattis on their establishment in the desert. They were princes of Calian, on the Malabar coast,⁴ which city still exhibits vestiges of ancient grandeur. It was from Calian that a scion of the Solanki tree was taken, and engrafted on the royal stem of the Chawurás of Anhulwarra Puttun.

It was in S. 987 (A.D. 931) that Bhojraj, the last of the Chawuras, and the Salic law of India were both set aside, to make way for the young Solanki, Moolraj,⁵ who ruled Anhulwarra for the space of fifty-eight years. During the reign of his son and successor, Chaond Rae,⁶ Mahmood of Ghizni carried his desolating arms into the kingdom of Anhulwarra. With

¹ About Futtehpoor Jhoon-joonee.

² Solanki Gotra Acharya is thus :—"Madwuni Sacha—Bardhwaj Gotra—Gur'h Lokote nékas—Sarasvati Nadi (river)—Sham Vêda—Kapliswar Déva—Carduman Rikésvar—Teen Purwur Zénar (zone of three threads)—Keonj Devi—Maipal Pootra (one of the Penates)."

³ Called Malkhani, being the sons of Mal Khan, the first apostate from his faith to Islamism. Whether these branches of the Solankis were compelled to quit their religion, or did it voluntarily, we know not.

⁴ Near Bombay.

⁵ Son of Jey Sing Solanki, the emigrant prince of Calian, who married the daughter of Bhojraj. These particulars are taken from a valuable little geographical and historical treatise, incomplete and without title.

⁶ Called Jamund by Mahomedan historians.

its wealth he raised those magnificent trophies of his conquest, among which the "Celestial Bride" might have vied with any thing ever erected by man as a monument of folly. The wealth abstracted, as reported in the history of the conquerors, by this scourge of India, though deemed incredible, would obtain belief, if the commercial riches of Anhulwarra could be appreciated. It was to India what Venice was to Europe, the entrepôt of the products of both the eastern and western hemispheres. It fully recovered the shock given by Mahmood and the desultory wars of his successors; and we find Sid Rae Jey Sing,¹ the seventh from the founder, at the head of the richest, if not the most warlike, kingdom of India. Two and twenty principalities at one time owned his power, from the Carnatic to the base of the Himalaya Mountains; but his unwise successor drew upon himself the vengeance of the Chohan, Pirthwirájá, a slip of which race was engrafted, in the person of Komarpál, on the genealogical tree of the Solankis; and it is a curious fact that this dynasty of the Balica-raes alone gives us two examples of the Salic law of India being violated. Komarpál, installed on the throne of Anhulwarra, "tied round his head the turban of the Solanki." He became of the tribe into which he was adopted. Komarpál, as well as Sid Rae, was the patron of Boodhism; and the monuments erected under them and their successors claim our admiration, from their magnificence and the perfection of the arts; for, at no period, were they more cultivated than at the courts of Anhulwarra.

The lieutenants of Shabudin disturbed the close of Komarpál's reign; and his successor, Ballo Mooldeo, closed this dynasty in S. 1284 (A.D. 1228), when a new dynasty, called the Baghéla (descendants of Sid Rae) under Beesildeo, succeeded. The dilapidations from religious persecution were repaired; Somnat'h, renowned as Delphos of old, rose from its ruins, and the kingdom of the Balica-raes was attaining its pristine magnificence, when, under the fourth prince, Gehla Kurrin, the angel of destruction appeared in the shape of Alla-udin, and the kingdom of Anhulwarra was annihilated. The lieutenants of the Tatar despot of Dehli let loose the spirit of intolerance and avarice on the rich cities and fertile plains of Guzzerat and Saurashtra. In contempt of their faith, the altar of an Islamite Derveish was placed in contact with the shrine of Ad-nat'h, on the most accessible of their sacred mounts:² the statues of Boodha were thrown down, and the books containing the mysteries of their faith suffered the same fate as the Alexandrian library. The walls of Anhulwarra were demolished; its foundations excavated, and again filled up with the fragments of their ancient temples.³

The remnants of the Solanki dynasty were scattered over the land, and this portion of India remained for upwards of a century without any paramount head, until, by a singular dispensation of Providence, its splendour was renovated, and its foundations rebuilt, by an adventurer

¹ He ruled from S. 1150 to 1201. It was his court that was visited by El Edrisi, commonly called the Nubian geographer, who particularly describes this prince as following the tenets of Boodha.

² Satrunjya.

³ In 1822 I made a journey to explore the remains of antiquity in Saurashtra. I discovered a ruined suburb of the ancient Puttun still bearing the name of *Anurwara*, the *Nehrwarra*, which D'Anville had "fort à cœur de retrouver." I meditate a separate account of this kingdom, and the dynasties which governed it.

of the same race from which the Agnicúlas were originally converts, though Seharun the Ták hid his name and his tribe under his new epithet of Zuffir Khan, and as Mozuffir ascended the throne of Guzzerat, which he left to his son. This son was Ahmed, who founded Ahmedabad, whose most splendid edifices were built from the ancient cities around it.

Though the stem of the Solankis was thus uprooted, yet was it not before many of its branches (Sachæ), like their own indigenous burr-tree, had fixed themselves in other soils. The most conspicuous of these is the Bhagéla¹ family, which gave its name to an entire division of Hindust'han; and Bhagélkhund has now been ruled for many centuries by the descendants of Sid Rae.

Besides Bandoogurh, there are minor chieftainships still in Guzzerat of the Bhagéla tribe. Of these, Peetapoor and Theraud are the most conspicuous. One of the chieftains of the second class in Méwar is a Solanki, and traces his line immediately from Sid Rae: this is the chief of Roopnagurh,² whose stronghold commands one of the passes leading to Marwar, and whose family annals would furnish a fine picture of the state of border-feuds. Few of them, till of late years, have died natural deaths.

The Solanki is divided into sixteen branches.

1. Bhagéla—Raja of Bhagélkhund (capital Bandoogurh), Raos of Peetapoor, Theraud, and Adaluj, etc.
2. Beerpoora—Rao of Lunawarra.
3. Behila—Kulianpoor in Méwar, styled Rao, but serving the chief of Saloombra.
4. Bhoorta³ }
5. Kalacha³ } In Baroo, Tekra, and Chahir, in Jessulmér.
6. Langaha—Mooslims about Mooltan.
7. Togru—Mooslims in the Punjnud.
8. Briku. " "
9. Soorki—In Dekhan.
10. Sirwureah⁴—Girnar in Saurashtra.
11. Raoka—Thoda in Jeipoor.
12. Ranikia—Daisoori in Méwar.
13. Kharura—Allote and Jawura, in Malwa.
14. Tantia—Chandbhur Sakunbari.⁵
15. Almetcha—No land.
16. Kúlamor—Guzzerat.

PRITIHARA or PURIHARA.—Of this, the last and least of the Agnicúlas, we have not much to say. The Puriharas never acted a conspicuous part in the history of Rajast'han. They are always discovered in a subordinate capacity, acting in feudal subjection to the Tuárs of Dehli or the Chohans of Ajmér; and the brightest page of their history is the record of an abortive

¹ The name of this subdivision is from Bhag Rao, the son of Sid Rae; though the bards have another tradition for its origin.

² I knew this chieftain well, and a very good specimen he is of the race. He is in possession of the famous war-shell of Jey Sing, which is an heirloom.

³ Famous robbers in the deserts, known as the Maldoots.

⁴ Celebrated in traditional history.

⁵ Desperate robbers. I saw this place fired and levelled in 1807, when the noted Kureem Pindarree was made prisoner by Sindia. It afterwards cost some British blood in 1817.

attempt of Nahur Rao to maintain his independence against Pirthwirájá. Though a failure, it has immortalised his name, and given to the scene of action,¹ one of the passes of the Aravulli, a merited celebrity.

Mundawur¹ (classically Mundodri) was the capital of the Purihars, and was the chief city of Marwar which owned the sway of this tribe prior to the invasion and settlement of the Rahtores. It is placed five miles northward of the modern Jodpoor, and preserves some specimens of the ancient Pali character, fragments of sculpture and Jain temples.

The Rahtore emigrant princes of Canouj found an asylum with the Purihars. They repaid it by treachery, and Chonda, a name celebrated in the Rahtore annals, dispossessed the last of the Purihars, and pitched the flag of the Rahtores on the battlements of Mundawur.

The power of the Purihars had, however, been much reduced previously by the princes of Méwar, who not only abstracted much territory from them, but assumed the title of its princes—Rana.²

The Purihara is scattered over Rajast'han, but I am unaware of the existence of any independent chieftainship there. At the confluence of the Cohari, the Sinde, and the Chumbul, there is a colony of this race, which has given its name to a commune of twenty-four villages, besides hamlets, situated amidst the ravines of these streams. They were nominally subjects of Sindia; but it was deemed requisite for the line of defence along the Chumbul that it should be included within the British demarcation, by which we incorporated with our rule the most notorious body of thieves in the annals of T'hug history.

The Purihars had twelve subdivisions, of which the chief were the Indoh and Sindhil: a few of both are still to be found about the banks of the Loony.

CHAWURA or CHAURA.—This tribe was once renowned in the history of India, though its name is now scarcely known, or only in the chronicles of the bard. Of its origin we are in ignorance. It belongs neither to the Solar nor Lunar race, and consequently we may presume it to be of Scythic origin. The name is unknown in Hindust'han, and is confined, with many others originating from beyond the Indus, to the peninsula of Saurashtra. If foreign to India proper, its establishment must have been at a remote period, as we find individuals of it intermarrying with the Sooryavansa ancestry of the present princes of Méwar, when this family were the lords of Balabhi.

The capital of the Chawuras was the insular Deobunder, on the coast of Saurashtra, and the celebrated temple of Somnat'h, with many others on this coast, dedicated to Bálnat'h, or the sun, is attributed to this tribe of the Sauras,³ or worshippers of the sun; most probably the generic name of the tribe as well as of the peninsula.⁴

¹ Though now desolate, the walls of this fortress attest its antiquity, and it is a work that could not be undertaken in this degenerate age. The remains of it bring to mind those of Volterra or Cortona, and other ancient cities of Tuscany: enormous squared masses of stone without any cement.

² This was in the thirteenth century, when Mundawur was captured, and its prince slain, by the *Rawul* of Cheetore.

³ The *Συροι* of the Greek writers on Bactria, the boundary of the Bactrian kingdom under Apollodotus. On this see the paper on Grecian medals in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i.

⁴ Many of the inhabitants of the south and west of India cannot pronounce

By a natural catastrophe, or as the Hindu superstitious chroniclers will have it, as a punishment for the piracies of the prince of Deo, the element whose privilege he abused rose and overwhelmed his capital. As all this coast is very low, such an occurrence is not improbable ; though the abandonment of Deo might have been compelled by the irruptions of the Arabians, who at this period carried on a trade with these parts, and the plunder of some of their vessels may have brought this punishment on the Chawuras. That it was owing to some such political catastrophe, we have additional grounds for belief from the annals of Méwar, which state that its princes inducted the Chawuras into the seats of the power they abandoned on the continent and peninsula of Saurashtra.

At all events, the prince of Deo laid the foundation of Anhulwarra Puftun in S. 802 (A.D. 746), which henceforth became the capital city of this portion of India, in lieu of Balabhipoora, which gave the title of Balica-raes to its princes, the Balhara of the earlier Arabian travellers, and following them, the geographers of Europe.

Vena Raja (or, in the dialects, Bunraj), was this founder, and his dynasty ruled for one hundred and eighty-four years, when, as related in the sketch of the Solanki tribe, Bhoj Raj, the seventh from the founder, was deposed by his nephew. It was during this dynasty that the Arabian travellers¹ visited this court, of which they have left but a confused picture. We are not, however, altogether in darkness regarding the Chawura race, as in the Khoman Rassa, one of the chronicles of Méwar, mention is made of the auxiliaries under a leader named Chatunsi, in the defence of Cheetore against the first attack on record of the Mahomedans.

When Mahmood of Ghizni invaded Saurashtra and captured its capital, Anhulwarra, he deposed its prince, and placed upon the throne, according to Ferishta, a prince of the former dynasty, renowned for his ancient line and purity of blood, and who is styled Dabichalima ; a name which has puzzled all European commentators. Now the Dabi was a celebrated tribe, said by some to be a branch of the Chawura, and this therefore may be a compound of Dabi Chawura, or the Chourasima, by some called a branch of the ancient Yadus.

This ancient connection between the Sooryavansi chiefs and the Chawuras, or Sauras, of Saurashtra, is still maintained after a lapse of more than one thousand years ; for although an alliance with the Rana's family is deemed the highest honour that a Hindu prince can obtain, as being the first in rank in Rajast'han, yet is the humble Chawura sought out, even at the foot of fortune's ladder, whence to carry on the blood of Rama. The present heir-apparent of a line of 'one hundred kings,' the prince Jovana Sing, is the offspring of a Chawura mother, the daughter of a petty chieftain of Guzzerat.

It were vain to give any account of the present state of the families bearing this name. They must depend upon the fame of past days ; to this we leave them.

TAK or TAKSHAC.—Takshac appears to be the generic term of the

the *ch*, and invariably substitute the *s*. Thus the noted Pindarrie leader Cheetoo was always called Seetoo by the Dekhanis. Again, with many of the tribes of the desert, the *s* is alike a stumbling-block, which causes many singular mistakes, when Jessulmér, the 'hill of Jessul,' becomes *Jehulmér*, 'the hill of fools.'

¹ *Rélations anciennes des Voyageurs*, par Remaudot.

race from which the various Scythic tribes, the early invaders of India, branched off. It appears of more ancient application than Gete, which was the parent of innumerable sachæ. It might not be judicious to separate them, though it would be speculative to say which was the primitive title of the races called Scythic, after their country, Sakatai or Saca-dwipa, the land of the great Gete.

Abulgazi makes Taunak,¹ the son of Turc or Targetai, who appears to be the Turishka of the *Poorâns*; the Tukyus of the Chinese historians, the nomadic Tochari of Strabo, who aided to overturn the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and gave their name to the grand division of Asia, Tocharistan² or Turkistan: and there is every appearance of that singular race, the Tajuk,³ still scattered over these regions, and whose history appears a mystery, being the descendant of the Takshac.

It has been already observed, that ancient inscriptions in the Pali or Boodhist character have been discovered in various parts of Rajast'han, of the race called Tusta, Takshac, and Tâk, relating to the tribes, the Mori, Pramara, their descendants. *Naga* and *Takshac* are synonymous appellations in Sanscrit for the *snake*, and the Takshac is the celebrated Nagvansa of the early heroic history of India. The *Mahabharat* describes, in its usual allegorical style, the wars between the Pandus of Indraprest'ha and the Takshacs of the north. The assassination of Parikhita by the Takshac, and the exterminating warfare carried on against them by his son and successor, Janméja, who at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements, divested of its allegory,⁴ is plain historical fact.

¹ Abulgazi says, when Noah left the ark he divided the earth amongst his three sons: Shem had Iran: Japhet, the country of "Kuttup Shamach," the name of the regions between the Caspian sea and India. There he lived two hundred and fifty years. He left eight sons, of whom Turc was the elder and the seventh Camari, supposed the Gomer of Scripture.

Turc had four sons; the eldest of whom was Tanuk, the fourth from whom was Mogul, a corruption of Mungul, signifying *sad*, whose successors made the Jaxartes their winter abode. Under his reign no trace of the true religion remained: idolatry reigned everywhere. Oguz Khan succeeded.

The ancient Cimbri, who went west with Odin's horde of Jits, Cattis, and Su, were probably the tribes descended from Camari, the son of Turc.

² Tacash continued to be a proper name with the great Khans of Carazm (Chorasmia) until they adopted the faith of Mahomed. The father of Jellal, the foe of Jungheez Khan, was named Tacash. Tachkhund on the Jaxartes, the capital of Turkistan, may be derived from the name of the race.

Bayer says, "Tocharistan was the region of the Tochari, who were the ancient *Toḡaroi* (Tochari), or *Tacharoi* (Tacharoi). Ammianus Marcellinus says, "many nations obey the Bactrians, whom the Tochari surpass."—*Hist. Reg. Bact.* p. 7.

³ This singular race, the Tajuks, are repeatedly mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone, in his admirable account of the kingdom of Caubul. They are also particularly noticed as monopolising the commercial transactions of the kingdom of Bokhara, in that interesting work *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Bokhara*, the map accompanying which, for the first time, lays down authentically the sources and course of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

⁴ The *Mahabharat* describes this warfare against the snakes literally: of which, in one attack, he seized and made a burnt-offering (*hom*) of twenty thousand. It is surprising that the Hindu will accept these things literally. It might be said he had but a choice of difficulties, and that it would be as impossible for any human being to make the barbarous sacrifice of twenty thousand of his species, as it would be difficult to find twenty thousand snakes for the purpose. The author's knowledge of what barbarity will inflict, leaves the fact of the human sacrifice, though not perhaps to this extent, not even improbable. In 1811 his duties called him to a survey amidst the ravines of the Chumbul,

When Alexander invaded India, he found the Parætakæ, the mountain (*pahar*) Tâk, inhabiting the Paropamisian range ; nor is it by any means unlikely that Taxiles,¹ the ally of the Macedonian king, was the chief (*es*) of the Tâks ; and in the early history of the Bhatti princes of Jessulmér, when driven from Zabulist'han, they dispossessed the Tâks on the Indus, and established themselves in their land, the capital of which was called Salbhanpoora ; and as the date of this event is given as 3008 of the Yoodishtra era, it is by no means unlikely that Salivahana, or Salbhan (who was a Takshac), the conqueror of the Tuár Vicrama, was of the very family dispossessed by the Bhattis, who compelled them to migrate to the south.

The calculated period of the invasion of the Takshacs, or Nag-vansa, under Schesnag, is about six or seven centuries before the Christian era, at which very period the Scythic invasion of Egypt and Syria, "by the sons of Togarmah riding on horses" (the Aswas, or Asi), is alike recorded by the prophet Ezekiel and Diodorus. The Aboo Mahatma calls the Takshacs "the sons of Himachil," all evincing Scythic descent ; and it was only eight reigns anterior to this change in the Lunar dynasties of India, that Parswanat'h, the twenty-third Boodha, introduced his tenets into India, and fixed his abode in the holy mount Sarnet.²

Enough of the ancient history of the Tâk : we will now descend to more modern times, on which we shall be brief. We have already mentioned the Takshac Mori as being lords of Cheetore from a very early period ; and but a few generations after the Gehlotes supplanted the Moris, this palladium of Hindu liberty was assailed by the arms of Islam. We find amongst the numerous defenders who appear to have considered the cause of Cheetore their own, "the Tâk from Asérgurh."³ This race appears to have retained possession of Asér for at least two centuries after this event, as its chieftain was one of the most conspicuous leaders in the array of Pirthwirájá. In the poems of Chund he is called the "standard-bearer, Tâk of Asér."⁴

This ancient race, the foe of Janméja and the friend of Alexander, closed its career in a blaze of splendour. The celebrity of the kings of

the tract call Goojurgar, a district inhabited by the Goojur tribe. Turbulent and independent, like the sons of Esau, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them, their nominal prince, Soorajmul, the Jit chief of Bhurt-pore, pursued exactly the same plan towards the population of these villages, whom they captured in a night attack, that Janméja did to the Takshacs : he threw them into pits with combustibles, and actually thus consumed them ! This occurred not three quarters of a century ago.

¹ Arrian says that his name was Omphis, and that his father dying at this time, he did homage to Alexander, who invested him with the title and estates of his father Taxiles. Hence, perhaps (from *Tâk*), the name of the Indus, *Attac* ; not *Uttac*, or 'forbidden,' according to modern signification, and which has only been given since the Mahomedan religion for a time made it the boundary between the two faiths.

² In Bahar, during the reign of Pradyota, the successor of Ripoonjya. Parswa's symbol is the serpent or Tackshac. His doctrines spread to the remotest parts of India, and the princes of Balabhipoora of Mundodri and Anhul-warra all held to the tenets of Boodha.

³ This is the celebrated fortress in the Candeish, now in the possession of the British.

⁴ In the list of the wounded at the battle of Canouj he is mentioned by name, as "Chatto the Tâk."

Guzzerat will make amends for the obscurity of the Tâks of modern times, of whom a dynasty of fourteen kings followed each other in succession, commencing and ending with the proud title of Mozuffir. It was in the reign of Mohammed,¹ son of the first Toghluc, that an accident to his nephew Feroz proved the dawn of the fortunes of the Tâk; purchased, however, with the change of name and religion. Seharun the Tâk was the first apostate of his line, who, under the name of Wujeh ool Toolk concealed both his origin and tribe. His son, Zuffir Khan, was raised by his patron Feroz to the government of Guzzarat, about the period when Timoor invaded India. Zuffir availed himself of the weakness of his master and the distraction of the times, and mounted the throne of Guzzarat under the name of Mozuffir.² He was assassinated by the hand of his grandson, Ahmed, who changed the ancient capital, Anhulwarra, for the city founded by himself, and called Ahmedabad, one of the most splendid in the east.

With the apostasy of the Tâk,³ the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rajast'han; nor has my search ever discovered one of this name now existing.

JIT.—In all the ancient catalogues of the thirty-six royal races of India the Jit has a place, though by none is he ever styled 'Rajpoot'; nor am I aware of any instance of a Rajpoot's intermarriage with a Jit. It is a name widely disseminated over India, though it does not now occupy a very elevated place amongst the inhabitants, belonging chiefly to the agricultural classes.

In the Punjâb they still retain their ancient name of *Jit*. On the Jumna and Ganges they are styled *Jâts*, of whom the chief of Bhurtpoor is the most conspicuous. On the Indus and in Saurashtra they are termed *Juts*. The greater portion of the husbandmen in Rajast'han are Jits; and there are numerous tribes beyond the Indus, now proselytes to the Mahomedan religion, who derive their origin from this class.

Of its ancient history sufficient has been already said. We will merely add, that the kingdom of the great Gete, whose capital was on the Jaxartes, preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted from idolatry to the faith of Islam. Herodotus informs us that the Getes were theists and held the tenet of the soul's immortality; and De Guignes,⁴ from Chinese authorities, asserts that at a very early period they had embraced the religion of Fo or Boodha.

The traditions of the Jits claim the regions west of the Indus as the cradle of the race, and make them of Yadu extraction; thus corroborating the annals of the Yadus, which state their migration from Zabulist'han, and almost inducing as to dispense with the descent of this tribe from

¹ He reigned from A.D. 1325 to 1351.

² 'The victorious.'

³ The *Miyât Secundri* gives the ancestry of the apostate for twenty-three generations; the last of whom was Sehes, the same which introduced the Nagvansa, seven centuries before the Christian era, into India. The author of the work gives the origin of the name of Tâk, or Taunk, from *Tarka* 'expulsion,' from his caste, which he styles Khetri, evincing his ignorance of this ancient race.

⁴ "The superiority of the Chinese over the Turks caused the great Khan to turn his arms against the Nomadic Getes of Mawer-ool-Nehr (Transoxiana), descended from the Yuchi, and bred on the Jihoon or Oxus, whence they had extended themselves along the Indus and even Ganges, and are there yet found. These Getes had embraced the religion of Fo."—*Hist. Gén. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 375.

Crishna, and to pronounce it an important colony of the Yuchi, Yuti, or Jits. Of the first migration from Central Asia of this race within the Indus, we have no record: it might have been simultaneous with the Takshac, from the wars of Cyrus or his ancestors.

It has been already remarked, that the Jit divided with the Takshac the claim of being the parent name of the various tribes called Scythic, invaders of India; and there is now before the author an inscription of the fifth century applying both epithets to the same prince,¹ who is invested moreover with the Scythic quality of worshipping the sun. It states, likewise, that the mother of this Jit prince was of Yadu race: strengthening their claims to a niche amongst the thirty-six Rajcūlas, as well as their Yadu descent.

The fifth century of the Christian era, to which this inscription belongs, is a period of interest in Jit history. De Guignes, from original authorities, states the Yuchi, or Jits, to have established themselves in the Punjāb in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the inscription now quoted applies to a prince whose capital is styled *Salindrapoora* in these regions; and doubtless the *Salivahanpoor*² where the Yadu Bhattis established themselves on the expulsion of the Tāk.

How much earlier than this the Jit penetrated into Rajast'han must be left to more ancient inscriptions to determine: suffice it, that in A.D. 440 we find him in power.³

When the Yadu was expelled from Salivahanpoora, and forced to seek refuge across the Sutledge among the Dahia and Johya Rajpoots of the Indian desert, where they founded their first capital, Derrawul, many from compulsion embraced the Mahomedan faith; on which occasion they assumed the name of *Jāt*,⁴ of which at least twenty different offsets are enumerated in the Yadu chronicles.

¹ "To my foe, salutation! This foe how shall I describe? Of the race of *Jit Cattida*, whose ancestor, the warrior Takshac, formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva."

Though this is a figurative allusion to the snake necklace of the father of creation, yet it evidently pointed to the Jit's descent from the Takshac. But enough has been said elsewhere of the snake race, the parent of the Scythic tribes, which the divine Milton seems to have taken from Diodorus's account of the mother of the Scythæ:

"Woman to the waist, and fair;
But ended foul in many a scaly fold?"

—*Paradise Lost*, Book ii.

Whether the *Jit Catti-da* is the Jit or Gete of Cathay (*da* being the mark of the genitive case) we will leave to conjecture.

² This place existed in the twelfth century as a capital; since an inscription of Komarpāl, prince of Anhulwarra, declares that this monarch carried his conquests "even to Salpoor." There is Syal-kote in Rennell's geography, and Wilford mentions "Sangala, a famous city in ruins, sixty miles west by north of Lahore, situated in a forest, and said to be built by Pooru."

³ At this time (A.D. 449) the Jut brothers, Hengist and Horsa, led a colony from Jutland and founded the kingdom of Kent (*qui. Cant'hi*, 'a coast,' in Sanscrit, as in Gothic *Konta*?). The laws they there introduced, more especially the still prevailing one of gavelkind, where all the sons share equally, except the youngest who has a double portion, are purely Scythic, and brought by the original Goth from the Jaxartes.

Alaric had finished his career, and Theodoric and Genseric (*ric*, 'king,' in Sanscrit) were carrying their arms into Spain and Africa.

⁴ Why should these proselytes, if originally Yadu, assume the name of Jit

That the Jits continued as a powerful community on the east bank of the Indus and in the Punjáb, fully five centuries after the period our inscription and their annals illustrate, we have the most interesting records in the history of Mahmoud, the conqueror of India, whose progress they checked in a manner unprecedented in the annals of continental warfare. It was in 416 of the Hegira (A.D. 1026) that Mahmoud marched an army against the Jits, who had harassed and insulted him on the return from his last expedition against Saurashtra. The interest of the account authorises its being given from the original.

"The Jits inhabited the country on the borders of Moolt'han, along the river that runs by the mountains of Joud.¹ When Mahmoud reached Moolt'han, finding the Jit country defended by great rivers, he built fifteen hundred boats,² each armed with six iron spikes projecting from their prows, to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, expert in this kind of warfare. In each boat he placed twenty arches, and some with fire-balls of naphtha to burn the Jit fleet. The monarch having determined on their extirpation, awaited the result at Moolt'han. The Jits sent their wives, children, and effects to Sind Sagur,³ and launched four thousand, or, as others say, eight thousand boats well armed to meet the Guznians. A terrible conflict ensued, but the projecting spikes sunk the Jit boats while others were set on fire. Few escaped from this scene of terror; and those who did, met with the more severe fate of captivity."⁴

Many doubtless did escape; and it is most probable that the Jit communities, on whose overthrow the state of Bikanér was founded, were remnants of this very warfare.

Not long after this event the original empire of the Gete was overturned, when many fugitives found a refuge in India. In 1360, Togultash Timoor was the great Khan of the Gete nation; idolators even to this period. He had conquered Khorassan, invaded Transoxiana (whose prince fled, but whose nephew, Ameer Timoor, averted its subjugation), gained the friendship of Togultash, and commanded a hundred thousand Gete warriors. In 1369, when the Getic Khan died, such was the ascendancy obtained by Timoor over his subjects, that the Couraltai, or general assembly, transferred the title of Grand Khan from the Getic to the Chagitai Timoor. In 1370 he married a Getic princess, and added Kogend and Samarkand to his patrimony, Transoxiana. Rebellions and massacres almost depopulated this nursery of mankind, ere the Getes abandoned their independence; nor was it till 1388, after six invasions, in which he burnt

or Ját? It must be either that the Yadus were themselves the Scythic Yuti or Yuchi, or that the branches intermarried with the Jits, and consequently became degraded as Yadus, and the mixed issue bore the name of the mother.

¹ The Jiddoo ca Dang, 'or hills of Yadu,' mentioned in the sketch of this race as one of their intermediate points of halt when they were driven from India after the Mahabharat.

² Near the spot where Alexander built his fleet, which navigated to Babylon thirteen hundred years before.

³ Translated by Dow, 'an island.' Sind Sagur is one of the Do-ábas of the Punjáb. I have compared Dow's translation of the earlier portion of the history of Ferishta with the original, and it is infinitely more faithful than the world gives him credit for. His errors are most considerable in numerals and in weights and measures; and it is owing to this that he has made the captured wealth of India appear so incredible.

⁴ Ferishta, vol. i.

their towns, brought away their wealth, and almost annihilated the nation, that he felt himself secure.

In his expedition into India, having overrun great part of Europe, "taken Moscow, and slain the soldiers of the barbarous Ooroos," he encountered his old foes "the Getes, who inhabited the plains of Toheem, where he put two thousand to the sword, pursuing them into the desert and slaughtering many more near the Caggar."¹

Still the Jit maintained himself in the Punjâb, and the most powerful and independent prince of India at this day is the Jit prince of Lahore, holding dominion over the identical regions where the Yuchi colonised in the fifth century, and where the Yadus, driven from Guzni, established themselves on the ruins of the Tâks. The Jit cavalier retains a portion of his Scythic manners, and preserves the use of the chukra or discus, the weapon of the Yadu Crishna in the remote age of the Bharat.

HUN or HOON.—Amongst the Scythic tribes who have secured for themselves a niche with the thirty-six races of India, is the Hun. At what period this race, so well known by its ravages and settlement in Europe, invaded India, we know not. Doubtless it was in the society of many others yet found in the peninsula of Saurashtra, as the Catti, the Balla, the Macwahana, etc. It is, however, confined to the genealogies of that peninsula; for although we have mention of the Hun in the chronicles and inscriptions of India at a very early period, he failed to obtain a place in the catalogue of the northern bards.

The earliest notice of the tribe is in an inscription² recording the power of a prince of Behar, who, amidst his other conquests, "humbled the pride of the Huns." In the annals of the early history of Méwar, in the catalogue of princes who made common cause with this the chief of all the Rajpoots, when Cheetore was assailed in the first irruption of the Mahomedans, was Ungutsi, lord of the Huns, who led his quota on this occasion. De Guignes³ describes *Ungut* as being the name of a considerable horde of Huns or Moguls; and Abulgazi says that the Tartar tribe who guarded the great wall of China were termed *Ungutti*, who had a distinct prince with high pay and honour. The countries inhabited by the Hiong-nou and the Ou-huon, the Turks and Moguls, called 'Tatar' from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtish along the mountains of Altai to the shores of the Yellow Sea, are described at large by the historian of the Huns; following whom and other original sources, the historian of the Fall of Rome has given great interest to his narrative of their march into Europe. But those who are desirous to learn all that relates to the past history and manners of this people, must consult that monument of erudition and research, the Geography of Malte-Brun.⁴

¹ Abulgazi, vol. ii. chap. 16. After his battle with Sooltan Mahmoud of Dehli, Timoor gave orders, to use the word of his historian, "for the slaughter of a hundred thousand infidel slaves. The great mosque was fired, and the souls of the infidels were sent to the abyss of hell. Towers were erected of their heads, and their bodies were thrown as food to the beasts and birds of prey. At Mairta the infidel Guebres were flayed alive." This was by order of Tamerlane, to whom the dramatic historians of Europe assign every great and good quality!

² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 136.

³ *Hist Gén. des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 238.

⁴ *Précis de Géographie universelle*. Malte-Brun traces a connection between the Hungarians and the Scandinavians, from similarity of language: "A ces

D'Anville,¹ quoting Cosmas the traveller, informs us, that the white Huns (λευκοὶ Οὐγγοί)² occupied the north of India; and it is most probable a colony of these found their way into Saurashtra and Méwar.

It is on the eastern bank of the Chumbul, at the ancient Barolli, that tradition assigns a residence to the Hoon; and one of the celebrated temples at that place, called the Sengar Chaorie, is the marriage hall of the Hoon prince, who is also declared to have been possessed of a lordship on the opposite bank, occupying the site of the present town of Bhynsrar. In the twelfth century the Huns must have possessed consequence, to occupy the place he holds in the chronicle of the princes of Guzzerat. The race is not extinct. One of the most intelligent of the living bards of India assured the author of their existence; and in a tour where he accompanied him, redeemed his pledge, by pointing out the residence of some in a village on the estuary of the Myhie, though degraded and mixed with other classes.³

We may infer that few convulsions occurred in Central Asia, which drove forth these hordes of redundant population to seek subsistence in Europe, without India participating in such overflow. The only singular circumstance is, by what means they came to be recognised as Hindus, even though of the lowest class. Soodra we cannot term them; for although the Catti and the Balla cannot be regarded as, or classed with Rajpoots, they would scorn the rank of Soodra.

CATTI.—Of the ancient notices of this people much has been already said, and all the genealogists, both of Rajast'han and Saurashtra, concur in assigning it a place amongst the royal races of India. It is one of the most important tribes of the western peninsula, and which has effected the change of the name from Saurashtra to Cattiwar.

Of all its inhabitants the Catti retains most originality: his religion, his manners, and his looks, all are decidedly Scythic. He occupied, in the time of Alexander, that nook of the Punjab near the confluent five streams. It was against these Alexander marched in person, when he nearly lost his life, and where he left such a signal memorial of his vengeance. The Catti can be traced from these scenes to his present haunts. In the earlier portion of the annals of Jessulmér mention is made of their conflicts with the Catti; and their own traditions⁴ fix their settlement in the Peninsula from the south-eastern part of the valley of the Indus, about the eighth century.

In the twelfth century the Catti were conspicuous in the wars with Pirthwirájá, there being several leaders of the tribe attached to his army, as well as to that of his rival, the monarch of Kanouj.⁵ Though on this

siècles primitifs où les Huns, les Goths, les Jotes, les Ases, et bien d'autres peuples étaient réunis autour des anciens autels d'Odin." Several of the words which he affords us are Sanscrit in origin. Vol. vi. p. 370.

¹ *Eclaircissements Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 43.

² An orthography which more assimilates with the Hindu pronunciation of the name Huon, or Oun, than Hun.

³ The same bard says that there are three or four houses of these Hoons at Tresaowee, three coss from Baroda; and the Kheechee bard, Mogjee, says their traditions record the existence of many powerful Hoon princes in India.

⁴ The late Captain Macmurdo, whose death was a loss to the service and to literature, gives an animated account of the habits of the Catti. His opinions coincide entirely with my own regarding this race. See vol. i. p. 270, *Trans. Soc. of Bombay*.

⁵ It is needless to particularise them here. In the poems of Chund, some

occasion they acted in some degree of subservience to the monarch of Anhulwarra, it would seem that this was more voluntary than forced.

The Catti still adores the sun, scorns the peaceful arts, and is much less contented with the tranquil subsistence of industry than the precarious earnings of his former predatory pursuits. The Catti was never happy but on horseback, collecting his *black mail*, lance in hand, from friend and foe.

We will conclude this brief sketch with Captain Macmurdo's character of this race. "The Catti differs in some respects from the Rajpoot. He is more cruel in his disposition, but far exceeds him in the virtue of bravery; ¹ and a character possessed of more energy than a Catti does not exist. His size is considerably larger than common, often exceeding six feet. He is sometimes seen with light hair and blue-coloured eyes. His frame is athletic and bony, and particularly well adapted to his mode of life. His countenance is expressive, but of the worst kind, being harsh, and often destitute of a single mild feature." ²

BALLA.—All the genealogists, ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe amongst the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or 'blessing,' of the bard is *Tatta Mooltan ca rao*,³ indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Sooryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Ram; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Puttun; and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakhetra (their capital Balabhipoora), and assumed the title of Balla-rae. Here they claim identity with the Gehlote race of Méwar: nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Gehlotes adopted the worship of Mahadeo, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that Scythic resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim.

The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra, on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansa, and that they are the Balica-pootras who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus. It would be presumption to decide between these claims; but I would venture to surmise that they might be the offspring of Sehl, one of the princes of the Bharat, who founded Arore.

The Cattis claim descent from the Ballas: an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards, "Lords of Moolt'han and Tatta." The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Méwar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhank is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula.

books of which I have translated and purpose giving to the public, the important part the Catti had assigned to them will appear.

¹ It is the Rajpoot of Cattiwar, not of Rajast'han, to whom Captain Macmurdo alludes.

² Of their personal appearance, and the blue eye indicative of their Gothic or Getic origin, the author will have occasion to speak more particularly in his personal narrative.

³ 'Princes of Tatta and Mooltan.'

JHALA MACWAHANA.—This tribe also inhabits the Saurashtra peninsula. It is styled Rajpoot, though neither classed with the Solar, Lunar, nor Agni-cūla races ; but though we cannot directly prove it, we have every right to assign to it a northern origin. It is a tribe little known in Hindust'han or even Rajast'han, into which latter country it was introduced entirely through the medium of the ancient lords of Saurashtra, the present family of Méwar : a sanction which covers every defect. A splendid act of self-devotion of the Jhala chief, when Rana Pertap was oppressed with the whole weight of Akbar's power, obtained, with the gratitude of this prince, the highest honours he could confer,—his daughter in marriage, and a seat on his right hand. That it was the act, and not his rank in the scale of the thirty-six tribes, which gained him this distinction, we have decided proof in later times, when it was deemed a mark of great condescension that the present Rana should sanction a remote branch of his own family bestowing a daughter in marriage on the Jhala ruler of Kotah.¹

This tribe has given its name to one of the largest divisions of Saurashtra, Jhalawar, which possesses several towns of importance. Of these Bankanér, Hulwud, and Drangdra, are the principal.

Regarding the period of the settlement of the Jhalas tradition is silent, as also on their early history : but the aid of its quota was given to the Rana against the first attacks of the Mahomedans ; and in the heroic history of Pirthwirájá we have ample and repeated mention of the Jhala chieftains who distinguished themselves in his service, as well as in that of his antagonist, and the name of one of these, as recorded by the bard Chund, I have seen inscribed on the granite rock of the sacred Girmar, near their primitive abodes, where we leave them.

There are several subdivisions of the Jhala, of which the Macwahana is the principal.

JAITWA, JÉTWA, or CAMARI.—This is an ancient tribe, and by all authorities styled Rajpoot ; though, like the Jhala, little known out of Saurashtra, to one of the divisions of which it has given its name, Jaitwar. Its present possessions are on the western coast of the peninsula : the residence of its prince, who is styled Rana, is Poorbunder.

In remote times their capital was Goomlee, whose ruins attest considerable power, and afford singular scope for analogy, in architectural device, with the style termed Saxon of Europe. The bards of the Jaitwas run through a long list of one hundred and thirty crowned heads, and in the eighth century have chronicled the marriage of their prince with the Tuár refounder of Dehli. At this period the Jaitwa bore the name of Camar ; and Sehl Camar is reported to be the prince who was driven from Goomlee, in the twelfth century, by invaders from the north. With this change the name of Camar was sunk, and that of Jaitwa assumed, which has induced the author to style them Camari ; and as they, with the other inhabitants of this peninsula, have all the appearance of Scythic descent,

¹ His son, Madhu Sing, the present administrator, is the offspring of the celebrated Zalim and a Ranawut chieftain's daughter, which has entitled his (Madhu Sing's) issue to marry far above their scale in rank. So much does superiority of blood rise above all worldly considerations with a Rajpoot, that although Zalim Sing held the reins of the richest and best ordered state of Rajast'han, he deemed his family honoured by his obtaining to wife for his grandson the daughter of a Cutchwaha minor chieftain.

urging no pretensions to connection with the ancient races of India, they may be a branch of that celebrated race, the Cimmerii of higher Asia, and the Cimbri of Europe.

Their legends are as fabulous as fanciful. They trace their descent from the monkey-god Hanuman, and confirm it by alleging the elongation of the spine of their princes, who bear the epithet of *Pooncheria*, or the 'long-tailed,' Ranas of Saurashtra. But the manners and traditions of this race will appear more fully in the narrative of the author's travels amongst them.

GOHIL.¹—This was a distinguished race : it claims to be Sooryavansi, and with some pretension. The first residence of the Gohils was Joonah Khérgurh, near the bend of the Loony in Marwar. How long they had been established here we know not. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwo, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations when expelled by the Rahtores at the end of the twelfth century. Thence migrating to Saurashtra, they fixed at Perumgurh ; which being destroyed, one branch settled at Bugwa, and the chief marrying the daughter of Nundun Nugger or Nandode, he usurped or obtained his father-in-law's estates ; and twenty-seven generations are enumerated, from Sompál to Narsing, the present Raja of Nandode. Another branch fixed at Seehore, and thence founded Bhownugger and Gogo. The former town, on the gulf of the Myhie, is the residence of the Gohils, who have given their name, Gohilwar, to the eastern portion of the peninsula of Saurashtra.

The present chief addicts himself to commerce, and possesses ships which trade to the gold coast of Sofala.

SARWYA OR SARIASPA.—Of this race tradition has left us only the knowledge that it once was famous ; for although, in the catalogues of the bard, it is introduced as the "essence of the Khetri race,"² we have only a few legends regarding its present degradation. Its name, as well as this epithet of the bard, induces a belief that it is a branch of the Aswas, with the prefix of *sár*, denoting 'essence,' or priority. But it is useless to speculate on a name.

SILAR OR SULAR.—Like the former, we have here but the shade of a name ; though one which, in all probability, originated the epithet *Lariké*, by which the Saurashtra peninsula was known to Ptolemy and the geographers of early Europe. The tribe of Lar was once famous in Saurashtra, and in the annals of Anhulwarra mention is made of Sid Rae Jey Sing having extirpated them throughout his dominions. *Sular*, or *Silar*, would therefore be distinctively the Lar.³ Indeed, the author of the *Komarvál Charitra* styles it *Raj-tilac*, or 'regal prince' ; but the name only now exists amongst the mercantile classes professing the faith of Boodha : it is inserted as one of the eighty-four. The greater portion of these are of Rajpoot origin.

DABI.—Little can be said of this tribe, but that it was once celebrated in Saurashtra. By some it is called the branch of the Yadu, though all the genealogists give it distinct importance. It now possesses neither territory nor numbers.

¹ A compound word from Goh, 'strength' ; Ela, 'the earth.'

² *Sarweya Khetrie tyn sár*.

³ *Su*, as before observed, is a distinctive prefix, meaning 'excellent.'

BYCE.—The Byce has obtained a place amongst the thirty-six races, though the author believes it but a subdivision of the Sooryavansi, as it is neither to be met with in the lists of Chund, nor in those of the *Komarṣāl Charitra*. It is now numerous, and has given its name to an extensive district, Bycewara in the Do-áb, or the land between the Ganges and Jumna.

DAHIA.—This is an ancient tribe, whose residence was the banks of the Indus, near its confluence with the Sutledge; and although they retain a place amongst the thirty-six royal races, we have not the knowledge of any as now existing. They are mentioned in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmér, and from name as well as from *locale*, we may infer that they were the Dahæ of Alexander.

JOYHA.—This race possessed the same haunts as the Dahia, and are always coupled with them. They, however, extended across the Garah into the northern desert of India, and in ancient chronicles are entitled "Lords of Jungul-Désa," a tract which comprehended Heriana, Bhatnair, and Nagore. The author possesses a work relative to this tribe, like the Dahia, now extinct.

MOHIL.—We have no mode of judging of the pretensions of this race to the place it is allowed to occupy by the genealogists. All that can be learned of its past history is, that it inhabited a considerable tract so late as the foundation of the present state of Bikanér, the Rahtore founders of which expelled, if not extirpated, the Mohil. With the Malun, Malaní, and Mallia, also extinct, it may claim the honour of descent from the ancient Malli, the foes of Alexander, whose abode was Moolt'han. (*Qu. Mohil-t'han?*)

NICOOMPA.—Of this race, to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mandelgurh prior to the Gehlotes.

RAJ-PALI.—It is difficult to discover anything regarding this race, which, under the names of Raj-pali, Raj-palica, or simply Pala, are mentioned by all the genealogists; especially those of Saurashtra, to which in all probability it was confined. This tends to make it Scythic in origin; the conclusion is strengthened by the derivation of the name, meaning 'royal shepherd': it was probably a branch of the ancient Pali.¹

DAHIRYA.—The *Komarṣāl Charitra* is our sole authority for classing this race with the thirty-six. Of its history we know nothing. Amongst the princes who came to the aid of Cheetore, when first assailed by the arms of Islam, was "the lord of Débeil, Dahir, *Despati*."² From the ignorance of the transcriber of the Gehlote annals, *Dehli* is written instead of *Debeil*; but we not only have the whole of the names of the Tuár race, but Dehli was not in existence at this time. Slight as is the mention of this prince in the Cheetore annals, it is nevertheless of high value, as stamping them with authenticity; for this Dahir was actually the *despot* of Sinde, whose tragical end in his capital Debeil is related by Abul Fuzil. It was in the ninety-ninth year of the Hegira that he was attacked by Cassim, the lieutenant of the Caliph of Bagdad, and treated with the greatest barbarity. Whether this prince used *Dahir* as a proper name, or as that of his tribe, must be left to conjecture.

¹ The final syllable *ca* is a mark of the genitive case.

² 'Chief of a country,' from *dés*, 'country,' and *pati*, 'chief.' (*Qu. δεσποτης?*)

DAHIMA.—The Dahima has left but the wreck of a great name. Seven centuries have swept away all recollection of a tribe who once afforded one of the proudest themes for the song of the bard. The Dahima was the lord of Biana, and one of the most powerful vassals of the Chohan emperor, Pirthwirájá. Three brothers of this house held the highest offices under this monarch, and the period during which the elder, Kaimas, was his minister, was the brightest in the history of the Chohan: but he fell a victim to a blind jealousy. Poondir, the second brother, commanded the frontier at Lahore. The third, Chaond Rae, was the principal leader in the last battle, where Pirthwirájá fell, with the whole of his chivalry, on the banks of the Caggar. Even the historians of Shabudín have preserved the name of the gallant Dahima, Chaond Rae, whom they style Khandirai; and to whose valour, they relate, Shabudín himself nearly fell a sacrifice. With the Chohan, the race seems to have been extinguished. Rainsi, his only son, was by this sister of Chaond Rae, but he did not survive the capture of Dehli. This marriage forms the subject of one of the books of the bard, who never was more eloquent than in the praise of the Dahima.¹

ABORIGINAL RACES.

Baugree, Mér, Kaba, Meena, Bhil, Séríah, T'hori, Khangar, Goand, Bhurr, Junwar, and Sarud.

AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL TRIBES.

Abhíra or Aheer, Goala, Koormi or Koolmbi, Goojur, and Jat.

RAJPOOT TRIBES TO WHICH NO SACHA IS ASSIGNED.

Jalia, Péshani, Sohagni, Chahira, Ran, Simala, Boteela, Gotchir, Malun, Ohir, Hool, Bachuk, Batur, Kéruch, Kotuk, Boosa, and Birgota.

CATALOGUE OF THE EIGHTY-FOUR MERCANTILE TRIBES.

Sri Sri Mal, Srimal, Oswal, Bhagairwal, Deendoo, Pooshkurwal, Mairtawal, Hursoruh, Soorurwal, Pilliwal, Bhumboo, Khundailwal, Dohilwal, Kehderwal, Deesawal, Goojurwal, Sohorwal, Uggurwal, Jaelwal, Manutwal, Kajotiwal, Kortawal, Chehtrawal, Soni, Sojutwal, Nagur, Mad, Julhéra, Lar, Kupole, Khuraita, Bururie, Dusora, Bamburwal, Nagudra, Kurbaira, Buttewura, Mewarra, Nursingpoora, Khaterwal, Punchumwal, Hunerwal, Sirkaira, Byce, Stukhi, Kumbowal, Jeerunwal, Bhagélwal, Orchitwal, Bamunwal, Sreegoor, Thakoorwal, Balmiwal, Tepora, Tilota, Atburgi, Ladisaka, Bednora, Kheecho, Gusora, Bahaohur, Jaimo, Pudmora,

¹ Chund, the bard, thus describes Biana, and the marriage of Pirthwirájá with the Dahimee: "On the summit of the hills of Druinadahar, whose awful load oppressed the head of Sehesnag, was placed the castle of Biana, resembling Kylas. The Dahima had three sons and two fair daughters: may his name be perpetuated throughout this iron age! One daughter was married to the Lord of Méwát, the other to the Chohan. With her he gave in dower eight beauteous damsels and sixty-three female slaves, one hundred chosen horses of the breed of Irak, two elephants, and ten shields, a pallet of silver for the bride, one hundred wooden images, one hundred chariots, and one thousand pieces of gold."

The bard, on taking leave, says: "the Dahima lavished his gold, and filled his coffers with the praises of mankind. The Dahimee produced a jewel, a gem without price, the Prince Rainsi."

The author here gives a fragment of the ruins of Biana, the ancient abode of the Dahima.

Meherea, Dhakurwal, Mungora, Goelwal, Mohorwal, Cheetora, Kakulea, Bharéja, Undora, Sachora, Bhoongrawal, Mundahulu, Bramunia, Bagria, Dindoria, Borwal, Sorbea, Orwal, Nufag, and Nagora. (One wanting.)

CHAPTER VIII

Reflections on the present political state of the Rajpoot tribes.

HAVING thus taken a review of the tribes which at various times inhabited and still inhabit Hindust'han, the subject must be concluded.

In so extensive a field it was impossible to introduce all that could have been advanced on the distinctive marks in religion and manners ; but this deficiency will be remedied in the annals of the most prominent races yet ruling, by which we shall prevent repetition.

The same religion governing the institutions of all these tribes operates to counteract that dissimilarity in manners, which would naturally be expected amidst so great a variety, from situation or climate ; although such causes do produce a material difference in external habit. Cross but the elevated range which divides upland Méwar from the low sandy region of Marwar, and the difference of costume and manners will strike the most casual observer. But these changes are only exterior and personal ; the mental character is less changed, because the same creed, the same religion (the principal former and reformer of manners), guides them all.

We have the same mythology, the same theogony, the same festivals, though commemorated with peculiar distinctions. There are niceties in thought, as in dress, which if possible to communicate would excite but little interest ; when the tie of a turban and the fold of a robe are, like Masonic symbols, distinguishing badges of tribes. But it is in their domestic circle that manners are best seen ; where restraint is thrown aside, and no authority controls the freedom of expression. But does the European seek access to this *sanctum* of nationality ere he gives his *debtor and creditor* account of character, his balanced catalogue of virtues and vices ? He may, however, with the Rajpoot, whose independence of mind places him above restraint, and whose hospitality and love of character will always afford free communication to those who respect his opinions and his prejudices, and who are devoid of that overweening opinion of self, which imagines that nothing can be learned from such friendly intercourse. The personal dissimilarity accordingly arises from *local* ; the mental similarity results from a grand fixed principle, which, whatever its intrinsic moral effect, whatever its incompatibility with the elevated notions we entertain, has preserved to these races, as nations, the enjoyment of their ancient habits to this distant period. May our boasted superiority in all that exalts man above his fellows, ensure to our Eastern empire like duration ; and may these notions of our own peculiarly favoured destiny operate to prevent us from laying prostrate, in our periodical ambitious visitations, these the most ancient relics of civilisation on the face of the earth ! For the dread of their amalgamation with our empire will prevail, though such a result would be opposed not only to their happiness, but to our own stability.

With our present system of alliances, so pregnant with evil from their origin, this fatal consequence (far from desired by the legislative authorities at home) must inevitably ensue. If the wit of man had been taxed to devise a series of treaties with a view to an ultimate rupture, these would be entitled to applause as specimens of diplomacy.

There is a perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty; and while the internal independence of each state is the groundwork, it is frittered away and nullified by successive stipulations, and these positive and negative qualities continue mutually repelling each other, until it is apparent that independence cannot exist under such conditions. Where discipline is lax, as with these feudal associations, and where each subordinate vassal is master of his own retainers, the article of military contingents alone, would prove a source of contention. By leading to interference with each individual chieftain, it would render such aid worse than useless. But this is a minor consideration to the tributary pecuniary stipulation, which unsettled and undetermined leaves a door open to a system of espionage into their revenue accounts—a system not only disgusting, but contrary to treaty, which leaves 'internal administration' sacred. These openings to dispute, and the general laxity of their governments coming in contact with our regular system, present dangerous handles for ambition: and who so blind as not to know that ambition to be distinguished must influence every viceroy in the East? While deeds in arms and acquisition of territory outweigh the meek éclat of civil virtue, the periodical visitations to these kingdoms will ever be like the comet's,

"Foreboding change to princes."

Our position in the East has been, and continues to be, one in which conquest forces herself upon us. We have yet the power, however late, to halt, and not anticipate her further orders to march. A contest for a mud-bank has carried our arms to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, the limit of Ptolemy's geography. With the Indus on the left, the Brahmapootra to the right, the Himalayan barrier towering like a giant to guard the Tatarian ascent, the ocean and our ships at our back, such is our colossal attitude! But if misdirected ambition halts not at the Brahmapootra, but plunges in to gather laurels from the teak forest of Arracan, what surety have we for these Hindu states placed by treaty within the grasp of our control?

But the hope is cherished, that the same generosity which formed those ties that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction, will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success, "that their independence should be sacred"; that it will palliate faults we may not overlook, and perpetuate this oasis of ancient rule, in the desert of destructive revolution, of races whose virtues are their own, and whose vices are the grafts of tyranny, conquest, and religious intolerance.

To make them known is one step to obtain for them, at least, the boon of sympathy; for with the ephemeral power of our governors and the agents of government, is it to be expected that the rod will more softly fall when ignorance of their history prevails, and no kind association springs from a knowledge of their martial achievements and yet proud bearing, their generosity, courtesy, and extended hospitality? These are Rajpoot virtues yet extant amidst all their revolutions, and which have survived

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of their troops, whose loose habits and discipline would ensure constant complaint, we may certainly take credit for having established a system which must compel that direct interference, which the broad principle of each treaty professes to check.

The inevitable consequence is the perpetuation of that denationalising principle, so well understood by the Mahrattas, "*divide et impera*." We are few ; to use an Oriental metaphor, our agents must " use the eyes and ears of others." That mutual dependence, which would again have arisen, our interference will completely nullify. Princes will find they can oppress their chiefs, chiefs will find channels by which their sovereign's commands may be rendered nugatory, and irresponsible ministers must have our support to raise these undefined tributary supplies ; and unanimity, confidence, and all the sentiments of gratitude which they owe, and acknowledge to be our due, will gradually fade with the national degradation. That our alliances have this tendency cannot be disputed. By their very nature they transfer the respect of every class of subjects from their immediate sovereign to the paramount authority and its subordinate agents. Who will dare to urge that a government, which cannot support its internal rule without restriction, can be national ? that without power unshackled and unrestrained by exterior council or espionage, it can maintain self-respect, the corner-stone of every virtue with states as with individuals ? This first of feelings these treaties utterly annihilate. Can we suppose such denationalised allies are to be depended upon in emergencies ? or, if allowed to retain a spark of their ancient moral inheritance, that it will not be kindled into a flame against us when opportunity offers, instead of lighting up the powerful feeling of gratitude which yet exists towards us in these warlike communities ?

Like us they were the natural foes of that predatory system which so long disturbed our power, and our preservation and theirs were alike consulted in its destruction. When we sought their alliance, we spoke in the captivating accents of philanthropy ; we courted them to disunite from this Ahrimanes of political convulsion. The benevolent motives of the great mover of these alliances we dare not call in question, and his policy coincided with the soundest wisdom. But the treaties might have been revised, and the obnoxious parts which led to discord, abrogated, at the expense of a few paltry lacs of tribute and a portion of sovereign homage. It is not yet too late. True policy would enfranchise them altogether from our alliance ; but till then let them not feel their shackles in the galling restraint on each internal operation. Remove that millstone to national prosperity, the poignant feeling that every increased bushel of corn raised in their long-deserted fields must send its tithe to the British granaries. Let the national mind recover its wonted elasticity, and they will again attain their former celebrity. We have the power to advance this greatness, and make it and its result our own ; or, by a system unworthy of Britain, to retard and even quench it altogether.¹

¹ If Lord Hastings' philanthropy, which rejoiced in snatching these ancient states from the degradation of predatory warfare, expected that in four short years order should rise out of the chaos of a century, and " was prepared to visit with displeasure all symptoms of internal neglect, arising from supineness, indifference, or concealed ill-will" ; if he signified that " government would take upon itself the task of restoring order," and that " all changes " on this score " would

Never were their national characteristics so much endangered as in the seducing calm which followed the tempestuous agitations in which they had so long floated ; doubtful, to use their own figurative expression, whether " the gift of our friendship, or our arms," were fraught with greater evil. The latter they could not withstand ; though it must never be lost sight of, that, like ancient Rome when her glory was fading, we use " the arms of the barbarians " to defend our conquests against them ! Is the mind ever stationary ? are virtue and high notions to be acquired from contact and example ? Is there no mind above the level of £10 monthly pay in all the native legions of the three presidencies of India ? no Odoacer, no Sevaji, again to revive ? Is the book of knowledge and of truth, which we hold up, only to teach them submission and perpetuate their weakness ? Can we without fresh claims expect eternal gratitude, and must we not rationally look for reaction in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power, may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity ?

Is the mantle of protection, which we have thrown over these warlike races, likely to avert such a result ? It might certainly, if imbued with all those philanthropic feelings for which we took credit, act with soporific influence, and extinguish the embers of international animosity. " The lion and the lamb were to drink from the same fountain " ; they were led to expect the holy *Satya Yug*, when each man reposed under his own fig-tree, which neither strife nor envy dared approach.

When so many nations are called upon, in a period of great calamity and danger, to make over to a foreigner, their opposite in everything, their superior in most, the control of their forces in time of war, the adjudication of their disputes in time of peace, and a share in the fruits of their renovating prosperity, what must be the result ; when each Rajpoot may hang up his lance in the hall, convert his sword to a ploughshare, and make a basket of his buckler ? What but the prostration of every virtue ? It commences with the basis of the Rajpoot's,—the martial virtues ; extinguish these and they will soon cease to respect themselves. Sloth, low cunning and meanness will follow. What nation ever maintained its character that devolved on the stranger the power of protection ! To be great, to be independent, its martial spirit must be cherished ; happy if within the bounds of moderation. Led away by enthusiasm, the author experienced the danger of interference, when observing but one side of the picture—the brilliant lights which shone on their long days of darkness, not calculating the shade which would follow the sudden glare.

On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence or their amalgamation—a crisis fraught with danger to our overgrown rule.

Let Alexander's speech to his veterans, tired of conquest and refusing to cross the Hyphasis, be applied, and let us not reckon too strongly on our empire of opinion : " Fame never represents matters truly as they are, but on the contrary magnifies everything. This is evident ; for our own

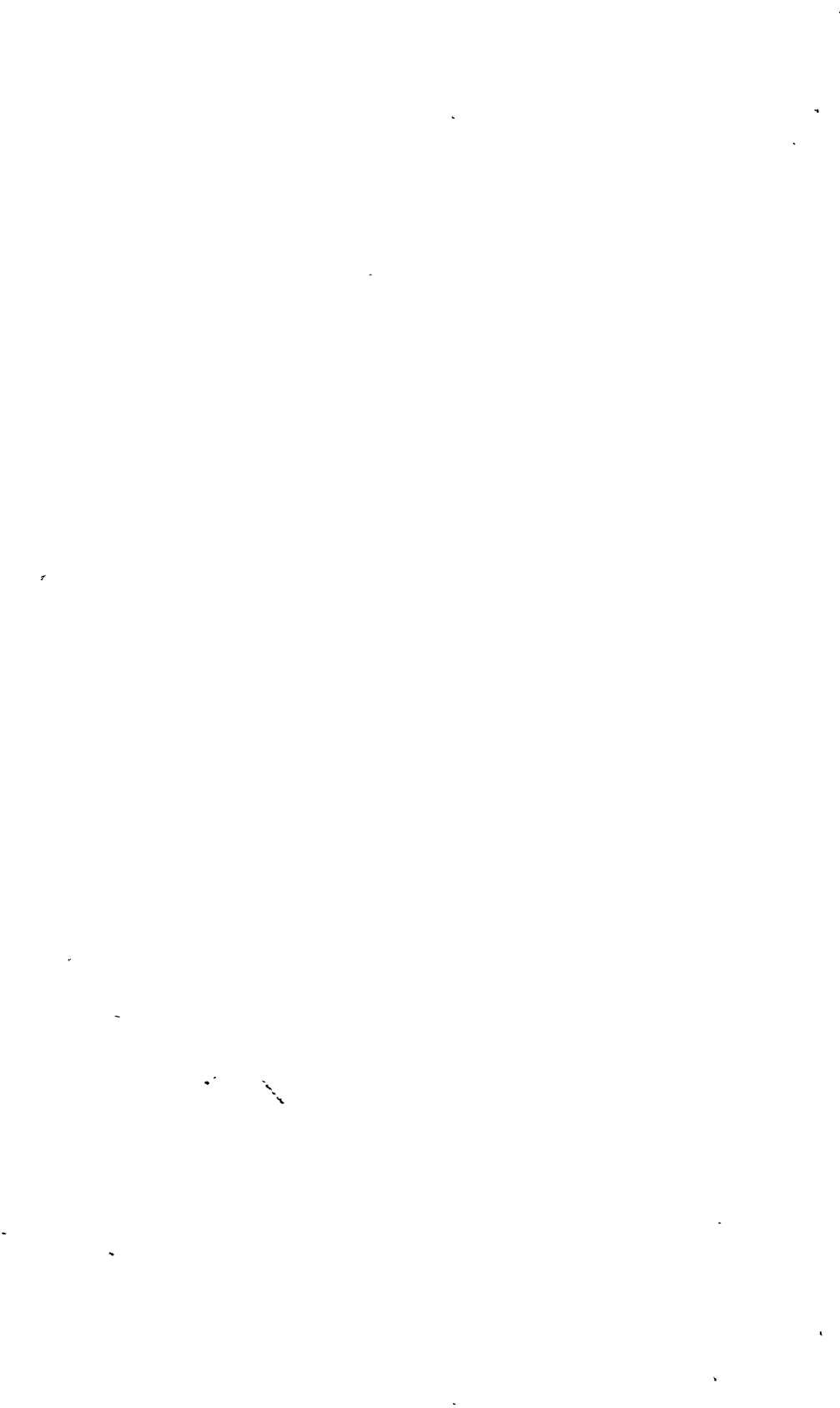
be demanded and rigidly exacted " : in fine, that " such arrangements would be made as would deprive them of the power of longer abusing the spirit of liberal forbearance, the motives of which they were incapable of understanding or appreciating " ; what have they to hope from those without his sympathies ?

reputation and glory, though founded on solid truth, is yet more obliged to rumour than reality." ¹

We may conclude with the Macedonian conqueror's reasons for showing the Persians and his other foreign allies so much favour: "The possession of what we got by the sword is not very durable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, and not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over." ²

¹ *Quintus Curtius*. lib. ix.

² *Ibid.* lib. viii.



SKETCH OF A FEUDAL SYSTEM IN RAJAST'HAN

CHAPTER I

Introduction—Existing condition of Rajast'han—General resemblance between the ancient systems of Asia and Europe—Noble origin of the Rajpoot race—Rahtores of Marwar—Cuchwahs of Ambér—Sesodias of Méwar—Gradation of ranks—Revenues and rights of the Crown—Burrar—Khur Lakur.

It is more than doubtful whether any code of civil or criminal jurisprudence ever existed in any of these principalities ; though it is certain that none is at this day discoverable in their archives. But there is a martial system peculiar to these Rajpoot states, so extensive in its operation as to embrace every object of society. This is so analogous to the ancient feudal system of Europe, that I have not hesitated to hazard a comparison between them, with reference to a period when the latter was yet imperfect. Long and attentive observation enables me to give this outline of a system, of which there exists little written evidence. Curiosity originally, and subsequently a sense of public duty (lest I might be a party to injustice), co-operated in inducing me to make myself fully acquainted with the minutiae of this traditionary theory of government ; and incidents, apparently trivial in themselves, exposed parts of a widely-extended system, which, though now disjointed, still continue to regulate the actions of extensive communities, and lead to the inference, that at one period it must have attained a certain degree of perfection.

Many years have elapsed since I first entertained these opinions, long before any connection existed between these states and the British government ; when their geography was little known to us, and their history still less so. At that period I frequently travelled amongst them for amusement, making these objects subservient thereto, and laying the result freely before my government. I had abundant sources of intelligence to guide me in forming my analogies ; Montesquieu, Hume, Millar, Gibbon : ¹ but I sought only general resemblances and lineaments similar to those before me. A more perfect, because more familiar picture, has since appeared by an author,² who has drawn aside the veil of mystery which covered the subject, owing to its being till then but imperfectly understood. I compared the features of Rajpoot society with the finished picture of this eloquent writer, and shall be satisfied with having substantiated the claim of these tribes to participation in a system, hitherto deemed to belong exclusively to Europe. I am aware of the danger of

¹ *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. iii.

² Hallam's *Middle Ages*.

hypothesis, and shall advance nothing that I do not accompany by incontestible proofs.

The leading features of government amongst semi-barbarous hordes or civilised independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce the analogies which are observed to regulate Tatar hordes or German tribes, Caledonian clans, the Rajpoot Cúla (race), or Jhareja Bhyád (brotherhood). All the countries of Europe participated in the system we denominate feudal; and we can observe it, in various degrees of perfection or deterioration, from the mountains of Caucasus to the Indian ocean. But it requires a persevering toil, and more discriminating judgment than I possess, to recover all these relics of civilisation: yet though time, and still more oppression, have veiled the ancient institutions of Méwar, the mystery may be penetrated, and will discover parts of a system worthy of being rescued from oblivion.

Mahratta cunning, engrafted on Mahomedan intolerance, had greatly obscured these institutions. The nation itself was passing rapidly away: the remnant which was left had become a matter of calculation, and their records and their laws partook of this general decay. The nation may recover; the physical frame may be renewed; but the *morale* of the society must be recast. In this chaos a casual observer sees nothing to attract notice; the theory of government appears, without any of the dignity which now marks our regular system. Whatever does exist is attributed to fortuitous causes—to nothing systematic: no fixed principle is discerned, and none is admitted; it is deemed a mechanism without a plan. This opinion is hasty. Attention to distinctions, though often merely nominal, will aid us in discovering the outlines of a picture which must at some period have been more finished; when real power, unrestrained by foreign influence, upheld a system, the plan of which was original. It is in these remote regions, so little known to the Western world, and where original manners lie hidden under those of the conquerors, that we may search for the germs of the constitutions of European states.¹ A contempt for all that is Asiatic too often marks our countrymen in the East: though at one period on record the taunt might have been reversed.

In remarking the curious coincidence between the habits, notions, and governments of Europe in the Middle Ages, and those of Rajast'han, it is

¹ It is a high gratification to be supported by such authority as M. St. Martin, who, in his *Discours sur l'Origine et l'Histoire des Arsacides*, thus speaks of the system of government termed feudal, which I contend exists amongst the Rajpoots: "On pense assez généralement que cette sorte de gouvernement qui dominait il y a quelques siècles, et qu'on appelle *système féodal*, était particulière à l'Europe, et que c'est dans les forêts de la Germanie qu'il faut en chercher l'origine. Cependant, si au lieu d'admettre les faits sans les discuter, comme il arrive trop souvent, on examinait un peu cette opinion, elle disparaîtrait devant la critique, ou du moins elle se modifierait singulièrement; et l'on verrait que, si c'est des forêts de la Germanie que nous avons tiré le gouvernement féodal, il n'en est certainement pas originaire. Si l'on veut comparer l'Europe, telle qu'elle était au xii^e. siècle, avec la monarchie fondée en Asie par les Arsacides trois siècles avant notre ère, partout on verra des institutions et des usages pareils. On y trouvera les mêmes dignités, et jusqu'aux mêmes titres, etc., etc. Boire, chasser, combattre, faire et défaire des rois, c'étaient là les nobles occupations d'un Parthe."—*Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 65. It is nearly so with the Rajpoot.

not absolutely necessary we should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other ; each may, in truth, be said to have the patriarchal form for its basis. I have sometimes been inclined to agree with the definition of Gibbon, who styles the system of our ancestors the offspring of chance and barbarism. "Le système féodal, assemblage monstrueux de tant de parties que le tems et l'hazard ont réunies, nous offre un objet très compliqué : pour l'étudier il faut le décomposer." ¹ This I shall attempt.

The form, as before remarked, is truly patriarchal in these states, where the greater portion of the vassal chiefs, from the highest of the sixteen peers to the holders of a *chursa* ² of land, claim affinity in blood to the sovereign.³

The natural seeds are implanted in every soil, but the tree did not gain maturity except in a favoured aspect. The perfection of the system in England is due to the Normans, who brought it from Scandinavia, whither it was probably conveyed by Odin and the Sacasenæ, or by anterior migrations, from Asia ; which would coincide with Richardson's hypothesis, who contends that it was introduced from Tatar. Although speculative reasoning forms no part of my plan, yet when I observe analogy on the subject in the customs of the ancient German tribes, the Franks or Gothic races, I shall venture to note them. Of one thing there is no doubt—knowledge must have accompanied the tide of migration from the east : and from higher Asia emerged the Asi, the Catti, and the Cimbric Lombard, who spread the system in Scandinavia, Friesland, and Italy.

"It has been very common," says the enlightened historian of the Feudal System in the Middle Ages, "to seek for the origin of feuds, or at least for analogies to them, in the history of various countries : but though it is of great importance to trace the similarity of customs in different parts of the world, we should guard against seeming analogies, which vanish away when they are closely observed. It is easy to find partial resemblances to the feudal system. The relation of patron and client in the republic of Rome has been deemed to resemble it, as well as the barbarians and veterans who held frontier lands on the tenure of defending them and the frontier ; but they were bound not to an individual, but to the state. Such a resemblance of fiefs may be found in the Zemindars of Hindusthan and the Timariots of Turkey. The clans of the Highlanders and Irish followed their chieftain into the field : but their tie was that of imagined kindred and birth, not the spontaneous compact of vassalage." ⁴

I give this at length to show, that if I still persist in deeming the Rajpoot system a pure relation of feuds, I have before my eyes the danger of seeming resemblances. By grants, deeds, charters, and traditions, copies of all of

¹ Gibbon, *Miscell.* vol. iii. Du gouvernement féodal.

² A 'skin or hyde.' Millar (chap. v. p. 85) defines a 'hyde of land,' the quantity which can be cultivated by a single plough. A *chursa*, 'skin or hyde' of land, is as much as one man can water ; and what one can water is equal to what one plough can cultivate. If irrigation ever had existence by the founders of the system, we may suppose this the meaning of the term which designated a *knight's fee*. It may have gone westward with emigration.

³ *Baupjée*, 'sire,' is the appellation of royalty, and, strange enough, whether to male or female ; while its offsets, which form a numerous branch of vassals, are called *bábás*, 'the infants.'

⁴ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 200.

which will be found in the Appendix, will establish my opinions. I hope to prove that the tribes in the northern regions of Hindust'han did possess the system, and that it was handed down, and still obtains, notwithstanding seven centuries of paramount sway of the Mogul and Pat'han dynasties, altogether opposed to them except in this feature of government, where there was an original similarity. In some of these states—those least affected by conquest—the system remained freer from innovation. It is, however, from Méwar chiefly that I shall deduce my examples, as its internal rule was less influenced by foreign policy, even to the period at which the imperial power of Dehli was on the decline.

As in Europe, for a length of time, traditionary custom was the only regulator of the rights and tenures of this system, varying in each state, and not unfrequently (in its minor details) in the different provinces of one state, according to their mode of acquisition and the description of occupants when required. It is from such circumstances that the variety of tenure and customary law proceeds. To account for this variety, a knowledge of them is requisite; nor is it until every part of the system is developed that it can be fully understood. The most trifling cause is discovered to be the parent of some important result. If ever these were embodied into a code (and we are justified in assuming such to have been the case), the varied revolutions which have swept away almost all relics of their history were not likely to spare these. Mention is made of several princes of the house of Méwar who legislated for their country; but precedents for every occurring case lie scattered in formulas, grants, and traditionary sayings. The inscriptions still existing on stone would alone, if collected, form a body of laws sufficient for an infant community; and these were always first committed to writing, and registered ere the column was raised. The seven centuries of turmoil and disaster, during which these states were in continual strife with the foe, produced many princes of high intellect as well as valour. Sanga Rana, and his antagonist, Sultan Baber, were revived in their no less celebrated grandsons, the great Akber and Rana Pertáp: the son of the latter, Umra, the foe of Jehangír, was a character of whom the proudest nation might be vain.

The pen has recorded, and tradition handed down, many isolated fragments of the genius of these Rajpoot princes, as statesmen and warriors, touching the political division, regulations of the aristocracy, and commercial and agricultural bodies. Sumptuary laws, even, which append to a feudal system, are to be traced in these inscriptions: the annulling of monopolies and exorbitant taxes; the regulation of transit duties; prohibition of profaning sacred days by labour; immunities, privileges, and charters to trades, corporations, and towns; such as would, in climes more favourable to liberty, have matured into a league, or obtained for these branches a voice in the councils of the state. My search for less perishable documents than parchment when I found the cabinet of the prince contained them not, was unceasing; but though the bigotted Mahomedan destroyed most of the traces of civilisation within his reach, perseverance was rewarded with a considerable number. They are at least matter of curiosity. They will evince that monopolies and restraints on commerce were well understood in Rajwarra, though the doctrines of political economy never gained footing there. The setting

up of these engraved tablets or pillars, called *Scoras*,¹ is of the highest antiquity. Every subject commences with invoking the sun and moon as witnesses, and concludes with a denunciation of the severest penalties on those who break the spirit of the imperishable bond. Tablets of an historical nature I have of twelve and fourteen hundred years' antiquity, but of grants of land or privileges about one thousand years is the oldest. Time has destroyed many, but man more. They became more numerous during the last three centuries, when successful struggles against their foes produced new privileges, granted in order to recall the scattered inhabitants. Thus one contains an abolition of the monopoly of tobacco;² another, the remission of tax on printed cloths, with permission to the country manufacturers to sell their goods free of duty at the neighbouring towns. To a third, a mercantile city, the abolition of war contributions,³ and the establishment of its internal judicial authority. Nay, even where good manners alone are concerned, the lawgiver appears, and with an amusing simplicity:⁴ "From the public feast none shall attempt to carry anything away." "None shall eat after sunset," shows that a Jain obtained the edict. To yoke the bullock or other animal for any work on the sacred Amavus,⁵ is also declared punishable. Others contain revocations of vexatious fees to officers of the crown; "of beds and quilts;"⁶ "the seizure of the carts, implements, or cattle of the husbandmen,"⁷—the sole boon in our own *Magna Charta* demanded for the husbandman. These and several others, of which copies are annexed, need not be repeated. If even from such memoranda a sufficient number could be collected of each prince's reign up to the olden time, what more could we desire to enable us to judge of the genius of their princes, the wants and habits of the people, their acts and occupations? The most ancient written customary law of France is A.D. 1088,⁸ at which time Méwar was in high prosperity; opposing, at the head of a league far more powerful than France could form for ages after, the progress of revolution and foreign conquest. Ignorance, sloth, and all the vices which wait on and result from continual oppression in a perpetual struggle for existence of ages' duration, gradually diminished the reverence of the inhabitants themselves for these relics of the wisdom of their forefathers. In latter years, they so far forgot the ennobling feeling and respect for "the stone which told" their once exalted condition, as to convert the materials of the temple in which many of these stood into places of abode. Thus many a valuable relic is built up in the castles of their barons, or buried in the rubbish of the fallen pile.

We have, however, the books of grants to the chiefs and vassals, and also the grand rent-roll of the country. These are of themselves valuable documents. Could we but obtain those of remoter periods, they would serve as a commentary on the history of the country, as each contains the detail of every estate, and the stipulated service, in horse and foot, to be performed for it. In later times, when turbulence and disaffection

¹ Sanscrit, *Sūla*.

² See Appendix, No. XII.

³ See Appendix, No. XIII.

⁴ See Appendix, No. XIV.

⁵ 'Full moon.'—See Appendix, No. XIII.

⁶ It is customary, when officers of the government are detached on service, to exact from the towns where they are sent both bed and board.

⁷ Seized for public service, and frequently to exact a composition in money.

⁸ Hallam, vol. i. p. 197.

went unpunished, it was useless to specify a stipulation of service that was nugatory; and too often the grants contained but the names of towns and villages, and their value; or if they had the more general terms of service, none of its details.¹ From all these, however, a sufficiency of customary rules could easily be found to form the written law of fiefs in Rajast'han. In France, in the sixteenth century, the variety of these customs amounted to two hundred and eighty-five, of which only sixty² were of great importance. The number of consequence in Méwar which have come to my observation is considerable, and the most important will be given in the Appendix. Were the same plan pursued there as in that ordinance which produced the laws of *Pays Coutumiers*³ of France, viz. ascertaining those of each district, the materials are ready.

Such a collection would be amusing, particularly if the traditionary were added to the engraved laws. They would often appear *jéjune*, and might involve contradictions; but we should see the wants of the people; and if ever our connection (which God forbid!) should be drawn closer, we could then legislate without offending national customs or religious prejudices. Could this, by any instinctive impulse or external stimulus, be effected by themselves, it would be the era of their emersion from long oppression, and might lead to better notions of government, and consequent happiness to them all.

NOBLE ORIGIN OF THE RAJPOOT RACE.—If we compare the antiquity and illustrious descent of the dynasties which have ruled, and some which continue to rule, the small sovereignties of Rajast'han, with many of celebrity in Europe, superiority will often attach to the Rajpoot. From the most remote periods we can trace nothing ignoble, nor any vestige of vassal origin. Reduced in power, circumscribed in territory, compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth, they have not abandoned an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent. On this principle the various revolutions in the Rana's family never encroached; and the mighty Jehangir himself, the Emperor of the Moguls, became, like Cæsar the commentator on the history of the tribe of Sesodia.⁴ The potentate of the twenty-two Satrapies of Hind dwells with proud complacency on this Rajpoot king having made terms with him. He praises heaven, that what his immortal ancestor Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, failed to do, the project in which Hemayoon had also failed, and in which the illustrious Akbar, his father, had but partial success was reserved for him. It is pleasing to peruse in the commentaries of these conquerors, Baber and Jehangir, their sentiments with regard to these princes. We have the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of Elizabeth to Jehangir, as to the splendour of this race: it appears throughout their annals and those of their neighbours.

RAHTORES OF MARWAR.—The Rahtores can boast a splendid pedigree;

¹ Some of these, of old date, I have seen three feet in length.

² Hallam, vol. i. p. 199.

³ Hallam notices these laws by this technical phrase.

⁴ Sesodia is the last change of name which the Rana's race has undergone. It was first Sooryavansa, then Grahilote or Gehlote, Aharya, and Sesodia. These changes arise from revolutions and local circumstances.

and if we cannot trace its source with equal certainty to such a period of antiquity as the Rana's, we can, at all events, show the Rahtore monarch wielding the sceptre at Canouj, at the time the leader of an unknown tribe of the Franks was paving the way towards the foundation of the future kingdom of France. Unwieldy greatness caused the sudden fall of Canouj in the twelfth century, of which the existing line of Marwar is a renovated scion.

CUCHWAHAS OF AMBÉR.—Ambér is a branch of the once illustrious and ancient Nissida, now Nirwur, which produced the ill-fated prince whose story¹ is so interesting. Revolution and conquest compelled them to quit their ancestral abodes. Hindust'han was then divided into no more than four great kingdoms. By Arabian² travellers we have a confused picture of these states. But all the minor states, now existing in the west, arose about the period when the feudal system was approaching maturity in France and England.

The others are less illustrious, being the descendants of the great vassals of their ancient kings.

SESODIAS OF MÉWAR.—Méwar exhibits a marked difference from all the other states in her policy and institutions. She was an old-established dynasty when these renovated scions were in embryo. We can trace the losses of Méwar, but with difficulty her acquisitions; while it is easy to note the gradual aggrandisement of Marwar and Ambér, and all the minor states. Marwar was composed of many petty states, whose ancient possessions formed an allodial vassalage under the new dynasty. A superior independence of the control of the prince arises from the peculiarity of the mode of acquisition; that is, with rights similar to the allodial vassals of the European feudal system.

The poorest Rajpoot of this day retains all the pride of ancestry, often his sole inheritance; he scorns to hold the plough, or to use his lance but on horseback. In these aristocratic ideas he is supported by his reception amongst his superiors, and the respect paid to him by his inferiors. The honours and privileges, and the gradations of rank, amongst the vassals of the Rana's house, exhibit a highly artificial and refined state of society. Each of the superior rank is entitled to a banner, kettle-drums preceded by heralds and silver maces, with peculiar gifts and personal honours, in commemoration of some exploit of their ancestors.

The martial Rajpoots are not strangers to armorial bearings,³ now so indiscriminately used in Europe. The great banner of Méwar exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field; those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Ambér

¹ Nala and Dumyanta.

² *Rélations anciennes des Voyageurs*, par Renaudot.

³ It is generally admitted that armorial bearings were little known till the period of the Crusades, and that they belong to the east. The twelve tribes of Israel were distinguished by the animals on their banners, and the sacred writings frequently allude to the "Lion of Judah." The peacock was a favourite armorial emblem of the Rajpoot warrior; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kumara), as it was to Juno, his mother, in the west. The feather of the peacock decorates the turban of the Rajpoot and the warrior of the Crusade, adopted from the Hindu through the Saracens. "Le paon a toujours été l'emblème de la noblesse. Plusieurs chevaliers ornaient leurs casques des plumes de cet oiseau; un grand nombre de familles nobles le portaient dans leur blazon ou sur leur cimier; quelques uns n'en portaient que la queue."—Art. "Armoirie," *Dict. de l'ancien Régime*.

displays the *panchranga*, or five-coloured flag. The lion rampant on an argent field is extinct with the state of Chanderi.¹

In Europe these customs were not introduced till the period of the Crusades, and were copied from the Saracens; while the use of them amongst the Rajpoot tribes can be traced to a period anterior to the war of Troy. In the Mahabharat, or great war, twelve hundred years before Christ, we find the hero Bheesama exulting over his trophy, the banner of Arjoona, its field adorned with the figure of the Indian Hanuman.²

These emblems had a religious reference amongst the Hindus, and were taken from their mythology, the origin of all devices.

Every royal house has its palladium, which is frequently borne to battle at the saddle-bow of the prince. Rao Bhima Hara, of Kotah, lost his life and protecting deity together. The late celebrated Kheechee³ leader, Jey Sing, never took the field without the god before him. "Victory to Bujrung" was his signal for the charge so dreaded by the Mahratta, and often has the deity been sprinkled with his blood and that of the foe.

Their ancestors, who opposed Alexander, did the same, and carried the image of Hercules (*Baldeva*) at the head of their array.

The custom (says Arrian) of presenting banners as an emblem of sovereignty over vassals, also obtained amongst the tribes of the Indus when invaded by Alexander. When he conquered the Sacæ and tribes east of the Caspian, he divided the provinces amongst the princes of the ancient families, for which they paid homage, engaged to serve with a certain quota of troops, and received from his own hand a banner; in all of which he followed the customs of the country. But in these we see only the outline of the system; we must descend to more modern days to observe it more minutely. A grand picture is drawn of the power of Méwar, when the first grand irruption of the Mahomedans occurred in the first century of their era; when "a hundred⁴ kings, its allies and dependents, had their thrones raised in Cheetore," for its defence and their own individually, when a new religion, propagated by the sword of conquest, came to enslave these realms. This invasion was by Sind and Mekran; for it was half a century later ere "the light" shone from the heights of Pámer⁵ on the plains of the Jumna and Ganges.

From the commencement of this religious war in the mountains westward of the Indus, many ages elapsed ere the 'King of the Faith' obtained a seat on the throne of Yoodishtra. Chund, the bard, has left us various valuable memorials of this period, applicable to the subject historically as well as to the immediate topic. Visaldeva, the monarch whose name appears on the pillar of victory at Dehli, led an army against the invader, in which, according to the bard, "the banners of eighty-four princes were

¹ I was the first European who traversed this wild country, in 1807, not without some hazard. It was then independent: about three years after it fell a prey to Sindia.

² The monkey-deity.

³ The Kheechees are a branch of the Chohans, and Kheechiwara lies east of Haravati.

⁴ See annals of Méwar, and note from D'Anville.

⁵ The Pámer range is a grand branch of the Indian Caucasus. Chund, the bard, designates them as the "Purbut Put Pámer," or Pámer Lord of Mountains. From Pahar and Pámer the Greeks may have compounded Paropamisan, in which was situated the most remote of the Alexandrias.

assembled." The bard describes with great animation the summons sent for this magnificent feudal levy from the heart of Anterbed ¹ to the shores of the western sea, and it coincides with the record of his victory, which most probably this very army obtained for him. But no finer picture of feudal manners exists than the history of Pirthwirájá, contained in Chund's poems. It is surprising that this epic should have been allowed so long to sleep neglected: a thorough knowledge of it, and of others of the same character, would open many sources of new knowledge, and enable us to trace many curious and interesting coincidences.²

In perusing these tales of the days that are past, we should be induced to conclude that the *Couroltai* of the Tatars, the *Chougán* of the Rajpoot, and the *Champ de Mars* of the Frank, had one common origin.

Caste has for ever prevented the inferior classes of society from being incorporated with this haughty *noblesse*. Only those of pure blood in both lines can hold fiefs of the crown. The highest may marry the daughter of a Rajpoot, whose sole possession is a "skin of land":³ the sovereign himself is not degraded by such alliance. There is no moral blot, and the operation of a law like the Salic would prevent any political evil resulting therefrom. [Titles are granted, and even fiefs of office, to ministers and civil servants not Rajpoots; they are, however, but official, and never confer hereditary right.] These official fiefs may have originally arisen, here and in Europe, from the same cause; the want of a circulating medium to pay the offices.⁴ The Muntris ⁴ of Méwar prefer estates to pecuniary stipend, which gives more consequence in every point of view. All the higher offices—as cup-bearer, butler, stewards of the household, wardrobe, kitchen, master of the horse—all these are enumerated as ministerialists ⁵ at the court of Charlemagne in the dark ages of Europe, and of whom we have the duplicates. These are what the author of the Middle Ages designates as "improper feuds."⁶ In Méwar the prince's architect, painter, physician, bard, genealogist, heralds, and all the generation of the foster-brothers, hold lands. Offices are hereditary in this patriarchal government; their services personal. The title even appends to the family, and if the chance of events deprive them of the substance, they are seldom left destitute. It is not uncommon to see three or four with the title of purdhan or premier.⁷

¹ The space between the grand rivers Ganges and Jumna, well known as the Do-áb.

² Domestic habits and national manners are painted to the life, and no man can well understand the Rajpoot of yore who does not read these.

Those were the days of chivalry and romance, when the assembled princes contended for the hand of the fair, who chose her own lord, and threw to the object of her choice, in full court, the *bur-mala*, or garland of marriage. Those were the days which the Rajpoot yet loves to talk of, when the glance of an eye weighed with a sceptre: when three things alone occupied him: his horse, his lance, and his mistress; for she is but the third in his estimation, after all: to the two first he owed her.

³ Chursa, a 'hide or skin.'

⁴ 'Ministers,' from *Muntera*, 'mystification.'

⁵ It is probably of Teutonic origin, and akin to *Mantri*, which embraces all the ministers and councillors of loyalty (Hallam, p. 195).

⁶ Hallam, p. 193.

⁷ One I know, in whose family the office has remained since the period of Pirthwirájá, who transferred his ancestor to the service of the Rana's house seven hundred years ago. He is not merely a nominal hereditary minister, for his

But before I proceed further in these desultory and general remarks, I shall commence the chief details of the system as described in times past, and, in part, still obtaining in the principality of the Rana of Méwar. As its geography and distribution are fully related in their proper place, I must refer the reader to that for a preliminary understanding of its localities.

The local disposition of the estates was admirably contrived. Bounded on three sides, the south, east, and west, by marauding barbarous tribes of Bhils, Mérs, and Meenas, the circumference of this circle was subdivided into estates for the chiefs, while the *khalisa*, or fiscal land, the best and richest, was in the heart of the country, and consequently well protected.

It appears doubtful whether the *khalisa* lands amounted to one-fourth of those distributed in grant to the chiefs. The value of the crown demesne as the nerve and sinew of sovereignty, was well known by the former heads of this house. To obtain any portion thereof was the reward of important services; to have a grant of a few acres near the capital for a garden was deemed a high favour; and a village in the amphitheatre or valley, in which the present capital is situated, was the *ne plus ultra* of recompense. But the lavish folly of the present prince, out of this tract, twenty-five miles in circumference, has not preserved a single village in his *khalisa*.

By this distribution, and by the inroads of the wild tribes in the vicinity, or of Moguls and Mahrattas, the valour of the chiefs was kept in constant play.

The country was partitioned into districts, each containing from fifty to one hundred towns and villages, though sometimes exceeding that proportion. The great number of Chourasis¹ leads to the conclusion that portions to the amount of eighty-four had been the general subdivision. Many of these yet remain: as the 'Chourasi' of Jehazpoor and of Komulmér: tantamount to the old 'hundreds' of our Saxon ancestry. A circle of posts was distributed, within which the quotas of the chiefs attended, under "the Foujdar of the Síma" (*vulgo* Seem), or commander of the border. It was found expedient to appoint from court this lord of the frontier, always accompanied by a portion of the royal insignia, standard, kettle-drums, and heralds, and being generally a civil officer, he united to his military office the administration of justice.² The higher vassals never attended personally at these posts, but deputed a confidential branch of their family, with the quota required. For the government of the districts there were conjoined a civil and a military officer: the latter generally a vassal of the second rank. Their residence was the chief place of the district, commonly a stronghold.

The division of the chiefs into distinct grades, shows a highly artificial state of society.

uncle actually held the office; but in consequence of having favoured the views of a pretender to the crown, its active duties are not entrusted to any of the family.

¹ The numeral eighty-four.

² Now each chief claims the right of administering justice in his own domain, that is, in civil matters; but in criminal cases they ought not, without the special sanction of the crown. Justice, however, has long been left to work its own way, and the self-constituted tribunals, the *punchaets*, sit in judgment in all cases where property is involved.

First class.—We have the sixteen, whose estates were from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand rupees and upwards, of yearly rent. These appear in the presence only on special invitation, upon festivals and solemn ceremonies, and are the hereditary councillors of the crown.¹

Second class, from five to fifty thousand rupees. Their duty is to be always in attendance. From these, chiefly, foudjars and military officers are selected.¹

Third class is that of *Gole*¹ holding lands chiefly under five thousand rupees, though by favour they may exceed this limit. They are generally the holders of separate villages and portions of land, and in former times they were the most useful class to the prince. They always attended on his person, and indeed formed his strength against any combination or opposition of the higher vassals.

Fourth class.—The offshoots of the younger branches of the Rana's own family, within a certain period, are called the *babas*, literally 'infants,' and have appanages bestowed on them. Of this class are Shapoor and Bunera; too powerful for subjects. They hold on none of the terms of the great clans, but consider themselves at the disposal of the prince. These are more within the influence of the crown. Allowing adoption into these houses, except in the case of near kindred, is assuredly an innovation; they ought to revert to the crown, failing immediate issue, as did the great estate of Bhynsrorgurh, two generations back.

From these to the holder of a *chursa*, or hide of land, the peculiarity of tenure and duties of each, will form a subject for discussion.

REVENUES AND RIGHTS OF THE CROWN.—I need not here expatiate upon the variety of items which constitute the revenues of the prince, the details of which will appear in their proper place. The land-tax in the *khalisa demesne* is, of course, the chief source of supply; the transit duties on commerce and trade, and those of the larger towns and commercial marts, rank next. In former times more attention was paid to this important branch of income, and the produce was greater because less shackled. The liberality on the side of the crown was only equalled by the integrity of the merchant, and the extent to which it was carried would imply an almost Utopian degree of perfection in their mutual qualities of liberality and honesty; the one, perhaps, generating the other. The remark of a merchant recently, on the vexatious train of duties and espionage attending their collection, is not merely figurative: "our ancestors tied their invoice to the horns of the oxen² at the first frontier post of customs, and no intermediate questions were put till we passed to the opposite or sold our goods, when it was opened and payment made accordingly; but now every town has its rights." It will be long ere this degree of confidence is restored on either side; extensive demand on the one is met by fraud and evasion on the other, though at least one-half of these evils have already been subdued.

The mines were very productive in former times, and yielded several lacs to the princes of Méwar. The rich tin mines of Jawara produced at one time a considerable proportion of silver. Those of copper are abundant,

¹ See Appendix, No. XX.

² Oxen and carts are chiefly used in the *Tandas*, or caravans, for transportation of goods in these countries; camels further to the north.

as is also iron on the now alienated domain on the Chumbul ; but lead least of all.¹

The marble quarries also added to the revenue ; and where there is such a multiplicity of sources, none are considered too minute to be applied in these necessitous times.

✓ **BURRÁR.**—*Burrár* is an indefinite term for taxation, and is connected with the thing taxed : as *ganeem-burrár*,² 'war-tax' ; *gurh geentee-burrár*,³ 'house-tax' ; *hal-burrár*, 'plough-tax' ; *neauta-burrár*, 'marriage-tax' ; and others, both of old and new standing. The war-tax was a kind of substitute for the regular mode of levying the rents on the produce of the soil ; which was rendered very difficult during the disturbed period, and did not accord with the wants of the prince. It is also a substitute in those mountainous regions, for the *jareeb*,⁴ where the produce bears no proportion to the cultivated surface ; sometimes from poverty of soil, but often from the reverse, as in Komulmér, where the choicest crops are produced on the cultivated terraces, and on the sides of its mountains, which abound with springs, yielding the richest canes and cottons, and where experiment has proved that four crops can be raised in the same patch of soil within the year.

The offering on confirmation of estates (or fine on renewal) is now, though a very small, yet still one source of supply ; as is the annual and triennial payment of the quit-rents of the Bhoomia chiefs. Fines in composition of offences may also be mentioned ; and they might be larger, if more activity were introduced in the detection of offenders.

These governments are mild in the execution of the laws ; and a heavy fine has more effect (especially on the hill tribes) than the execution of the offender, who fears death less than the loss of property.

✓ **KHUR-LAKUR.**—The composition for 'wood and forage' afforded a considerable supply. When the princes of Méwar were oftener in the tented field than in the palace, combating for their preservation, it was the duty of every individual to store up wood and forage for the supply of the prince's army. What originated in necessity was converted into an abuse and annual demand. The towns also supplied a certain portion of provisions ; where the prince halted for the day these were levied on the community ; a goat or sheep from the shepherd, milk and flour from the farmer. The maintenance of these customs is observable in taxes, for the origin of which it is impossible to assign a reason without going into the history of the period ; they scarcely recollect the source of some of these themselves. They are akin to those known under the feudal tenures of France, arising from exactly the same causes, and commuted for money payments ; such as the *droit de giste et de chevauche*.⁵ Many also originated

¹ The privilege of coining is a reservation of royalty. No subject is allowed to coin gold or silver, though the Saloombra chief has on sufferance a copper currency. The mint was a considerable source of income, and may be again when confidence is restored and a new currency introduced. The Cheetore rupee is now thirty-one per cent. inferior to the old Bhilara standard, and there was one struck at the capital even worse, and very nearly as bad as the *moneta nigra* of Philip the Fair of France, who allowed his vassals the privilege of coining it.

² Enemy.

³ Numbering of houses.

⁴ A measure of land.

⁵ Hallam, vol. i. p. 232.

in the perambulations of these princes to visit their domains ;¹ a black year in the calendar to the chief and the subject. When he honoured the chief by a visit, he had to present horses and arms, and to entertain his prince, in all which honours the cultivators and merchant had to share.

The duties on the sale of spirits, opium, tobacco, and even to a share of the garden-stuff, affords also modes of supply.²

CHAPTER II

Legislative authority—Rozina—Military service—Inefficiency of this form of government.

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.—During the period still called “the good times of Méwar,” the prince, with the aid of his civil council, the four ministers of the crown and their deputies, promulgated all the legislative enactments in which the general rights and wants of the community were involved. In these the martial vassals or chiefs had no concern : a wise exclusion, comprehending also their immediate dependents, military, commercial, and agricultural. Even now, the little that is done in these matters is effected by the civil administration, though the Rajpoot Purdhans have been too apt to interfere in matters from which they ought always to be kept aloof, being ever more tenacious of their own rights than solicitous for the welfare of the community.

The neglect in the legislation of late years was supplied by the self-constituted tribunals, the useful *punchaets*, of which enough has been said to render further illustration unnecessary. Besides the resident ruler of the district, who was also a judicial functionary, there was, as already stated, a special officer of the government in each frontier *t'hana*, or garrison post. He united the triple occupation of embodying the quotas levying the transit duties, and administering justice, in which he was aided at the *chabootra*³ or *court*, by assembling the *Chotias* or assessors of justice. Each town and village has its *chotia*, the members of which are elected by their fellow-citizens, and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them.

They are the aids to the *Nagar Set'h*, or chief magistrate, an hereditary office in every large city in Rajast'han. Of this *chotia* the *Patél* and *Patwarri* are generally members. The former of these, like the *Dusondée* of the *Mahrattas*, resembles in his duties the *décanus* of France and the tithing-man in England. The *chotia* and *punchaet* of these districts are analogous to the assessors of justice called *scabini*⁴ in France, who held the office by election or the concurrence of the people. But these are the special and fixed council of each town ; the general *punchaets* are formed

¹ Hume describes the necessity for our earlier kings making these tours to consume the produce, being in kind. So it is in Méwar ; but I fancy the supply was always too easily convertible into circulating medium to be the cause there.

² See Appendix, No. X.

³ Literally 'terrace,' or 'altar.'

⁴ They were considered a sort of jury, bearing a close analogy to the *judices selecti*, who sat with the prætor in the tribunal of Rome.—Hallam.

from the respectable population at large, and were formerly from all classes of society.

The chabootras, or terraces of justice, were always established in the khalisa, or crown demesne. It was deemed a humiliating intrusion if they sat within the bounds of a chief. To 'erect the flag' within his limits, whether for the formation of defensive posts or the collection of duties, is deemed a gross breach of his privileged independence, as to establish them within the walls of his residence would be deemed equal to sequestration. It often becomes necessary to see justice enforced on a chief or his dependent, but it begets eternal disputes and disobedience, till at length they are worried to compliance by *rozina*.

ROZINA.—When delay in these matters, or to the general commands of the prince, is evinced, an officer or herald is deputed with a party of four, ten, or twenty horse or foot, to the fief of the chief, at whose residence they take up their abode; and carrying, under the seal, a warrant to furnish them with specified daily (*rozina*) rations, they live at free quarters till he is quickened into compliance with the commands of the prince. This is the only accelerator of the slow movements of a Rajpoot chieftain in these days, whether for his appearance at court or the performance of an act of justice. It is often carried to a harassing excess, and causes much complaint.

In cases regarding the distribution of justice or the internal economy of the chief's estates, the government officers seldom interfere. But of their *punchaets* I will only remark, that their import amongst the vassals is very comprehensive; and when they talk of the '*punch*,' it means the 'collective wisdom.' In the reply to the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals,¹ the chief promises never to undertake any measure without their deliberation and sanction.

On all grand occasions where the general peace or tranquillity of the government is threatened, the chiefs form the council of the sovereign. Such subjects are always first discussed in the domestic councils of each chief; so that when the *wittenagemote* of Méwar was assembled, each had prepared himself by previous discussion, and was fortified by abundance of advice.

To be excluded the council of the prince is to be in utter disgrace. These grand divans produce infinite speculation, and the ramifications which form the opinions are extensive. The council of each chief is, in fact, a miniature representation of the sovereign's. The greater sub-vassals, his civil *purdhan*, the mayor of the household, the *purohit*,² the bard, and two or three of the most intelligent citizens, form the minor councils, and all are separately deliberating while the superior court is in discussion. Thus is collected the wisdom of the magnates of Rajwarra.

MILITARY SERVICE.—In Méwar, during the days of her glory and prosperity, fifteen thousand horse, bound by the ties of fidelity and service, followed their prince into the field, all supported by lands held by grant; from the chief who headed five hundred of his own vassals, to the single horseman.

KNIGHT'S FEE OF SINGLE HORSEMEN.—A knight's fee in these states varies. For each thousand rupees of annual rent, never less than two, and generally three horsemen were furnished; and sometimes three horse and

¹ See Appendix, No. III.

² Family priest.

three foot soldiers, according to the exigencies of the times when the grant was conferred. The different grants¹ appended will show this variety, and furnish additional proof that this, and all similar systems of policy, must be much indebted to chance for the shape they ultimately take. The knight's fee, when William the Conqueror partitioned England into sixty thousand such portions, from each of which a soldier's service was due, was fixed at £20. Each portion furnished its soldier or paid escuage. The knight's fee of Méwar may be said to be two hundred and fifty rupees, or about £30.

LIMITATIONS OF SERVICE.—In Europe, service was so restricted that the monarch had but a precarious authority. He could only calculate upon forty days' annual service from the tenant of a knight's fee. In Rajast'han it is very different: "at home and abroad, service shall be performed when demanded"; such is the condition of the tenure.

For state and show, a portion of the greater vassals² reside at the capital for some months, when they have permission to retire to their estates, and are relieved by another portion. On the grand military festival the whole attend for a given time; and when the prince took the field, the whole assembled at their own charge; but if hostilities carried them beyond the frontier they were allowed certain rations.

ESCUAGE OR SCUTAGE.—Escuage or scutage, the phrase in Europe to denote the amercement³ for non-attendance, is also known and exemplified in deeds. Failure from disaffection, turbulence, or pride, brought a heavy fine; the sequestration of the whole or part of the estate.⁴ The princes of these states would willingly desire to see escuage more general. All have made this first attempt towards an approximation to a standing army; but, though the chiefs would make compensation to get rid of some particular service, they are very reluctant to renounce lands, by which alone a fixed force could be maintained. The rapacity of the court would gladly fly to scutages, but in the present impoverished state of the fiefs, such if injudiciously levied would be almost equivalent to resumption; but this measure is so full of difficulty as to be almost impracticable.

INEFFICIENCY OF THIS FORM OF GOVERNMENT.—Throughout Rajast'han the character and welfare of the states depend on that of the sovereign: he is the mainspring of the system—the active power to set and keep in motion all these discordant materials; if he relax, each part separates, and moves in a narrow sphere of its own. Yet will the impulse of one great mind put the machine in regular movement, which shall endure during two or three imbecile successors, if no fresh exterior force be applied to check it. It is a system full of defects; yet we see them so often balanced by virtues, that we are alternately biased by these counteracting qualities; loyalty and patriotism, which combine a love of the institutions, religion, and manners of the country, are the counterpoise to systematic evil. In no country has the system ever proved efficient. It has been one of eternal excitement and irregular action; inimical to order, and the repose deemed necessary after conflict for recruiting the national strength. The absence of an external foe was but the signal for disorders

¹ See Appendix, Nos. IV., V., and VI.

² See Appendix, No. XX., art. 6; the treaty between the chiefs and his vassals defining service.

³ Appendix, No. XVI.

⁴ Both of which I have witnessed.

within, which increased to a terrific height in the feuds of the two great rival factions of Méwar, the clans of Chondawut¹ and Suktawut,² as the weakness of the prince augmented by the abstraction of his personal domain, and the diminution of the services of the third class of vassals (the Gole), the personal retainers of the crown; but when these feuds broke out, even with the enemy at their gates, it required a prince of great nerve and talent to regulate them. Yet is there a redeeming quality in the system, which, imperfect as it is, could render such perilous circumstances but the impulse to a rivalry of heroism.

When Jehangír had obtained possession of the palladium of Méwar, the ancient fortress of Cheetore, and driven the prince into the wilds and mountains of the west, an opportunity offered to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and the Rana with all his chiefs were assembled for the purpose. But the Suktawuts asserted an equal privilege with their rivals to form the vanguard; ³ a right which their indisputable valour (perhaps superior to that of the other party) rendered not invalid. The Chondawuts claimed it as an hereditary privilege, and the sword would have decided the matter but for the tact of the prince. "The *herole* to the clan which first enters Ontala," was a decision which the Suktawut leader quickly heard; while the other could no longer plead his right, when such a gauntlet was thrown down for its maintenance.

Ontala is the frontier fortress in the plains, about eighteen miles east of the capital, and covering the road which leads from it to the more ancient one of Cheetore. It is situated on a rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its walls, which are of solid masonry, lofty, and with round towers at intervals.⁴ In the centre was the governor's house, also fortified. One gate only gave admission to this castle.

The clans, always rivals in power, now competitors in glory, moved off at the same time, some hours before daybreak—Ontala the goal, the *herole* the reward! Animated with hope—a barbarous and cruel foe the object of their prowess—their wives and families spectators, on their return, of the meed of enterprise; the bard, who sang the praise of each race at their outset, demanding of each materials for a new wreath, supplied every stimulus that a Rajpoot could have to exertion.

The Suktawuts made directly for the gateway, which they reached as the day broke, and took the foe unprepared; but the walls were soon manned, and the action commenced. The Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, had traversed a swamp, which retarded them—but through which they dashed, fortunately meeting a guide in a shepherd of Ontala. With more foresight than their opponents, they had brought ladders. The chief led the escalade, but a ball rolled him back amidst his vassals; it was not his destiny to lead the *herole*! Each party was checked. The Suktawut depended on the elephant he rode, to gain admission by forcing the gate;

¹ A clan called after Chonda, eldest son of an ancient Rana, who resigned his birthright.

² Sukta was the son of Rana Udyá Sing, founder of Udyapoor, or Oodipoor. The feuds of these two clans, like those of the Armagnacs and Bourguignons, "*qui couvrirent la France d'un crêpe sanglant*," have been the destruction of Méwar. It requires but a change of names and places, while reading the one, to understand perfectly the history of the other.

³ *Herole*.

⁴ It is now in ruins, but the towers and part of the walls are still standing.

but its projecting spikes deterred the animal from applying its strength. His men were falling thick around him, when a shout from the other party made him dread their success. He descended from his seat, placed his body on the spikes, and commanded the driver, on pain of instant death, to propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief his clan rushed to the combat! But even this heroic surrender of his life failed to purchase the honour for his clan. The lifeless corpse of his rival was already in Ontala, and this was the event announced by the shout which urged his sacrifice to honour and ambition. When the Chondawut chief fell, the next in rank and kin took the command. He was one of those arrogant, reckless Rajpoots, who signalised themselves wherever there was danger, not only against men but tigers, and his common appellation was the *Bénda T'hacúr* ('mad chief') of Deogurh. When his leader fell, he rolled the body in his scarf; then tying it on his back, scaled the wall, and with his lance having cleared the way before him he threw the dead body over the parapet of Ontala, shouting, "The vanguard to the Chondawut! we are first in!" The shout was echoed by the clan, and the rampart was in their possession nearly at the moment of the entry of the Suktawuts. The Moguls fell under their swords: the standard of Méwar was erected in the castle of Ontala, but the leading of the vanguard remained with the Chondawuts.¹

This is not the sole instance of such jealousies being converted into a generous and patriotic rivalry; many others could be adduced throughout the greater principalities, but especially amongst the brave Rahtores of Marwar.

It was a nice point to keep these clans poised against each other; their feuds were not without utility, and the tact of the prince frequently turned them to account. One party was certain to be enlisted on the side of the sovereign, and this alone counterbalanced the evil tendencies before described. To this day it has been a perpetual struggle for supremacy; and the epithets of "loyalist" and "traitor" have been alternating between them for centuries, according to the portion they enjoyed of the prince's favour, and the talents and disposition of the heads of the clans to maintain their predominance at court. The Suktawuts are weaker in numbers, but have the reputation of greater bravery and more genius than their rivals. I am inclined, on the whole, to assent to this opinion; and the very consciousness of this reputation must be a powerful incentive to its preservation.

When all these governments were founded and maintained on the same principle, a system of feuds, doubtless, answered very well; but it cannot exist with a well-constituted monarchy. Where individual will controls the energies of a nation, it must eventually lose its liberties. To preserve

¹ An anecdote appended by my friend Umra (the bard of the Sungawuts, a powerful division of the Chondawuts, whose head is Deogurh, often alluded to, and who alone used to lead two thousand vassals into the field) was well attested. Two Mogul chiefs of note were deeply engaged in a game of chess when the tumult was reported to them. Feeling confident of success, they continued their game; nor would they desist till the inner castle of this 'donjon keep' was taken, and they were surrounded by the Rajpoots, when they coolly begged they might be allowed to terminate their game. This the enemy granted; but the loss of their chiefs had steeled their breasts against mercy, and they were afterwards put to death.

their power, the princes of Rajast'han surrendered a portion of theirs to the emperors of Dehli. They made a nominal surrender to him of their kingdoms, receiving them back with a sunnud, or grant, renewed on each lapse : thereby acknowledging him as lord paramount. They received, on these occasions, the khelat of honour and investiture, consisting of elephants, horses, arms, and jewels ; and to their hereditary title of ' prince ' was added by the emperor, one of dignity, *munsab*. Besides this acknowledgment of supremacy, they offered *nuzzarana*¹ and homage, especially on the festival of Noroza (the new year), engaging to attend the royal presence when required, at the head of a stipulated number of their vassals. The emperor presented them with a royal standard, kettle-drums, and other insignia, which headed the array of each prince. Here we have all the chief incidents of a great feudal sovereignty. Whether the Tatar sovereigns borrowed these customs from their princely vassals, or brought them from the highlands of Asia, from the Oxus and Jaxartes, whence, there is little doubt, many of these Sacha Rajpoots originated, shall be elsewhere considered.

The splendour of such an array, whether in the field or at the palace, can scarcely be conceived. Though Hemayoon had gained the services of some of the Rajpoot princes, their aid was uncertain. It was reserved for his son, the wise and magnanimous Akbar, to induce them to become at once the ornament and support of his throne. The power which he consolidated, and knew so well to wield, was irresistible ; while the beneficence of his disposition, and the wisdom of his policy, maintained what his might conquered. He felt that a constant exhibition of authority would not only be ineffectual but dangerous, and that the surest hold on their fealty and esteem would be the giving them a personal interest in the support of the monarchy.

He determined to unite the pure Rajpoot blood to the scarcely less noble stream which flowed from Oguz Khan, through Jungheez, Timoor, and Baber, to himself, calculating that they would more readily yield obedience to a prince who claimed kindred with them, than to one purely Tatar ; and that, at all events, it would gain the support of their immediate kin, and might in the end become general. In this supposition he did not err. We are less acquainted with the obstacles which opposed his first success, than those he subsequently encountered ; *one* of which neither he nor his descendants *ever* overcame in the family of Méwar, who could never be brought to submit to such alliance.

Ambér, the nearest to Dehli and the most exposed, though more open to temptation, than to conquest, in its then contracted sphere, was the first to set the example.

Its Raja Bhagwandas gave his daughter to Hemayoon ; and subsequently this practice became so common, that some of the most celebrated emperors were the offspring of Rajpoot princesses.

Of these, Selim, called after his accession, Jehangir ; his ill-fated son, Khosroo ; Shah Jehan ;² Kambaksh,³ the favourite of his father ; Arungzéb, and his rebellious son Akbar, whom his Rajpoot kin would

¹ Fine of relief.

² The son of the Princess Jodh Bae, whose magnificent tomb still excites admiration at Aundra, near Agra.

³ ' Gift of Love.'

have placed on the throne had his genius equalled their power, are the most prominent instances. Ferokhsér, when the empire began to totter, furnished the last instance of a Mogul sovereign marrying a Hindu princess,¹ the daughter of Raja Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar.

These Rajpoot princes became the guardians of the minority of their imperial nephews, and had a direct stake in the empire, and in the augmentation of their estates.

Of the four hundred and sixteen Munsubdars, or military commanders of Akbar's empire, from leaders of two hundred to ten thousand men, forty-seven were Rajpoots, and the aggregate of their quotas amounted to fifty-three thousand horse :² exactly one-tenth of the united Munsubdars of the empire, or five hundred and thirty thousand horse.³

Of the forty-seven Rajpoot leaders, there were seventeen whose munsubs were from one thousand to five thousand horse, and thirty from two hundred to one thousand.

The princes of Ambér, Marwar, Bikanér, Boondi, Jessulmér, Boondelk-hund, and even Shekawut, held munsubs of above one thousand ; but Ambér only, being allied to the throne, had the dignity of five thousand.

The Raja Udaya Sing of Marwar, surnamed the Fat, chief of the Rahtores, held but the munsub of one thousand, while a scion of his house, Rae Sing of Bikanér, had four thousand. This is to be accounted for by the dignity being thrust upon the head of that house. The independent princes of Chandéri, Kerowli, Duttea, with the tributary feudatories of the larger principalities, and members of the Shekawut federation, were enrolled on the other grades, from four to seven hundred. Amongst these we find the founder of the Suktawut clan, who quarrelling with his brother, Rana Pertap of Méwar, gave his services to Akbar. In short it became general, and what originated in force or persuasion, was soon coveted from interested motives ; and as nearly all the states submitted in time to give queens to the empire, few were left to stigmatise this dereliction from Hindu principle.

Akbar thus gained a double victory, securing the good opinions as well as the swords of these princes in his aid. A judicious perseverance would have rendered the throne of Timoor immovable, had not the tolerant principles and beneficence of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan been lost sight of by the bigoted and bloodthirsty Arungzéb ; who, although while he lived his commanding genius wielded the destinies of this immense empire at pleasure, alienated the affections, by insulting the prejudices, of those who had aided in raising the empire to the height on which it stood. This affection withdrawn, and the weakness of Ferokhsér substituted for the strength of Arungzéb, it fell and went rapidly to pieces.

¹ To this very marriage we owe the origin of our power. When the nuptials were preparing, the emperor fell ill. A mission was at that time at Dèhli from Surat, where we traded, of which Mr. Hamilton was the surgeon. He cured the king, and the marriage was completed. In the oriental style, he desired the doctor to name his reward ; but instead of asking anything for himself, he demanded a grant of land for a factory on the Hoogly for his employers. It was accorded, and this was the origin of the greatness of the British empire in the East. Such an act deserved at least a column ; but neither " trophied urn or monumental bust " marks the spot where his remains are laid.

² Abul Fuzil's Institutes of Akbar.

³ The infantry, regulars, and militia, exceeded 4,000,000.

Predatory warfare and spoliation rose on its ruins. The Rajpoot princes, with a short-sighted policy, at first connived at, and even secretly invited the tumult; not calculating on its affecting their interests. Each looked to the return of ancient independence, and several reckoned on great accession of power. Old jealousies were not lessened by the part which each had played in the hour of ephemeral greatness; and the prince of Méwar, who preserved his blood uncontaminated, though with loss of land, was at once an object of respect and envy to those who had forfeited the first pretensions¹ of a Rajpoot. It was the only ovation the Sesodia² had to boast for centuries of oppression and spoliation, whilst their neighbours were basking in court favour. The great increase of territory of these princes nearly equalled the power of Méwar, and the dignities thus acquired from the sons of Timoor, they naturally wished should appear as distinguished as his ancient title. Hence, while one inscribed on his seal "The exalted in dignity, a prince amongst princes, and king of kings,"³ the prince of Méwar preserved his royal simplicity in 'Maha-Rana B'hima Sing, son of Ursi.' But this is digression.

It would be difficult to say what would be the happiest form of government for these states without reference to their neighbours. Their own feudal customs would seem to have worked well. The experiment of centuries has secured to them political existence, while successive dynasties of Afghans and Moguls, during eight hundred years, have left but the wreck of splendid names. Were they to become more monarchical, they would have everything to dread from unchecked despotism, over which even the turbulence of their chiefs is a salutary control.

Were they somewhat more advanced towards prosperity, the crown demesne redeemed from dissipation and sterility, and the chiefs enabled to bring their quotas into play for protection and police, recourse should never be had to bodies of mercenary troops, which practice, if persevered in, will inevitably change their present form of government. This has invariably been the result, in Europe as well as Rajast'han, else why the dread of standing armies?

Escuage is an approximating step. When Charles VII. of France⁴ raised his companies of ordnance, the basis of the first national standing army ever embodied in Europe, a tax called '*taille*' was imposed to pay them, and Guienne rebelled. Kotah is a melancholy instance of subversion of the ancient order of society. Méwar made the experiment from necessity sixty years ago, when rebellion and invasion conjoined; and a body of Sindies were employed, which completed their disgust, and they fought with each other till almost mutually exterminated, and till all faith in their prince was lost. Jeipoor had adopted this custom to a greater extent; but it was an ill-paid band, neither respected at home nor feared abroad. In Marwar the feudal compact was too strong to tolerate it, till Pathan predatory bands, prowling amidst the ruins of

¹ See, in the annals of Méwar, the letter of Rae Sing of Bikanér (who had been compelled to submit to this practice), on hearing that Rana Pertap's reverses were likely to cause a similar result. It is a noble production, and gives the character of both.

² The tribe to which the princes of Méwar belonged.

³ *Rāj Rāj éswara*, the title of the prince of Marwar: the prince of Ambér, *Rāj Rāj Indra*.

⁴ Hallam, vol. i. p. 117.

Mogul despotism, were called in to partake in each family broil; the consequence was the weakening of all, and opening the door to a power stronger than any, to be the arbiter of their fate.

GENERAL DUTIES OF THE PUTTAWUT, OR VASSAL CHIEF OF RAJAST'HAN.
—“The essential principle of a fief was a mutual contract of support and fidelity. Whatever obligations it laid upon the vassal of service to his lord, corresponding duties of protection were imposed by it on the lord towards his vassal. If these were transgressed on either side, the one forfeited his land, the other his signiory or rights over it.”¹

In this is comprehended the very foundation of feudal policy, because in its simplicity we recognise first principles involving mutual preservation. The best commentary on this definition of simple truth will be the sentiments of the Rajpoots themselves in two papers: one containing the opinions of the chiefs of Marwar on the reciprocal duties of sovereign and vassal;² the other, those of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, one of the largest fiefs in Rajast'han, of their rights, the infringement of them, and the remedy.³

If, at any former period in the history of Marwar, its prince had thus dared to act, his signiory and rights over it would not have been of great value; his crown and life would both have been endangered by these turbulent and determined vassals. How much is comprehended in that manly, yet respectful sentence: “If he accepts our services, then he is our prince and leader; if not, but our equal, and we again his brothers, claimants of and laying claim to the soil.”

In the remonstrance of the sub-vassals of Deogurh, we have the same sentiments on a reduced scale. In both we have the ties of blood and kindred, connected with and strengthening national policy. If a doubt could exist as to the principle of fiefs being similar in Rajast'han and in Europe, it might be set at rest by the important question long agitated by the feudal lawyers in Europe, “whether the vassal is bound to follow the standard of his lord against his own kindred or against his sovereign”: which in these states is illustrated by a simple and universal proof. If the question were put to a Rajpoot to whom his service is due, whether to his chief or his sovereign, the reply would be, *Rājca malik weh pāt* ⁴ *ca malik yeh*: ‘He is the sovereign of the state, but this is my head’: an ambiguous phrase, but well understood to imply that his own immediate chief is the only authority he regards.

This will appear to militate against the right of remonstrance (as in the case of the vassals of Deogurh), for they look to the crown for protection against injustice; they annihilate other rights by admitting appeal higher than this. Every class looks out for some resource against oppression. The sovereign is the last applied to on such occasions, with whom the sub-vassal has no bond of connection. He can receive no favour, nor perform any service, but through his own immediate superior; and presumes not to question (in cases not personal to himself) the propriety of his chief's actions, adopting implicitly his feelings and resentments. The daily familiar intercourse of life is far too engrossing to allow him to speculate, and with his lord he lives a patriot or dies a traitor. In proof of this,

¹ Hallam, vol. i. p. 173.

² See Appendix, No. I.

³ See Appendix, Nos. II. and III.

⁴ *Pāt* means ‘head,’ ‘chief’: also, ‘board,’ ‘throne’—like *tukht*, in Persian.

numerous instances could be given of whole clans devoting themselves to the chief against their sovereign ;¹ not from the ties of kindred, for many were aliens to blood ; but from the ties of duty, gratitude, and all that constitutes clannish attachment, superadded to feudal obligation. The sovereign, as before observed, has nothing to do with those vassals not holding directly from the crown ; and those who wish to stand well with their chiefs, would be very slow in receiving any honours or favours from the general fountain-head. The Deogurh chief sent one of his sub-vassals to court on a mission : his address and deportment gained him favour, and his consequence was increased by a seat in the presence of his sovereign. When he returned, he found this had lost him the favour of his chief, who was offended, and conceived a jealousy both of his prince and his servant. The distinction paid to the latter was, he said, subversive of his proper authority, and the vassal incurred by his vanity the loss of estimation where alone it was of value.

OBLIGATIONS OF A VASSAL.—The attempt to define all the obligations of a vassal would be endless : they involve all the duties of kindred in addition to those of obedience. To attend the court of his chief ; never to absent himself without leave ; to ride with him a hunting ; to attend him at the court of his sovereign or to war, and even give himself as a hostage for his release ; these are some of the duties of a vassal.

CHAPTER III

Feudal incidents—Duration of grants.

FEUDAL INCIDENTS.—I shall now proceed to compare the more general obligations of vassals, known under the term of 'Feudal Incidents' in Europe, and show their existence in Rajast'han. These were six in number:—1. Reliefs ; 2. Fines of alienation ; 3. Escheats ; 4. Aids ; 5. Wardship ; 6. Marriage.

RELIEF.—The first and most essential mark of a feudal relation exists in all its force and purity here : it is a perpetually recurring mark of the source of the grant, and the solemn renewal of the pledge which originally obtained it. In Méwar it is a virtual and *bona fide* surrender of the fief and renewal thereof. It is thus defined in European polity : "A relief" is a sum of money due from every one of full age taking a fief by descent." It was arbitrary, and the consequent exactions formed a ground of discontent ; nor was the tax fixed till a comparatively recent period.

¹ The death of the chief of Nimaj, in the annals of Marwar, and Seogurh Feud, in the Personal Narrative, vol. ii.

² "Plusieurs possesseurs de fiefs, ayant voulu en laisser perpétuellement la propriété à leurs descendans, prirent des arrangemens avec leur Seigneur ; et, outre ce qu'ils donnèrent pour faire le marché, ils s'engagèrent, eux et leur postérité, à abandonner pendant une année, au Seigneur, la jouissance entière du fief, chaque fois que le dit fief changerait de main. C'est ce qui forma le droit de relief.

"Quand un gentilhomme avait dérogé, il pouvait effacer cette tache moyennant finances, et ce qu'il payait s'appelait *relief*, il recevait pour quittance des lettres de relief ou de réhabilitation."—Art. "Relief," *Dict. de l'anc. Régime*.

By *Magna Charta* reliefs were settled at rates proportionate to the dignity of the holder.¹ In France the relief was fixed by the customary laws at one year's revenue.² This last has long been the settled amount of *myzerana*, or fine of relief, in Méwar.

✓ On the demise of a chief, the prince immediately sends a party, termed the *zubti* (sequestrator), consisting of a civil officer and a few soldiers, who take possession of the state in the prince's name. The heir sends his prayer to court to be installed in the property, offering the proper relief. This paid, the chief is invited to repair to the presence, when he performs homage, and makes protestations of service and fealty; he receives a fresh grant, and the inauguration terminates by the prince girding him with a sword, in the old forms of chivalry. It is an imposing ceremony, performed in a full assembly of the court, and one of the few which has never been relinquished. The fine paid, and the brand buckled to his side, a steed, turban, plume, and dress of honour given to the chief, the investiture³ is complete; the sequestrator returns to court, and the chief to his estate, to receive the vows and congratulations of his vassals.

In this we plainly perceive the original power (whether exercised or not) of resumption. On this subject more will appear in treating of the duration of grants. The *kharg bandai*, or 'binding of the sword,' is also performed when a Rajpoot is fit to bear arms; as amongst the ancient German tribes, when they put into the hands of the aspirant for fame a lance. Such are the substitutes for the *toga virilis* of the young Roman. The Rana himself is thus ordained a knight by the first of his vassals in dignity, the chief of Saloombra.

RENUNCIATION OF RELIEFS.—In the demoralisation of all those states, some of the chiefs obtained renunciation of the fine of relief, which was tantamount to making a grant in perpetuity, and annulling the most overt sign of paramount sovereignty. But these and many other important encroachments were made when little remained of the reality, or when it was obscured by a series of oppressions unexampled in any European state.

It is in Méwar alone, I believe, of all Rajast'han, that these marks of fealty are observable to such an extent. But what is remarked elsewhere upon the fiefs being movable, will support the doctrine of resumption though it might not be practised: a prerogative may exist without its being exercised.

FINE OF ALIENATION.—Rajast'han never attained this refinement

¹ Namely, "the heir or heirs of an earl, for an entire earldom, one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for an entire barony, one hundred marks; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, one hundred shillings at most."—Art. III. *Magna Charta*.

² "Le droit de rachat devoit se payer a chaque mutation d'héritier, et se paya même d'abord en ligne directe.—La coutume la plus générale l'avait fixé à une année du revenue."—*L'Esprit des Loix*," Liv. xxxi. chap. xxxiii.

³ That symbolic species of investiture denominated 'improper investiture,' the delivery of a turf, stone, and wand, has its analogies amongst the mountaineers of the Aravulli. The old baron of Bednor, when the Mér villages were reduced, was clamorous about his feudal rights over those wild people. It was but the point of honour. From one he had a hare, from another a bullock, and so low as a pair of sticks which they use on the festivals of the *Holi*. These marks of vassalage come under the head of 'petite serjanteri' (petit serjeantry) in the feudal system of Europe. (See Art. XLI. of *Magna Charta*.)

indicative of the dismemberment of the system ; so vicious and self-destructive a notion never had existence in these states. Alienation does not belong to a system of fiefs : the lord would never consent to it, but on very peculiar occasions.

In Kutch, amongst the Jharéja¹ tribes, sub-vassals may alienate their estates ; but this privilege is dependent on the mode of acquisition. Perhaps the only knowledge we have in Rajast'han of alienation requiring the sanction of the lord paramount, is in donations for pious uses : but this is partial. We see in the remonstrance of the Deogurh vassals the opinion they entertained of their lord's alienation of their sub-fiefs to strangers, and without the Rana's consent ; which, with a similar train of conduct, produced sequestration of his fief till they were re-inducted.

TENANTS OF THE CROWN MAY ALIENATE.—The agricultural tenants, proprietors of land held of the crown, may alienate their rights upon a small fine, levied merely to mark the transaction. But the tenures of these non-combatants and the holders of fiefs are entirely distinct, and cannot here be entered on, further than to say that the agriculturist is, or was, the proprietor of the soil ; the chief, solely of the tax levied thereon. But in Europe the alienation of the *feudum patrimonium* was not good without the consent of the kindred in the line of succession.² This would involve sub-infeudation and frerage, which I shall touch on distinctly, many of the troubles of these countries arising therefrom.

ESCHEATS AND FORFEITURES.—The fiefs which were only to descend in lineal succession, reverted to the crown on failure of heirs, as they could not be bequeathed by will. This answers equally well for England as for Méwar. I have witnessed escheats of this kind, and foresee more, if the pernicious practice of unlimited adoption do not prevent the Rana from regaining lands, alienated by himself at periods of contention. Forfeitures for crimes must, of course, occur, and these are partial or entire, according to the delinquency.

In Marwar, at this moment, nearly all the representatives of the great fiefs of that country are exiles from their homes : a distant branch of the same family, the prince of Edur, would have adopted a similar line of conduct but for a timely check from the hand of benevolence.³

There is, or rather was, a class of lands in Méwar appended to the crown, of which it bestowed life-rents on men of merit. These were termed *Chur-ootar*, and were given and taken back, as the name implies ; in contradistinction to grants which, though originating in good behaviour, not only continued for life but descended in perpetuity. Such places are still so marked in the rent-roll, but they are seldom applied to the proper purpose.

AIDS.—Aids, implying 'free gifts,' or 'benevolences,' as they were termed in a European code, are well known. The *burrar* (war-tax) is well understood in Méwar, and is levied on many occasions for the neces-

¹ Jharéja is the title of the Rajpoot race in Kutch ; they are descendants of the Yadus, and claim from Crishna. In early ages they inhabited the tracts on the Indus and in Sewist'han.

² Wright on Tenures, *apud* Hallam, vol. i. p. 185.

³ The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, governor of Bombay. As we prevented the spoliation of Edur by the predatory powers, we are but right in seeing that the head does not become the spoliator himself, and make these brave men "wish any change but that which we have given them."

sities of the prince or the head of a clan. It is a curious fact, that the dusoond, or 'tenth,' in Méwar, as in Europe, was the stated sum to be levied in periods of emergency or danger. On the marriage of the daughters of the prince, a benevolence or contribution was always levied: this varied. A few years ago, when two daughters and a grand-daughter were married to the princes of Jessulmér, Bikanér, and Kishengurh, a schedule of one-sixth, to portion the three, was made out; but it did not realise above an eighth. In this aid the civil officers of government contribute equally with the others. It is a point of honour with all to see their sovereign's daughters married, and for once the contribution merited the name of benevolence.

But it is not levied solely from the coffers of the rich; by the chiefs it is exacted of their tenantry of all classes, who, of course, wish such subjects of rejoicing to be of as rare occurrence as possible.

"These feudal aids are deserving of our notice as the commencement of taxation, of which they long answered the purpose, till the craving necessities and covetous policy of kings established for them more durable and onerous burthens."¹

The great chiefs, it may be assumed, were not backward, on like occasions, to follow such examples, but these gifts were more voluntary. Of the details of aids in France we find enumerated, "paying the relief to the suzerain on taking possession of his lands";² and by *Magna Charta* our barons could levy them on the following counts: to make the baron's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, or to redeem his person from captivity. The latter is also one occasion for the demand in all these countries. The chief is frequently made prisoner in their predatory invasions, and carried off as a hostage for the payment of a war contribution. Everything disposable is often got rid of on an occasion of this kind. *Cœur de Lion* would not have remained so long in the dungeons of Austria had his subjects been Rajpoots.

In Amér the most extensive benevolence, or *burrar*,³ is on the marriage of the Raj-Cumar, or heir apparent.

WARDSHIP.—This does exist, to foster the infant vassal during minority, but often terminating, as in the system of Europe, in the nefarious act of defrauding a helpless infant, to the pecuniary benefit of some court favourite. It is accordingly here undertaken occasionally by the head of the clan; but two strong recent instances brought the dark ages, and the purchase of wardships for the purpose of spoliation, to mind. The first was in the Deogurh chief obtaining by bribe the entire management of the lands of Singramgurh, on pretence of improving them for the infant, Nahar Sing, whose father was incapacitated by derangement. Nahar was a junior branch of the clan *Sangawut*, a subdivision of the Chondawut clan, both Sesodias of the Rana's blood. The object, at the time, was to unite them to Deogurh, though he pleaded duty as head of the clan. His nomination of young Nahar as his own heir gives a colouring of truth to his intentions; and he succeeded, though there were nearer of kin, who were set aside (at the wish of the vassals of Deogurh and with the concurrence of the sovereign) as unfit to head them or serve him.

Another instance of the danger of permitting wardships, particularly

¹ Hallam.

² Ducange, *apud* Hallam.

³ *Burrar* is the generic name for taxation.

where the guardian is the superior in clanship and kindred, is exemplified in the Kalianpoor estate in Méwar. That property had been derived from the crown only two generations back, and was of the annual value of ten thousand rupees. The mother having little interest at court, the Saloombra chief, by bribery and intrigue, upon paying a fine of about one year's rent, obtained possession—ostensibly to guard the infant's rights; but the falsehood of this motive was soon apparent. There were duties to perform on holding it which were not thought of. It was a frontier post, and a place of rendezvous for the quotas to defend that border from the incursions of the wild tribes of the south-west. The Saloombra chief, being always deficient in the quota for his own estate, was not likely to be very zealous in his muster-roll for his ward's, and complaints were made which threatened a change. The chief of Chaond was talked of as one who would provide for the widow and minor, who could not perform the duties of defence.

The sovereign himself often assumes the guardianship of minors; but the mother is generally considered the most proper guardian for her infant son. All others may have interests of their own; she can be actuated by his welfare alone. Custom, therefore, constitutes her the guardian; and with the assistance of the elders of the family, she rears and educates the young chief till he is fit to be girded with the sword.¹

The Foujdar, or military manager, who frequently regulates the household as well as the subdivisions of the estate, is seldom of the kin or clan of the chief: a wise regulation, the omission of which has been known to produce, in these *maires du palais* on a small scale, the same results as will be described in the larger. This officer, and the civil functionary who transacts all the pecuniary concerns of the estate, with the mother and her family, are always considered to be the proper guardians of the minor. "Blood which could not inherit," was the requisite for a guardian in Europe,² as here; and when neglected, the results are in both cases the same.

MARRIAGE.—Refinement was too strong on the side of the Rajpoot to admit this incident, which, with that of wardship (both partial in Europe), illustrated the rapacity of the feudal aristocracy. Every chief, before he marries, makes it known to his sovereign. It is a compliment which is expected, and is besides attended with some advantage, as the prince invariably confers presents of honour, according to the station of the individual.

No Rajpoot can marry in his own clan; and the incident was originated in the Norman institutes, to prevent the vassal marrying out of his class, or amongst the enemies of his sovereign.

Thus, setting aside marriage (which even in Europe was only partial and local) and alienation, four of the six chief incidents marking the feudal system are in force in Rajast'han, viz. relief, escheats, aids, and wardships.

DURATION OF GRANTS.—I shall now endeavour to combine all the knowledge I possess with regard to the objects attained in granting lands, the nature and durability of these grants, whether for life and renewable, or in perpetuity. I speak of the rules as understood in Méwar. We ought

¹ The charter of Henry I. promises the custody of heirs to the mother or next of kin.—Hallam, vol. ii. p. 429.

² Hallam, vol. i. p. 190.

not to expect much system in what was devoid of regularity, even according to the old principles of European feudal law, which, though now reduced to some fixed principles, originated in, and was governed by, fortuitous circumstances; and after often changing its character, ended in despotism, oligarchy, or democracy.

There are two classes of Rajpoot landholders in Méwar, though the one greatly exceeds the other in number. One is the *Grásya t'hacoor*, or lord; the other the *Bhoomia*. The Grasya chieftain is he who holds (*grás*) by grant (*putta*) of the prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at every lapse, when all the ceremonies of resumption,¹ the fine of relief,² and the investiture take place.

The *Bhoomia* does not renew his grant, but holds on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. He is the counterpart of the allodial proprietor of the European system, and the real 'zemindar' of these principalities. Both have the same signification; from *bhoom* and *zemin*, 'land': the latter is an exotic of Persian origin.

GRASYA.—Grasya is from *grás*, 'a subsistence'; literally and familiarly 'a mouthful.' Whether it may have a like origin with the Celtic word *gwas*,³ said to mean 'a servant,'⁴ and whence the word vassal is derived, I shall leave to etymologists to decide, who may trace the resemblance to the *grásya*, the vassal chieftain of the Rajpoots. All the chartularies or *puttas*⁵ commence, "To . . . *grás* has been ordained."

WHETHER RESUMABLE.—It has always been a subject of doubt whether grants were resumable at pleasure, or without some delinquency imputable to the vassal. Their duration in Europe was, at least, the life of the possessor, when they reverted⁶ to the fisc. The whole of the ceremonies in cases of such lapse are decisive on this point in Méwar. The right to resume, therefore, may be presumed to exist; while the non-practice of it, the formalities of renewal being gone through, may be said to render the right a dead letter. But to prove its existence I need only mention, that so late as the reign of Rana Singram,⁷ the fiefs of Méwar were actually movable; and little more than a century and a half has passed since this practice ceased. Thus a Rahtore would shift, with family, chattels, and retainers, from the north into the wilds of Chuppun;⁸ while the Suktawut relieved would occupy the plains at the foot of the Aravulli;⁹ or a Chondawut would exchange his abode on the banks of the Chumbul with a Pramara or Chohan from the table-mountain, the eastern boundary of Méwar.¹⁰

¹ *Zubti*, 'sequestration.'

² *Nuzzerana*.

³ It might not be unworthy of research to trace many words common to the Hindu and the Celt; or to inquire whether the Kimbri, the Juts or Getes, the Sacasenæ, the Catti of the Elbe and Cimbric Chersonese, and the ancient Britons, did not bring their terms with their bards and *vates* (the Bhats and Bardais) from the highland of Scythia east of the Caspian, which originated the nations common to both, improved beyond the Wolga and the Indus.

⁴ Hallam, vol. i.

⁵ *Patta*, a 'patent' or 'grant': *Pattawat*, 'holder of the fief or grant.'

⁶ Montesquieu, chaps. xxv. liv. xxxi.

⁷ Ten generations ago.

⁸ The mountainous and woody region to the south-west, dividing Méwar from Guzzerat.

⁹ The grand chain dividing the western from the central states of Rajast'han.

¹⁰ Such changes were triennial; and, as I have heard the prince himself say,

takes place to the *Chougan*, and every Rajpoot worships his tutelary divinity.

Chey^t (*Súdi*) 9th is the anniversary of Rama, the grand beacon of the solar race, kept with great rejoicings at Oodipoor. Horses and elephants are worshipped, and all the implements of war. A procession takes place to the *Chougan*, and the succeeding day, called the *Dussétra* or tenth, is celebrated in Asoj.

The last days of spring are dedicated to *Camdēva*, the god of love. The scorching winds of the hot season are already beginning to blow, when Flora droops her head, and "the god of love turns anchorite"; yet the rose continues to blossom, and affords the most fragrant chaplets for the Rajpootnis, amidst all the heats of summer. Of this the queen of flowers, the jessamine (*chamēli*), white and yellow, the magra, the champaca, that flourish in extreme heat, the ladies form garlands, which they twine in their dark hair, weave into bracelets, or wear as pendent collars. There is no city in the East where the adorations of the sex to *Camdēva* are more fervent than in "the city of the rising sun" (*Udyāpūra*). On the 13th and 14th of Cheyt they sing hymns handed down by the sacred bards:—

"Hail, god of the flowery bow!¹ hail, warrior with a fish on thy banner! hail, powerful divinity, who causeth the firmness of the sage to forsake him!"

"Glory to MADANA, to CÁma,² the god of gods; to HIM by whom BRAHMA, VISHNU, SÍVA, and INDRA are filled with emotions of rapture!"
—*Bhavishya Púrāna*.³

Vysakh.—There is but one festival in this month of any note, when the grand procession denominated the "*Nakarra ca aswari*" (from the equestrians being summoned, as already described, by the grand kettle-drums from the Tripolia), takes place; and this is against the canons of the Hindu church, being instituted by the present Rana in S. 1847, a memorable year in the calendar. It was in this year, on the 2nd of Vysakh, that he commanded a repetition of the rites of GOURI, by the name of the *Little Gangore*; but this act of impiety was marked by a sudden rise of the waters of the Pēshola, the bursting of the huge embankment, and the inundation of the lake's banks, to the destruction of one-third of the capital: life, property, mansions, trees, all were swept away in the tremendous rush of water, whose ravages are still marked by the site of streets and bazaars now converted into gardens or places of recreation, containing thousands of acres within the walls, subdivided by hedges of the *cactus*, the natural fence of Méwar, which alike thrives in the valley or covers the most barren spots of her highest hills. But although the superstitious look grave, and add that a son was also taken from him on this very day, yet the Rana persists in maintaining the fête he established; the barge is manned, he and his chiefs circumnavigate the Pēshola, regale on majaom, and terrify Varūná (the water-god) with the pyrotechnic exhibitions.

¹ Cupid's bow is formed of a garland of flowers.

² *Madana*, he who intoxicates with desire (*edma*), both epithets of the god of love. The festivals on the 13th and 14th are called *Madana triodasi* (the tenth) and *chaturdasi* (fourteenth).

³ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 278.

Although the court calendar of Oodipoor notices only those festivals on which state processions occur, yet there are many minor fêtes, which are neither unimportant nor uninteresting. We shall enumerate a few, both in Vyshak, Jeyt, and Asar, which are blank as to the "*Nakarra Aswari*."

On the 29th Vyshak, there is a fast common to India peculiar to the women, who perform certain rites under the sacred fig-tree (the *vata* or *peepul*), to preserve them from widowhood; and hence the name of the fast *Savitri-vata*.

On the second of Jeyt, when the sun is in the zenith, the Rajpoot ladies commemorate the birth of the sea-born goddess *Rembha*, the queen of the naiads or *Apsárs*,¹ whose birth, like that of Venus, was from the froth of the waters; and hence the Rajpoot bards designate all the fair messengers of heaven by the name of Apsaras, who summon the "chosen" from the field of battle, and convey him to the "mansion of the sun."²

On the 6th of Jeyt, the ladies have another festival called the *Aranya shashthi*, because on this day those desirous of offspring walk in the woods (*aranya*) to gather and eat certain herbs. Sir W. Jones has remarked the analogy between this and the *Druidic* ceremony of gathering the mistletoe (also on the *shashthi*, or 6th day of the moon), as a preservative against sterility.

Asar, the initiative month of the periodical rains, has no particular festivity at Oodipoor, though in other parts of India the *Rat'ha yatra*, or procession of the car of Vishnu or *Jaganat'ha* (lord of the universe) is well known: this is on the 2nd and the 11th, "the night of the gods," when Vishnu (the sun) reposes four months.

Sawun, classically *Srávana*. There are two important festivals, with processions, in this month.

The third, emphatically called "the teej" (*third*), is sacred to the mountain goddess *Parvati*, being the day on which, after long austerities, she was reunited to *Síva*: she accordingly declared it holy, and proclaimed that whoever invoked her on that day should possess whatever was desired. The *teej* is accordingly revered by the women, and the husbandman of Rajast'han, who deems it a most favourable day to take possession of land, or to reinhabit a deserted dwelling. When on the expulsion of the predatory powers from the devoted lands of Méwar, proclamations were disseminated far and wide, recalling the expatriated inhabitants, they showed their love of country by obedience to the summons. Collecting their goods and chattels, they congregated from all parts, but assembled at a common rendezvous to make their entry to the *bápóta*, 'land of their sires,' on the *teej* of *Sawun*. On this fortunate occasion, a band of three hundred men, women, and children, with colours flying, drums beating, the females taking precedence with brass vessels of water on their heads, and chanting the *suhailéa* (song of joy), entered the town of Kapasan, to revisit their desolate dwellings, and

¹ *Ap*, 'water,' and *sara*, 'froth or essence.'

² The Romans held the calends of June (generally Jeyt) sacred to the goddess *CARNA*, significant of the sun. *Carnus* was the sun-god of the Celts, and a name of *Apollo* at Sparta, and other Grecian cities. The *Carneia* was a festival in honour of *Apollo*.

return thanks on their long-abandoned altars to *Parvati*¹ for a happiness they had never contemplated.

Red garments are worn by all classes on this day, and at Jeipoor clothes of this colour are presented by the Raja to all the chiefs. At that court the teej is kept with more honour than at Oodipoor. An image of Parvati on the teej, richly attired, is borne on a throne by women chanting hymns, attended by the prince and his nobles. On this day, fathers present red garments and stuffs to their daughters.

The 5th is the *Nagpanchami*, or day set apart for the propitiation of the chief of the reptile race, the Naga or serpent. Few subjects have more occupied the notice of the learned world than the mysteries of Ophite worship, which are to be traced wherever there existed a remnant of civilisation, or indeed of humanity; among the savages of the savannahs² of America, and the magi of Fars, with whom it was the type of evil,—their Ahrimanes.³ The *Nagas*, or serpent-genii of the Rajpoots, have a semi-human structure, precisely as Diodorus describes the snake-mother of the Scythæ, in whose country originated this serpent-worship, engrafted on the tenets of Zerdusht, of the *Purans* of the priesthood of Egypt, and on the fables of early Greece. Dupuis, Volney, and other expounders of the mystery, have given an astronomical solution to what they deem a varied ramification of an ancient fable, of which that of Greece, "the dragon guarding the fruits of Hesperides," may be considered the most elegant version. Had these learned men seen those ancient sculptures in India, which represent "the fall," they might have changed their opinion. The traditions of the Jains or Budhists (originating in the land of the Takyacs,⁴ or Turkist'han) assert the creation of the human species in pairs, called *joogal*, who fed off the ever-fructifying *calpa-vrisha*, which possesses all the characters of the Tree of Life, like it bearing

"Ambrosial fruit of vegetable gold";

which was termed *amrita*, and rendered them immortal. A drawing, brought by Colonel Coombs, from a sculptured column in a cave temple in the south of India, represents the first pair at the foot of this ambrosial tree, and a serpent entwined among the heavily laden boughs, presenting to them some of the fruit from his mouth. The tempter appears to be at that part of his discourse, when

"... his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too easy entrance won:
Fixed on the fruit she gazed."

This is a curious subject to be engraved on an ancient pagan temple; if Jain or Budhist, the interest would be considerably enhanced. On this festival, at Oodipoor, as well as throughout India, they strew

¹The story of the vigils of Parvati, preparatory to her being reunited to her lord, consequent to her sacrifice as *Sati*, is the counterpart of the Grecian fable of Cybele, her passion for, and marriage with, the youth Atys or *Papas*, the *Babu*, or universal father, of the Hindus.

²How did a word of Persian growth come to signify "the boundless brake" of the new world?

³*Ari*, 'a foe'; *manoos*, 'man.'

⁴This is the snake-race of India, the foes of the Pandus.

particular plants about the threshold, to prevent the entrance of reptiles.

RAKHI.—This festival, which is held on the last day of Sawun, was instituted in honour of the good genii, when Durvasa the sage instructed Salone (the genius or nymph presiding over the month of Sawun) to bind on *rakhis*, or bracelets, as charms to avert evil. The ministers of religion and females alone are privileged to bestow these charmed wristbands. The ladies of Rajast'han, either by their handmaids or the family priests, send a bracelet as the token of their esteem to such as they adopt as brothers, who return gifts in acknowledgment of the honour. The claims thus acquired by the fair are far stronger than those of consanguinity: for illustration of which I may refer to an incident already related in the annals of this house.¹ Sisters also present their brothers with clothes on this day, who make an offering of gold in return.²

This day is hailed by the Brahmins as indemnifying them for their expenditure of silk and spangles, with which they decorate the wrists of all who are likely to make a proper return.

Bhadoon.—On the 3rd there is a grand procession to the Chougan; and the 8th, or Ashtami, is the birth of Crishna, which will be described at large in an account of Nat'hdwara. There are several holidays in this month, when the periodical rains are in full descent; but that on the last but one (*sūdi* 14, or 29th) is the most remarkable.

On this day³ commences the worship of the ancestral manes (the Pitri-iswara, or *father-gods*) of the Rajpoots, which continues for fifteen days. The Rana goes to the cemetery at Ara, and performs at the cenotaph of each of his forefathers the rites enjoined, consisting of ablutions, prayers, and the hanging of garlands of flowers, and leaves sacred to the dead, on their monuments. Every chieftain does the same amongst the altars of the "great ancients" (*burra boora*); or, if absent from their estates, they accompany their sovereign to Ara.

¹ See p. 250.

² I returned from three to five pieces of gold for the *rakhis* sent by my adopted sisters; from one of whom, the sister of the Rana, I annually received this pledge by one of her handmaids; three of them I have yet in my possession, though I never saw the donor, who is now no more. I had, likewise, some presented through the family priest, from the Boondi queen-mother, with whom I have conversed for hours, though she was invisible to me; and from the ladies of rank of the chieftains' families, but one of whom I ever beheld, though they often called upon me for the performance of brotherly offices in consequence of such tie. There is a delicacy in this custom, with which the bond uniting the cavaliers of Europe to the service of the fair, in the days of chivalry, will not compare.

³ Sacred to Vishnu, with the title of *Ananta*, or infinite—*Bhavishattara*. (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 291.) Here Vishnu appears as 'lord of the manes.'

CHAPTER XXII

Festivals continued—Adoration of the sword : its Scythic origin—The Dusséra, or military festival : its Scythic origin—Toruns or triumphal arcs—Ganésa of the Rajpoots and Janus of the Romans—Worship of arms : of the magic brand of Méwar, compared with the enchanted sword, Tirsing, of the Edda—Birth of Ku-mára, the Rajpoot Mars, compared with the Roman divinity—Birth of Ganga : her analogy to Pallas—Adoration of the moon—Worship of Lacshmi, or Fortune ; of Yama, or Pluto—Déwali, or festival of lamps, in Arabia, in China, in Egypt, and in India—Anacúta and Julyatra—Festivals sacred to the Ceres and Neptune of the Hindus—Festival of the autumnal equinox—Reflections on the universal worship of the elements, Fire, Light, Water—Festival sacred to Mithras or Vishnu, as the sun—The Phallus : its etymology—Rajpoot doctrine of the Triad—Symbols Vishnu, as the sun-god : his messenger Garúda, the eagle : his charioteer Arúná, or the dawn—Sons of Arúná—Fable analogous to that of Icarus—Rites of Vishnu on the vernal equinox and summer solstice—Dolayátra, or festival of the ark, compared with the ark of Osiris, and Argonautic expedition of the Greeks—Etymology of *Argonaut*—Ethiopia the Lanka of the Hindus—Their sea-king, Sagara—Rama, or Ramesa, chief of the Cushite races of India—Ramesa of the Rajpoots and Rameses of Egypt compared—Reflections.

KARGA S'HAPNA, *Worship of the Sword*.—The festival in which this imposing rite occurs is the *Noratri*,¹ sacred to the god of war, commencing on the first of the month Asoj. It is essentially martial, and confined to the Rajpoot, who on the departure of the monsoon finds himself at liberty to indulge his passion whether for rapine or revenge, both which in these tropical regions are necessarily suspended during the rains. Arguing from the order of the passions, we may presume that the first objects of emblematic worship were connected with war, and we accordingly find the highest reverence paid to arms by every nation of antiquity. The Scythic warrior of Central Asia, the intrepid Gete, admitted no meaner representative of the god of battle than his own scimitar.² He worshipped it, he swore by it ; it was buried with him, in order that he might appear before the martial divinity in the other world as became his worshipper on earth : for the Gete of Transoxiana, from the earliest ages, not only believed in the soul's immortality, and in the doctrine of rewards and punishments hereafter, but, according to the father of history, he was a monotheist ; of which fact he has left a memorable proof in the punishment of the celebrated Anacharsis, who, on his return from a visit to Thales and his brother philosophers of Greece, attempted to introduce into the land of the Sacæ (*Sakatai*) the corrupted polytheism of Athens.

¹ *Noratri* may be interpreted the *nine days'* festival, or the '*new night*.'

² "It was natural enough," says Gibbon, "that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war ; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimenter. If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion,¹ a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain ; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive."—Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, vol. vi. p. 43.

¹ Attila dictating the terms of peace with the envoys of Constantinople, at the city of Margus, in Upper Mœsia.

If we look westward from this the central land of earliest civilisation, to Dacia, Trace, Pannonia, the seats of the Thyssagetæ or western Getes, we find the same form of adoration addressed to the emblem of Mars, as mentioned by Xenophon in his memorable *retreat*, and practised by Alaric and his Goths, centuries afterwards, in the Acropolis of Athens. If we transport ourselves to the shores of Scandinavia, amongst the Cimbri and Getes of Jutland, to the *Ultima Thule*, wherever the name of Gete prevails, we shall find the same adoration paid by the Getic warrior to his sword.

The Frisian Frank, also of Gothic race, adhered to this worship, and transmitted it with the other rites of the Getic warrior of the Jaxartes ; such as the adoration of the steed, sacred to the sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, as well as of the Rajpoot, who sacrificed it at the annual feast, or with his arms and wife burnt it on his funeral pile. Even the kings of the 'second race' kept up the religion of their Scythic sires from the Jaxartes, and the bones of the war-horse of Chilperic were exhumed with those of the monarch. These rites, as well as those long-cherished chivalrous notions, for which the Salian Franks have ever been conspicuous, had their birth in Central Asia ; for though contact with the more polished Arab softened the harsh character of the western warrior, his thirst for glory, the romantic charm which fed his passion, and his desire to please the fair, he inherited from his ancestors on the shores of the Baltic, which were colonised from the Oxus. Whether Charlemagne addressed his sword as *Joyeuse*,¹ or the Scandinavian hero Angantyr as the enchanted blade *Tirsing* (*Hialmar's bane*), each came from one common origin, the people which invented the custom of *Karga S'hapna*, or 'adoration of the sword.' But neither the faulchion "made by the dwarfs for Suafurlama," nor the redoubted sword of Bayard with which he dubbed the first Francis, —not even the enchanted brand of Ariosto's hero, can for a moment compare with the double-edged *khanda* (scimitar) annually worshipped by the chivalry of Méwar. Before I descant on this monstrous blade, I shall give an abstract of the ceremonies on each of the *nine days* sacred to the god of war.

On the 1st of Asoj, after fasting, ablution, and prayer on the part of the prince and his household, the double-edged *khanda* is removed from the hall of arms (*âwadsâlâ*), and having received the homage (*pooja*) of the court, it is carried in procession to the *Kishenpôl* (gate of Kishen), where it is delivered to the *Raj Jogi*,² the *Mehunts*, and band of *Jogis* assembled in front of the temple of Dêvi 'the goddess,' adjoining the portal of Kishen.³ By these, the monastic militant adorers of Heri, *the god of battle*, the brand emblematic of the divinity is placed⁴ on the altar before the image of his divine consort. At three in the afternoon the *nakarras*, or grand kettle-drums, proclaim from the Tripôlia⁵ the signal for the assemblage of the chiefs with their retainers ; and the Rana and his cavalcade proceed

¹ St. Palaye, *Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry*, p. 305.

² *Raj Jogi* is the chief of the ascetic warriors ; the *Mehunts* are commanders. More will be said of this singular society when we discuss the religious institutions of Méwar.

³ The god CRISHNA is called *Kishen* in the dialects.

⁴ This is the *t'hapna* of the sword, literally its *inauguration* or *induction*, for the purposes of adoration.

⁵ *Tripô-lia*, or triple portal.

direct to the stables, when a buffalo is sacrificed in honour of the war-horse. Thence the procession moves to the temple of *Dévi*, where the Raja Crishen (*Godi*) has preceded. Upon this, the Rana seats himself close to the *Raj Jogi*, presents two pieces of silver and a coco-nut, performs homage to the sword (*karga*), and returns to the palace.

Asoj 2nd. In similar state he proceeds to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*, where a buffalo is sacrificed; and on the same day another buffalo victim is felled by the nervous arm of a Rajpoot, near the *Torun-pol*, or triumphal gate. In the evening the Rana goes to the temple of *AMBA MATA*, the universal mother, when several goats and buffaloes bleed to the goddess.

The 3rd. Procession to the Chougan, when another buffalo is offered; and in the afternoon five buffaloes and two rams are sacrificed to *Harsid Matá*.

On the 4th, as on every one of the nine days, the first visit is to the *Champ de Mars*: the day opens with the slaughter of a buffalo. The Rana proceeds to the temple of *Dévi*, when he worships the sword, and the standard of the *Raj Jogi*, to whom, as the high-priest of *Síva*, the god of war, he pays homage, and makes offering of sugar, and a garland of roses. A buffalo having been previously fixed to a stake near the temple, the Rana sacrifices him with his own hand, by piercing him from his travelling throne (raised on men's shoulders and surrounded by his vassals) with an arrow. In the days of his strength, he seldom failed almost to bury the feather in the flank of the victim; but on the last occasion his enfeebled arm made him exclaim with *Pirthis Raj*, when, captive and blind, he was brought forth to amuse the Tatar despot, "I draw not the bow as in the days of yore."

On the 5th, after the usual sacrifice at the Chougan, and an elephant fight, the procession marches to the temple of *Asapúrná* (Hope); a buffalo and a ram are offered to the goddess adored by all the Rajpoots, and the tutelary divinity of the Chohans. On this day, the lives of some victims are spared at the intercession of the *Nuggur-Sét'h*, or chief-magistrate, and those of his faith, the Jains.

On the 6th, the Rana visits the Chougan, but makes no sacrifice. In the afternoon, prayers and victims to *Dévi*; and in the evening the Rana visits *Bikhiári Nat'h*, the chief of the *Kanfára Jogis*, or split-car ascetics.

The 7th. After the daily routine at the Chougan, and sacrifices to *Dévi* (the goddess of destruction), the chief equerry is commanded to adorn the steeds with their new caparisons, and lead them to be bathed in the lake. At night, the sacred fire (*hom*) is kindled, and a buffalo and a ram are sacrificed to *Dévi*; the *Jogis* are called up and feasted on boiled rice and sweetmeats. On the conclusion of this day, the Rana and his chieftains visit the hermitage of *Súkria Baba*, an anchorite of the *Jogi* sect.

8th. There is the *homá*, or fire-sacrifice in the palace. In the afternoon, the prince, with a select cavalcade, proceeds to the village of *Sameena*, beyond the city walls, and visits a celebrated *Gosaén*.¹

9th. There is no morning procession. The horses from the royal

¹ On this day, sons visit and pay adoration to their fathers. The diet is chiefly of *ye-margus*, in d fruits. Brahmins with their unmarried daughters are feasted called *choonduree* from their chiefs.

stables, as well as those of the chieftains, are taken to the lake, and bathed by their grooms, and on returning from purification they are caparisoned in their new housings, led forth, and receive the homage of their riders, and the Rana bestows a largess on the master of the horse, the equeries, and grooms. At three in the afternoon, the nakarras having thrice sounded, the whole state insignia, under a select band, proceed to Mount Matachil, and bring home the sword. When its arrival in the court of the palace is announced, the Rana advances and receives it with due homage from the hands of the *Raj Jogi*, who is presented with a khelat; while the *mehunt*, who has performed all the austerities during the nine days, has his *patera*¹ filled with gold and silver coin. The whole of the Jogis are regaled, and presents are made to their chiefs. The elephants and horses again receive homage, and the sword, the shield, and spear are worshipped within the palace. At three in the morning the prince takes repose.

The 10th, or *Dusséra*,² is a festival universally known in India, and respected by all classes, although entirely military, being commemorative of the day on which the deified Rama commenced his expedition to Lanka for the redemption of Seeta;³ the "tenth of Asoj" is consequently deemed by the Rajpoot a fortunate day for warlike enterprise. The day commences with a visit from the prince or chieftain to his spiritual guide. Tents and carpets are prepared at the Chougan or Matachil mount, where the artillery is sent; and in the afternoon the Rana, his chiefs, and their retainers repair to the *field of Mars*, worship the *kaijri* tree, liberate the *niltach* or jay (sacred to Rama), and return amidst a discharge of guns.

11th. In the morning, the Rana, with all the state insignia, the kettle-drums sounding *in the rear*, proceeds towards the Matachil mount, and takes the muster of his troops, amidst discharges of cannon, tilting, and display of horsemanship. The spectacle is imposing even in the decline of this house. The hilarity of the party, the diversified costume, the various forms, colours, and decorations of the turbans, in which some have the heron plume, or sprigs from some shrub sacred to the god of war; the clusters of lances, shining matchlocks, and black bucklers, the scarlet housings of the steeds, and waving pennons, recall forcibly the glorious days of the devoted Sanga, or the immortal Pertáp, who on such occasions collected round the black *changi* and crimson banner of Méwar a band of sixteen thousand of his own kin and clan, whose lives were their lord's and their country's. The shops and bazaars are ornamented with festoons of flowers and branches of trees, while the costliest cloths and brocades are extended on screens, to do honour to their prince; the *torun* (or triumphal arch) is placed before the tent, on a column of which he places one hand as he alights, and before entering makes several circumambula-

¹ The Jogi's *patera* is not so revolting as that of their divinity Hari (the god of war), which is the human *cranium*; this is a hollow gourd.

² From *dus* or *dos*, the numeral *ten*; the tenth.

³ In this ancient story we are made acquainted with the distant maritime wars which the princes of India carried on. Even supposing Ravana's abode to be the insular Ceylon, he must have been a very powerful prince to equip an armament sufficiently numerous to carry off from the remote kingdom of *Koshula* the wife of the great king of the *Súryás*. It is most improbable that a petty king of Ceylon could wage equal war with a potentate who held the chief dominion of India; whose father, *Désárat'ha*, drove his victorious car (*rat'ha*) over every region (*désa*), and whose intercourse with the countries beyond the *Brahma-pútra* is distinctly to be traced in the *Ramayana*.

tions. All present offer their *muzzurs* to the prince, the artillery fires, and the bards raise "the song of praise," celebrating the glories of the past; the fame of Samra, who fell with thirteen thousand of his kin on the Caggar; of Ursi and his twelve brave sons, who gave themselves as victims for the salvation of Chectore; of Koombho, Lakha, Sanga, Pertáp, Umra, Raj, all descended of the blood of Rama, whose exploits, three thousand five hundred years before, they are met to celebrate. The situation of Matachil is well calculated for such a spectacle, as indeed is the whole ground from the palace through the Dehli portal to the mount, on which is erected one of the several castles commanding the approaches to the city. The fort is dedicated to *Mata*, though it would not long remain stable (*áchil*) before a battery of thirty-six pounders. The guns are drawn up about the termination of the slope of the natural glacis; the Rana and his court remain on horseback half up the ascent; and while every chief or vassal is at liberty to leave his ranks, and "watch the world with noble horsemanship," there is nothing tumultuous, nothing offensive in their mirth.

The steeds purchased since the last festival are named, and as the cavalcade returns, their grooms repeat the appellations of each as the word is passed by the master of the horse; as *Baj Raj*, 'the royal steed'; *Hymór*, 'the chief of horses'; *Manika*, 'the gem'; *Bujra*, 'the thunder-bolt,' etc. etc. On returning to the palace, gifts are presented by the Rana to his chiefs. The Chohan chief of Kotarlo claims the apparel which his prince wears on this day, in token of the fidelity of his ancestor to the minor, Oody Sing, in Akber's wars. To others, a fillet or *bala-bund* for the turban is presented; but all such compliments are regulated by precedent or immediate merit.

Thus terminates the *noratri* festival sacred to the god of war, which in every point of view is analogous to the autumnal festival of the Scythic warlike nations, when these princes took the muster of their armies, and performed the same rites to the great celestial luminary.¹ I have presented to the antiquarian reader these details, because it is in minute particulars that analogous customs are detected. Thus the temporary *torun*, or triumphal arch, erected in front of the tent at *Mount Machila*, would scarcely claim the least notice, but that we discover even in this emblem the origin of the triumphal arches of antiquity, with many other rites which may be traced to the Indo-Scythic races of Asia. The *torun* in its original form consisted of two columns and an architrave, constituting the number *three*, sacred to Hari, the god of war. In the progress of the arts the architrave gave way to the Hindu arch, which consisted of two or more ribs without the keystone, the apex being the perpendicular junction of the archivaults; nor is the arc of the *torun* semicircular, or

¹ "A la première lune de chaque année, tous ces officiers, grands et petits, tenoient une assemblée générale à la cour du Tanjou, et y faisoient un sacrifice solennel: à la cinquième lune, ils s'assembloient à Lumtching, où ils sacrifioient au ciel, à la terre, aux esprits, et aux ancêtres. Il se tenoit encore une grande assemblée à Tai-lin dans l'automne, parce qu' alors les chevaux étoient plus gras, et on y faisoit en même-tems le denombrement des hommes et des troupeaux; mais tous les jours le Tanjou sortoit de son camp, le matin pour adorer le soleil, et le soir la lune. Sa tente étoit placée à gauche, comme le côté le plus honorable chez ces peuples, et regardoit le couchant."—*Avant J. C.* 209.—*L'Histoire Générale des Huns*, vol. i. p. 24.

any segment of a circle, but with that graceful curvature which stamps with originality one of the arches of the Normans, who may have brought it from their ancient seats on the Oxus, whence it may also have been carried within the Indus. The cromlech, or trilithic altar in the centre of all those monuments called druidic, is most probably a *torun*, sacred to the Sun-god Belenus, like Hur, or Bál-síva, the god of battle, to whom as soon as a temple is raised the *torun* is erected, and many of these are exquisitely beautiful.

An interesting essay might be written on *portes* and *toruns*, their names and attributes, and the genii presiding as their guardians. Amongst all the nations of antiquity, the portal has had its peculiar veneration : to pass it was a privilege regarded as a mark of honour. The Jew Haman, in the true oriental style, took post at the king's gate as an inexpugnable position. The most pompous court in Europe takes its title from its *porte*, where, as at Oodipoor, all alight. The *tripolia*, or triple portal, the entry to the magnificent terrace in front of the Rana's palace, consists, like the Roman arcs of triumph, of three arches, still preserving the numeral sacred to the god of battle, one of whose titles is *TRIPOORI*, which may be rendered *Tripoli*, or lord of the *three places of abode*, or cities, but applied in its extensive sense to the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell. From the Sanscrit *Póla*, we have the Greek *πύλης*, a *gate*, or pass ; and in the guardian or *Polioh*, the *πύλωρος* or *porter* ; while to this *langue mère* our own language is indebted, not only for its *portes* and *porters*, but its doors (*dwára*). *Pylos* signified also a pass ; so in Sanscrit these natural barriers are called *Palas*, and hence the poetical epithet applied to the aboriginal mountain tribes of Rajast'han, namely, *Páli-pati* and *Pal-indra*, '*lords of the pass*.'

One of the most important of the Roman divinities was Janus, whence *Januæ*, or portals, of which he was the guardian.¹ A resemblance between the Ganésa of the Hindu pantheon and the Roman Janus has been pointed out by Sir W. Jones, but his analogy extended little beyond nominal similarity. The fable of the birth of *Ganésa* furnishes us with the origin of the worship of Janus, and as it has never been given, I shall transcribe it from the bard Chund. Gañésa is the chief of the genii² attendant on the god of war, and was expressly formed by Oomia, the Hindu Juno, to guard the entrance of her caverned retreat in the Caucasus, where she took refuge from the tyranny of the lord of *Cailása* (Olympus), whose throne is fixed amidst eternal snows on the summit of this peak of the gigantic Caucasus (*Khô-kása*).³

" Strife arose between Mahadeo and the faithful Parvati : she fled to the mountains and took refuge in a cave. A crystal fountain tempted her to bathe, but shame was awakened ; she dreaded being seen. Rubbing her frame, she made an image of man ; with her nail she sprinkled it with the water of life, and placed it as guardian at the entrance of the cave."

¹ Hence may be found a good etymology of *janizary*, the guardian of the *serai*, a title left by the lords of Eastern Rome for the *Porte*.

² In Sanscrit *gén* (pronounced as *gun*), the *jin* of the Persians, transmuted to *genii* ; here is another instance in point of the alternation of the initial, and softened by being transplanted from Indo-Scythia to Persia, as *Ganés* was *Janus* at Rome.

³ The *Casia Montes* of Ptolemy.

Engrossed with the recollection of Parvati,¹ Śiva went to *Kartika*² for tidings of his mother, and together they searched each valley and recess, and at length reached the spot where a figure was placed at the entrance of a cavern. As the chief of the gods prepared to explore this retreat, he was stopped by the *Polioh*. In a rage he struck off his head with his discus (*chukra*), and in the gloom discovered the object of his search. Surprised and dismayed, she demanded how he obtained ingress: "Was there no guardian at the entrance?" The furious Śiva replied that he had cut off his head. On hearing this, the mountain-goddess was enraged, and weeping, exclaimed, "You have destroyed my child." The god, determined to recall him to life, decollated a young elephant, replaced the head he had cut off, and naming him *Ganésa*, decreed that in every resolve his name should be the first invoked.

Invocation of the Bard to Ganésa.

"Oh, Ganésa! thou art a mighty lord; thy single tusk³ is beautiful, and demands the tribute of praise from the Indra of song.⁴ Thou art the chief of the human race; the destroyer of unclean spirits; the remover of fevers, whether daily or tertian. Thy bard sounds thy praise; let my work be accomplished!"

Thus Ganésa is the chief of the *Di minores* of the Hindu pantheon, as the etymology of the word indicates,⁵ and like Janus, was intrusted with the gates of heaven; while of his right to preside over peace and war, the fable related affords abundant testimony. Ganésa is the first invoked and propitiated⁶ on every undertaking, whether warlike or pacific. The warrior implores his counsel; the banker indites his name at the commencement of every letter; the architect places his image in the foundation of every edifice; and the figure of Ganésa is either sculptured or painted at the door of every house as a protection against evil. Our Hindu Janus is represented as four-armed, and holding the disk (*chukra*), the war-shell, the club, and the lotos. Ganésa is not, however, *bifrons*, like the Roman guardian of portals. In every transaction he is *ad*, or the first, though the Hindu does not, like the Roman, open the year with his name. I shall conclude with remarking that one of the portes of every Hindu city is named the *Ganésa Pol*, as well as some conspicuous entrance to the palace: thus Oodipoor has its Ganésa *dwara*, who also gives a name to the hall, the Ganésa *deori*; and his shrine will be found on the ascent of every sacred mount, as at Aboo, where it is placed close to a fountain on

¹ *Parvati*, 'the mountain goddess,' was called Sati, or 'the faithful' in her former birth. She became the mother of *Januwi*, the river (*gunga*) goddess.

² *Kartika*, the son of Śiva and Parvati, the Jupiter and Juno of the Hindu theology, has the leading of the armies of the gods, delegated by his father; and his mother has presented to him her peacock, which is the steed of this warlike divinity. He is called *Kartika* (*Carticeya*) from being nursed by six females called *Krittiku*, who inhabit six of the seven stars composing the constellation of the Wain, or Ursa Major. Thus the Hindu Mars, born of Jupiter and Juno, and nursed by Ursa Major, is, like all other theogonies, an astronomical allegory. There is another legend of the birth of Mars, which I shall give in the text.

³ This elephant-headed divinity has but one tusk.

⁴ The bard thus modestly designates himself.

⁵ Chief (*esa*, *isa*, or *iswara*) of the gana (*genii*) or attendants on Śiva.

⁶ So he was at Rome, and his statue held the keys of heaven in his right hand, and, like Ganésa, a rod (*the unkoos*) in his left.

the abrupt face about twelve hundred feet from the base. There is likewise a hill sacred to him in Méwar called *Ganésa Gir*, tantamount to the *mons janiculum* of the eternal city. The companion of this divinity is a rat, who indirectly receives a portion of homage, and with full as much right as the bird emblematic of Minerva.

We have abandoned the temple of the warlike divinity (*D'ri*), the sword of Mars, and the triumphal *torun*, to invoke Ganésa. It will have been remarked that the Rana aids himself to dismount by placing his hand on one of the columns of the *torun*, an act which is pregnant with a martial allusion, as are indeed the entire ceremonials of the "worship of the sword."

It might be deemed folly to trace the rites and superstitions of so remote an age and nation to Central Asia; but when we find the superstitions of the Indo-Scythic Gete prevailing within the Indus, in Dacia, and on the shores of the Baltic, we may assume their common origin; for although the worship of arms has prevailed among all warlike tribes, there is a peculiar respect paid to the sword amongst the Getic races. The Greeks and Romans paid devotion to their arms, and swore by them. The Greeks brought their habits from ancient Thrace, where the custom existed of presenting as the greatest gift that peculiar kind of sword called *acinaces*, which we dare not derive from the Indo-Scythic or Sanscrit *asi*, a sword. When Xenophon, on his retreat, reached the court of Seuthes, he agreed to attach his corps to the service of the Thracian. His officers on introduction, in the true oriental style, presented their *nuzzurs*, or gifts of homage, excepting Xenophon, who, deeming himself too exalted to make the common offering, presented his sword, probably only to be touched in recognition of his services being accepted. The most powerful oath of the Rajpoot, next to his sovereign's throne (*gādi ca ān*), is by his arms, *ya sil ca ān*, 'by this weapon!' as, suiting the action to the word, he puts his hand on his dagger, never absent from his girdle. *Dhāl, turwār, ca ān*, 'by my sword and shield!' The shield is deemed the only fit vessel or salver on which to present gifts; and accordingly at a Rajpoot court, shawls, brocades, scarfs, and jewels are always spread before the guest on bucklers.¹

In the Runic "incantation of Hervor," daughter of Angantyr, at the tomb of her father, she invokes the dead to deliver the enchanted brand *Tirsing*, or "*Hialmar's bane*," which, according to Getic custom, was buried in his tomb; she adjures him and his brothers "*by all their arms, their shields, etc.*" It is depicted with great force, and, translated, would deeply interest a Rajpoot, who might deem it the spell by which the *Khanda* of HAMÍRA, which he annually worships, was obtained.

INCANTATION.

Hervor—"Awake, Angantyr! Hervor, the only daughter of thee and Suafú, doth awaken thee. Give me out of the tomb the tempered sword which the dwarfs made for Suafurlama.

"Can none of Eyvors'² sons speak with me out of the habitations of the dead? Hervardur,² Hurvardur?"²

¹ The Gothic invaders of Italy inaugurated their monarch by placing him upon a shield, and elevating him on their shoulders in the midst of his army.

² All these proper names might have Oriental etymologies assigned to them;

The tomb at length opens, the inside of which appears on fire, and a reply is sung within :

Angantyr—"Daughter Hervor, full of spells to raise the dead, why dost thou call so? I was not buried either by father or friends; two who lived after me got *Tírsing*, one of whom is now in possession thereof."

Hervor—"The dead shall never enjoy rest unless Angantyr deliver me *Tírsing*, that cleaveth shields, and killed *Hialmar*." ¹

Angantyr—"Young maid, thou art of manlike courage, who dost rove by night to tombs, with spear engraven with magic spells,² with helm and coat of mail, before the door of our hall."

Hervor—"It is not good for thee to hide it."

Angantyr—"The death of *Hialmar*³ lies under my shoulders; it is all wrapt up in fire: I know no maid that dares to take this sword in hand."

Hervor—"I shall take in hand the sharp sword, if I may obtain it. I do not think that fire will burn which plays about the site of deceased men." ⁴

Angantyr—"Take and keep *Hialmar's* bane: touch but the edges of it, there is poison in them both; ⁵ it is a most cruel devourer of men." ⁶

Tradition has hallowed the two-edged sword (*khanda*) of Méwar, by investing it with an origin as mysterious as "the bane of *Hialmar*." It is supposed to be the enchanted weapon fabricated by *Viswacarma*,⁷ with which the Hindu Proserpine girded the founder of the race, and led him forth to the conquest of Cheetore.⁸ It remained the great heirloom of her princes till the sack of Cheetore by the Tatar Alla, when Rana Ursi and eleven of his brave sons devoted themselves at the command of the guardian goddess of their race, and their capital falling into the hands of the invader, the last scion of Bappa became a fugitive amidst the mountains of the west. It was then the Tatar inducted the Sonigurra Maldeo, as his lieutenant, into the capital of the Gehlotes. The most celebrated of the

Eyvor-sail is the name of a celebrated Rajpoot hero of the Bhatti tribe, who were driven at an early period from the very heart of Scythia, and are of Yadu race.

¹ This word can have a Sanscrit derivation from *hia*, 'a horse'; *marna*, 'to strike or kill'; *Hialmar*, 'the horse-slayer.'

² The custom of engraving incantations on weapons is also from the East, and thence adopted by the Mahomedan, as well as the use of phylacteries. The name of the goddess guarding the tribe is often inscribed, and I have had an entire copy of the *Bhagvat Gita* taken from the turban of a Rajpoot killed in action: in like manner the Mahomedans place therein the *Korán*.

³ The metaphorical name of the sword *Tírsing*.

⁴ I have already mentioned these fires (see p. 62), which the northern nations believed to issue from the tombs of their heroes, and which seemed to guard their ashes; then they called *Hauga Ellár*, or 'the sepulchral fires,' and they were supposed more especially to surround tombs which contained hidden treasures. These supernatural fires are termed *Shahaba* by the Rajpoots. When the intrepid Scandinavian maiden observes that she is not afraid of the flame burning her, she is bolder than one of the boldest Rajpoots, for *Sri-Kishen*, who was shocked at the bare idea of going near these sepulchral lights, was one of the three non-commissioned officers who afterwards led thirty-two firelocks to the attack and defeat of 1500 Pindarries.

⁵ Like the Rajpoot *Khanda*, *Tírsing* was double-edged; the poison of these edges is a truly Oriental idea.

⁶ This poem is from the *Hervarar Saga*, an ancient Icelandic history. See *Edda*, vol. ii. p. 192.

⁷ The Vulcan of the Hindus.

⁸ For an account of the initiation to arms of Bappa, the founder of the Gehlotes, see p. 184.

poetic chronicles of Méwar gives an elaborate description of the subterranean palace in Cheetore, in one of whose entrances the dreadful sacrifice was perpetuated to save the honour of Pudmani and the fair of Cheetore from the brutalised Tatars.¹ The curiosity of Maldeo was more powerful than his superstition, and he determined to explore these hidden abodes, though reputed to be guarded by the serpent genii attendant on *Nagnécha*, the ancient divinity of its *Takshac* founders.² Whether it was through the identical caverned passage, and over the ashes of those martyred *Kámunis*, that he made good his way into those rock-bound abodes, the legend says not ; but though

“ In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,
And solitude,”

the intrepid Maldeo paused not until he had penetrated to the very bounds of the abyss, where in a recess he beheld the snaky sorceress and her sister crew seated round a cauldron, in which the materials of their incantation were solving before a fire that served to illumine this abode of horror. As he paused, the reverberation of his footsteps caused the infernal crew to look athwart the palpable obscure of their abode, and beholding the audacious mortal, they demanded his intent. The valiant Sonigurra replied that he did not come as a spy,

“ With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of their realm,”

but in search of the enchanted brand of the founder of the Gehlotes. Soon they made proof of Maldeo's hardihood. Uncovering the cauldron, he beheld a sight most appalling : amidst divers fragments of animals was the arm of an infant. A dish of this horrid repast was placed before him, and a silent signal made for him to eat. He obeyed, and returned the empty platter : it was proof sufficient of his worth to wear the enchanted blade, which, drawn forth from its secret abode, was put into the hand of Maldeo, who bowing, retired with the trophy.

Rana Hamíra recovered this heirloom of his house, and with it the throne of Cheetore, by his marriage with the daughter of the Sonigurra, as related in the annals.³ Another version says it was Hamíra himself who obtained the enchanted sword, by his incantations to *Charuni Dévi*, or the goddess of the bards, whom he worshipped.

We shall conclude this account of the military festival of Méwar with the birth of *Kumara*, the god of war, taken from the most celebrated of their mythological poems, the *Ramayana*, probably the most ancient book in the world. “*Mérá*, daughter of *Mérú*, became the spouse of *Himavati*,

¹ See p. 215.

² The *Mori* prince, from whom Bappa took Cheetore, was of the *Ták* or *Takshac* race, of whom *Nagnécha*, or *Nágáni Mata* was the mother, represented as half woman and half serpent ; the sister of the mother of the Scythic race, according to their legends ; so that the deeper we dive into these traditions, the stronger reason we shall find to assign a Scythic origin to all these tribes. As *Bappa*, the founder of the Gehlotes, retired into Scythia and left his heirs to rule in India, I shall find fault with no antiquary, who will throw overboard all the connection between *Kenéksen*, the founder of the Balabhi empire, and *Sumitra*, the last of Rama's line. Many rites of the Rana's house are decidedly Scythic.

³ See p. 219.

from whose union sprung the beauteous Ganga, and her sister Ooma. Ganga was sought in marriage by all the celestials; while Ooma, after a long life of austerity, was espoused by *Roodra*." ¹ But neither sister was fortunate enough to have offspring, until Ganga became pregnant by HUTASHNA (regent of fire), and "KUMARA, resplendent as the sun, illustrious as the moon, was produced from the side of Ganga." The gods, with Indra at their head, carried him to the *Krittikees* ² to be nursed, and he became their joint care. "As he resembled the fire in brightness, he received the name of Scanda, when the immortals, with AGNI (fire) at their head, anointed him as *general of the armies of the gods*." ³—"Thus (the bard Valmika speaks), oh! Rama, have I related the story of the production of *Kúmar*."

This is a very curious relic of ancient mythology, in which we may trace the most material circumstances of the birth of the Roman divinity of war. Kumara (Mars) was the son of Januvi (Juno), and born, like the Romans, without sexual intercourse, but by the agency of Vulcan (regent of fire). Kumara has the peacock (sacred to Juno likewise) as his companion; and as the Grecian goddess is feigned to have her car drawn by peacocks, so *Ku-mara* (the evil-striker) has a peacock for his steed.

Ganga, 'the river goddess,' has some of the attributes of Pallas, being like the Athenian maid (*Ganga* never married) born from the head of Jove. The bard of the silver age makes her fall from a glacier of Kailas (Olympus) on the head of the father of the gods, and remain many years within the folds of his tiara (*jít'ha*), until at length being liberated, she was precipitated into the plains of Aryaverta. It was in this escape that she burst her rocky barrier (the Himaleh), and on the birth of Kumara exposed those veins of gold called *jambunadi*, in colour like the jambu fruit, probably alluding to the veins of gold discovered in the rocks of the Ganges in those distant ages.

The last day of the month Asoj ushers in the Hindu winter (*surd rit*).

¹ One of the names of the divinity of war, whose images are covered with vermilion in imitation of blood. (*Qy.* the German *roodur*, 'red.')

² The Pleiades.

³ The festival of the birth of this son of Ganga, or Januvi, is on the 10th of *Jeyt*. Sir W. Jones gives the following couplet from the *Sancha*: 'On the 10th of *Jyaishí'ha*, on the bright half of the month, on the day of MANGALA, ¹ son of the earth, when the moon was in Hasta, this daughter of *Jahnu* brought from the rocks, and ploughed over the land inhabited by mortals.'

¹ MANGALA is one of the names (and perhaps one of the oldest) of the Hindu Mars (*Kumara*), to whom the *Wodens-day* of the Northmen, the *Mardi* of the French, the *dies Martis* of the Romans, are alike sacred. *Mangala* also means 'happy,' the reverse of the origin of *Mongul*, said to mean 'sad.' The juxtaposition of the Rajpoot and Scandinavian days of the week will show that they have the same origin;

| Rajpoot. | Scandinavian and Saxon. | Rajpoot. | Scandinavian and Saxon. |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| Surya-war | Sun-day. | Vrishpát-war (a) | Thors-day. |
| Som, or Indu-war | Moon-day. | Sucra-war (b) | Frey-day. |
| Búd-war | Tufs-day. | Sani, or }-war | Satur-day. |
| Mangal-war | Wodens-day. | Sanichra } | |

(a) *Vrishut-pati*, 'he who rides on the bull'; the steed of the Rajpoot god of war.

(b) *Sucra* is a Cyclop, regent of the planet Venus.

of his marine couch when he is floating on the chaotic waters. As his consort, she merges into the character of Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence, and here we have the combination of Minerva and Apollo. As of Minerva, the owl is the attendant of Lacshmi; and when we reflect that the Egyptians, who furnished the Grecian pantheon, held these solemn festivals, also called "*the feast of lamps*," in honour of Minerva at Sais, we may deduce the origin of this grand Oriental festival from that common mother-country in Central Asia, whence the *Déwali* radiated to remote China, the Nile, the Ganges, and the shores of the Tigris; for the *shebrát* of Islám is but "*the feast of lamps*" of the Rajpoots. In all these there is a mixture of the attributes of Ceres and Proserpine, of Plutus and Pluto. Lacshmi partakes of the attributes of both the first, while *Cuvéra*,¹ who is conjoined with her, is Plutus: as Yama is Pluto, the infernal judge. The consecrated lamps and the libations of oil are all dedicated to him; and "*torches and flaming brands are likewise kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen who may be dead in battle in a foreign land, and light them through the shades of death to the mansion of Yama.*"²

To the infernal god Yama, who is "*the son of the sun*," the second day following the Amavus, or *ides* of Cartica, is also sacred; it is called the *Bhrátri divitya*, or '*the brothers*,' because the river goddess *Yamuna* on this day entertained her brother (*bhrátri*) Yama, and is therefore consecrated to fraternal affection. At the hour of curfew (*gaódaluk*,³ when the cattle return from the fields), the cow is worshipped, the herd having been previously tended. From this ceremony no rank is exempted on the preceding day, dedicated to Crishna: prince and peasant all become pastoral attendants on the cow, as the form of Prithwi,⁴ or the earth.

The 1st (*Súdi*), or 16th of Cartica, is the grand festival of ANACÚTA, sacred to the Hindu Ceres, which will be described with its solemnities at Nat'hdwara. There is a state procession, horse-races, and elephant-fights at the Chougan; the evening closes with a display of fireworks.

The 14th (*Súdi*), or 29th, is another solemn festival in honour of Vishnu. It is called the *Jul-jatra*, from being performed on the water (*jul*). The Rana, chiefs, ministers, and citizens go in procession to the lake, and adore the "*spirit of the waters*," on which floating lights are placed, and the whole surface is illuminated by a grand display of pyrotechny. On this day, "*Vishnu rises from his slumber of four months*";⁵ a figurative expression to denote the sun's emerging from the cloudy months of the periodical flood.

The next day (the *poonum*, or last day of Cartica), being the *macara sancranti*, or autumnal equinox, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign *Macara*, or Pisces, the Rana and chiefs proceed in state to the Chougan, and play at ball on horseback. The entire last half of the month Cartica, from Amavus (the *ides*) to the Poonum, is sacred to Vishnu; who is declared by the *Puranas* to represent the sun, and whose worship, that of

¹ The Hindu god of riches.

² Yamala is the great god of the Finlanders.—(*Clarke*.)

³ From *gao*, 'a cow.'

⁴ See anecdote in chap. xxi., which elucidates this practice of princes becoming herdsmen.

⁵ Matsyu Purana.

water, and the floating-lights placed thereon—all objects emblematic of fecundity—carry us back to the point whence we started—the adoration of the powers of nature : clearly proving all mythology to be universally founded on an astronomical basis.

In the remaining months of *Aghun*, or *Magsir*, and *Posh*, there are no festivals in which a state procession takes place, though in each there are marked days, kept not only by the Rajpoots, but generally by the Hindu nation ; especially that on the 7th of *Aghun*, which is called *Mitra Septimi*, or seventh of *Mithras*, and like the *Bhāscara Septimi* or the 7th of *Magha*, is sacred to the sun as a form of Vishnu. On this seventh day occurred the descent of the river-goddess (*Ganga*) from the foot of Vishnu ; or the genius of fertilisation, typified under the form of the river goddess, proceeding from the sun, the vivifying principle, and impended over the head of Iswara, the divinity presiding over generation, in imitation of which his votary pours libations of water (if possible from the sacred river *Ganga*) over his emblem, the lingam or phallus : a comparison which is made by the bard Chund in an invocation to this god, for the sake of contrasting his own inferiority “ to the mighty bards of old.”

“ The head of Ees ¹ is in the skies ; on his crown falls the ever-flowing stream (*Ganga*) ; but on his statue below, does not his votary pour the fluid from his *patra* ? ”

No satisfactory etymology has ever been assigned for the *phallic* emblem of generation, adored by Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and even by the *Christian*, which may be from the same primeval language that formed the Sanscrit.

Phalisa is the ‘fructifier,’ from *phala*, ‘fruit,’ and *Isa*, ‘the god.’ Thus the type of Osiris can have a definite interpretation, still wanting to the *lingam* of Iswara. Both deities presided over the streams which fertilised the countries in which they received divine honours : Osiris over the *Nile*, from ‘the mountains of the moon,’ in *Æthiopia*,² Iswara over the Indus,³ (also called the Nil), and the Ganges from *Chandragiri*, ‘the mountains of the moon,’ on a peak of whose glaciers he has his throne.

Síva occasionally assumes the attributes of the sun-god ; they especially appertain to Vishnu, who alone is styled “ *immortal*, the *one*, *creator*, and *uncreated* ” ; and in whom centre all the qualities (*goonân*), which have peopled the Hindu pantheon with their ideal representatives. The bard Chund, who has embodied the theological tenets of the Rajpoots in his prefatory invocation to every divinity who can aid his intent, apostrophises Ganésa, and summons the goddess of eloquence (*Sarasvati*) “ to make his tongue her abode ” ; deprecates the destroying power, “ him whom wrath inhabits,” lest he should be cut off ere his book was finished ; and lauding distinctly each member of the triad (*tri-múrti*), he finishes by declaring them *one*, and that “ *whoever believes them separate, hell will be his portion.* ” Of this *One* the sun is the great visible type, adored under a variety of names, as *Surya*, *Mitra*, *Bhāscar*, *Viava*, *Vishnu*, *Carña*, or *Kana*, likewise an Egyptian epithet for the sun.⁴

¹ Iswara, Isa, or as pronounced, *Ees*.

² “ The land of the sun ” (*ait*).

³ Ferishta calls the Indus the *Nil-ab*, or ‘blue waters’ ; it is also called *Abd-sin*, the ‘father of streams.’

⁴ According to Diodorus Siculus.

The emblem of Vishnu is *Garúda*, or the eagle,¹ and the Sun-god both of the Egyptians and Hindus is typified with the bird's head. *Arûná* (the dawn), brother of *Garúda*, is classically styled the charioteer of Vishnu, whose two sons, *Sumpati* and *Jutayoo*, attempting in imitation of their father to reach the sun, the wings of the former were burnt and he fell to the earth : of this the Greeks may have made their fable of Icarus.²

In the chief zodiacal phenomena, observation will discover that Vishnu is still the object of worship. The *Phúla-dola*,³ or Floralia, in the vernal equinox, is so called from the image of Vishnu being carried in a *dola*, or ark, covered with garlands of flowers (*phúla*). Again, in the month of *Asár*, the commencement of the periodical rains, which date from the summer solstice, the image of Vishnu is carried on a car, and brought forth on the first appearance of the moon, the 11th of which being the solstice, is called "*the night of the gods*." Then Vishnu reposes on his serpent-couch until the cessation of the flood on the 11th of *Bhadoon*, when "he turns on his side."⁴

The 4th is also dedicated to Vishnu under his infantine appellation *Heri* (Ἡλιος), because when a child "*he hid himself in the moon*." We must not derogate from Sir W. Jones the merit of drawing attention to the analogy between these Hindu festivals on the equinoxes, and the Egyptian, called the *entrance of Osiris into the moon*, and *his confinement in an ark*. But that distinguished writer merely gives the hint, which the learned Bryant aids us to pursue, by bringing modern travellers to corroborate the ancient authorities : the drawings of Pocock from the *sun temple of Luxor* to illustrate Plutarch, Curtius, and Diodorus. Bryant comes to the same conclusion with regard to Osiris enclosed in the ark, which we adopt regarding *Vishnu's* repose during the four months of inundation, the period of fertilisation. I have already, in the rites of *Anapúrna*, the Isis of the Egyptians, noticed the *crescent* form of the ark of Osiris, as well as the *ram's-head* ornaments indicative of the vernal equinox, which the Egyptians called *Phaménonth*, being the birthday of Osiris, or the sun ; the *Phág*, or *Phalagoon* month of the Hindus ; the *Phagesia* of the Greeks, sacred to Dionysius.

The expedition of Argonauts in search of the golden fleece is a version of the arkite worship of Osiris, the *Dolayatrá* of the Hindus : and Sanscrit etymology, applied to the vessel of the Argonauts, will give the sun (*argha*) god's (*nat'ha*) entrance into the sign of the *Ram*.

The Tauric and Hydra foes, with which Jason had to contend before he obtained the fleece of *Aries*, are the symbols of the sun-god, both of the Ganges, and the Nile ; and this fable, which has occupied almost every pen of antiquity, is clearly astronomical, as the names alone of the *Argha-Nat'h*, sons of *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Sol*, *Arcus* or *Argus*,⁵ *Jupiter*, *Bacchus*, etc., sufficiently testify, whose voyage is entirely celestial.

¹ The vulture and crane, which soar high in the heavens, are also called *garúda*, and vulgarly *geed*. The ibis is of the crane or heron kind.

² Phaëton was the son of Cephalus and Aurora. The former answers to the Hindu bird-headed messenger of the sun. *Arûná* is the Aurora of the Greeks, who with more taste have given the *dawn* a female character.

³ Also called *Dola-yatra*.

⁴ *Bhagvat* and *Matsya Puranas*. See Sir W. Jones on the lunar year of the Hindus, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 286.

⁵ *Argha*, 'the sun,' in Sanscrit.

If it be destined that any portion of the veil which covers these ancient mysteries, connecting those of the Ganges with the Nile, shall be removed, it will be from the interpretation of the expedition of Rama, hitherto deemed almost as allegorical as that of the *Arghanat'hs*. I shall at once assume an opinion I have long entertained, that the western coast of the Red Sea was the *Lanka* of the memorable exploit in the history of the Hindus. If Alexander from the mouths of the Indus ventured to navigate those seas with his frail fleet of barks constructed in the Punjâb, what might we not expect from the resources of the King of Cushala, the descendant of Sagara, emphatically called the *sea-king*, whose "60,000 sons" were so many mariners, and who has left his name as a memorial of his marine power at the island (*Sagur*) at the embouchure of the main arm of the Ganges, and to the ocean itself, also called *Sagara*. If the embarkation of Ramésa and his heroes for the redemption of Sîta had been from the Gulph of Cutch, the grand emporium from the earliest ages, the voyage of Rama would have been but the prototype of that of the Macedonians; but local tradition has sanctified *Ramiswara*, the southern part of the peninsula, as the rendezvous of his armament. The currents in the Straits of Manar, curiosity, or a wish to obtain auxiliaries from this insular kingdom, may have prompted the visit to Ceylon; and hence the vestiges there found of this event. But even from this "*utmost isle, Taprobane*," the voyage across the Erythrean Seas is only twenty-five degrees of longitude, which with a flowing sail they would run down in ten or twelve days. The only difficulty which occurs is in the synchronical existence of Rama and the Pharaoh¹ of Moses, which would tend to the opposite of my hypothesis, and show that India received her Phallic rites, her architecture, and symbolic mythology from the Nile, instead of planting them there.

"Est-ce, l'Inde, la Phénicie, l'Éthiopie, la Chaldée, ou l'Égypte, qui a vu naître ce culte? ou bien le type en a-t-il été fourni aux habitans de ces contrées, *par une nation plus ancienne encore*?" asks an ingenious but anonymous French author, on the origin of the Phallic worship.² *Ramésa*, chief of the *Suryas*, or sun-born race, was king of the city designated from his mother, *Cushâli*, of which *Ayodhia* was the capital. His sons were Lava and Cush, who originated the races we may term the *Lavites* and *Cushites*, or *Cushwas* of India.³ Was then *Cushâli* the mother of *Ramésa*, a native of *Æthiopia*,⁴ or *Cusha-dwîpa*, 'the land of Cush?' Rama and Crishna are both painted blue (*nila*), holding the lotus, emblematic of the Nile. Their names are often identified. Ram-Crishna, the bird-headed divinity, is painted as the messenger of each, and the historians of both were contemporaries. That both were real princes there is no doubt, though Crishna assumed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, as Rama was of the sun. Of Rama's family was *Trisankha*, mother of the great apostle of Budha, whose symbol was the serpent; and the followers of Budha assert that Crishna and this apostle, whose statues are *facsimiles* of those of Memnon, were cousins. Were the *Hermetic* creed and Phallic

¹ *Pha-ra* is but a title, 'the king.'

² "Des Divinités génératives; ou du culte du Phallus chez les anciens et les modernes."—*Paris*.

³ Of the former race the ranas of Méwar, of the latter the princes of Nirwar and Ambér, are the representatives.

⁴ *Æthiopia*, 'the country of the sun'; from *Æt*, contraction of *Aditya*. *Ægypt* may have the same etymology, *Ætia*.

rites therefore received from the Ethiopic Cush? Could emblematic relics be discovered in the caves of the Troglodytes, who inhabited the range of mountains on the Cushite shore of the Arabian straits, akin to those of Ellora and Elephanta,¹ whose style discloses physical, mythological, as well as architectural affinity to the Egyptian, the question would at once be set at rest.

I have derived the Phallus from *Phalisa*, the *chief fruit*. The Greeks, who either borrowed it from the Egyptians or had it from the same source, typified the *Fructifier* by a *pineapple*, the form of which resembles the *Sitaphala*,² or fruit of Sita, whose rape by Ravana carried Rama from the Ganges over many countries ere he recovered her.³ In like manner *Gouri*, the Rajpoot Ceres, is typified under the coco-nut, or *sriphala*,⁴ the *chief of fruit*, or *fruit* sacred to *Sri*, or *Isa* (Isis), whose other elegant emblem of abundance, the *camacumpa*, is drawn with branches of the *palmyra*,⁵ or coco-tree, gracefully pendent from the vase (*cumbha*).

The *Sriphala* ⁶ is accordingly presented to all the votaries of Iswara and Isa on the conclusion of the spring-festival of *Phūlguna*, the *Phagesia* of the Greeks, the *Phamenoith* of the Egyptian, and the Saturnalia of antiquity; a rejoicing at the renovation of the powers of nature; the empire of heat over cold—of light over darkness.⁷

The analogy between the goddess of the spring Saturnalia, *Phalgūni*, and the Phagesia of the Greeks, will excite surprise; the word is not derived from (*phayew*) *eating*, with the Rajpoot votaries of *Holica*, as with those of the *Dionysia* of the Greeks; but from *phalgūni*, compounded of *gūna*, 'quality, virtue, or characteristic,' and *phala*, 'fruit'; in short, the *fructifier*. From

¹ It is absurd to talk of these being modern; decipher the characters thereon, and then pronounce their antiquity.

² Vulg. *Surreefa*.

³ Rama subjected her to the fiery ordeal, to discover whether her virtue had suffered while thus forcibly separated.

⁴ Vulg. *Naryal*.

⁵ *Palmyra* is Sanscrit corrupted, and affords the etymology of Solomon's city of the desert, *Tadmor*. The ط p, by the retrenchment of a single diacritical point, becomes ت t; and the ل (l) and د (d) being permutable, *Pal* becomes *Tad*, or *Tal*—the *Palmyra*, which is the *Mor*, or chief of trees; hence *Tadmor*, from its date-trees.

⁶ The *Jayaphala*, 'the fruit of victory,' is the nutmeg; or, as a native of Java, *Javuphala*, 'fruit of Java,' is most probably derived from *Jayadīwa*, 'the victorious isle.'

⁷ The Camari of the *Saura* tribes, or sun-worshippers of Saurashtra, claims descent from the *bird-god* of Vishnu (who aided Rana¹ to the discovery of Sita), and the *Macara*² or crocodile, and date the monstrous conception from that event, and their original abode from *Sancodra* Bate, or island of Sancodra. Whether to the *Dioscorides* at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf this name was given, evidently corrupted from *Sanc'ha-dwara* to Socotra, we shall not stop to inquire. Like the isle in the entrance of the gulf of Cutch, it is the *dwara* or portal to the *Sinus Arabicus*, and the pearl-shell (*sanc'ha*) there abounds. This tribe deduce their origin from Rama's expedition, and allege that their Iethiopic mother landed them where they still reside. Wild as is this fable, it adds support to this hypothesis.

¹ Rama and Vishnu interchange characters.

² It is curious that the designation of the tribe *Camar* is a transposition of *Macar*, for the final letter of each is mute.

φαλλος,¹ to which there is no definite meaning, the Egyptian had the festival *Phallica*, the *Holica* of the Hindus. *Phûla*² and *phala*, flower and fruit, are the roots of all, *Floralia* and *Phalária*, the *Phallus* of Osiris, the *Thyrus* of Bacchus, or *Lingam* of Iswara, symbolised by the *Sriphala*, or *Ananas*, the 'food of the gods,'³ or the *Sita-phala* of the Helen of Ayodhia.

From the existence of this worship in Congo at this day, the author already quoted asks if it may not have originated in ETHIOPIA: "qui comme le témoignent plusieurs écrivains de l'antiquité, a fourni ses dieux à l'Egypte." On the first of the five complementary days called "*epagomenes*," preceding New-Year's Day, the Egyptians celebrated the birth of the sun-god *Osiris*, in a similar manner as the Hindus do their solstitial festival, "*the morning of the gods*," the *Hilul* of Scandinavia; on which occasion, "on promenait en procession une figure d'Osiris, dont le *Phallus* était triple;" a number, he adds, expressing "la pluralité indéfinie." The number *three* is sacred to Iswara, chief of the *Tri-mûrti* or *Triâd*, whose statue adorns the junction (*sangum*) of all triple streams; hence called *Trivénî*, who is *Trinêtra*, or 'three-eyed,' and *Tridenta*, or 'god of the trident'; *Trilôca*, 'god of the triple abode, heaven, earth, and hell'; *Tripûra*, of the triple city, to whom the *Tripoli* or triple gates are sacred, and of which he has made *Ganês* the Janitor, or guardian. The grotesque figure placed by the Hindus during the *Saturnalia* in the highways, and called *Nal'ha-Rama* (the god *Rama*), is the counterpart of the figure described by Plutarch as representing Osiris, "*ce soleil printanier*," in the Egyptian *Saturnalia* or *Phamenoth*. Even *Ram-isa* and *Ravana* may, like Osiris and Typhon, be merely the ideal representatives of light and darkness; and the chaste *Sita*, spouse of the *Surya* prince, the astronomical *Virgo*, only a zodiacal sign.

That a system of Hinduism pervaded the whole Babylonian and Assyrian empires, Scripture furnishes abundant proofs, in the mention of the various types of the sun-god *Bálnât'h*, whose pillar adorned "every mount" and "every grove"; and to whose other representative, the brazen calf (*nanda*), the 15th of each month (*amavus*)⁴ was especially sacred. It was not confined to these celebrated regions of the East, but was disseminated throughout the earth; because from the Aral to the Baltic, colonies were planted from that central region,⁵ the cradle of the *Suryas* and the *Indus*, whose branches (*sachæ*)⁶ the *Yavan*, the *Aswa*, and the *Méda*, were the progenitors of the *Ionians*, the *Assyrians*, and the

¹ See Lempriere, arts. *Phagesia* and *Phallica*. "L'Abbé Mignot pense que le *Phallus* est originaire de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée, et que c'est de ce pays que l'usage de consacrer ce symbole de la génération a passé en Egypte. Il croit d'après le savant Le Clerc, que le nom de ce symbole est Phénicien: qu'il dérive de *Phalou*, qui, dans cette langue, signifie une chose secrète et cachée, et du verbe *phala*, qui veut dire être tenu secret."¹

² *Ana*, 'food,' and *asa* or *isa*, 'the god.'

³ The Hindus divide the month into two portions called *pukhs* or fortnights. The first is termed *badi*, reckoning from the 1st to the 15th, which day of partition is called *amavus*, answering to the *ides* of the Romans, and held by the Hindus as it was by the Jews in great sanctity. The last division is termed *Sûdi*, and they recommence with the initial numeral, thence to the 30th or completion, called *poonum*; thus instead of the 16th, 17th, etc., of the month, they say *Sûdi êkum* (1st), *Sûdi doag* (3rd).

⁴ *Sogdiana* and *Transoxiana*.

⁵ Hence the word *Sacæ*.

¹ Des Divinités Génératives.

Medes;¹ while in latter times, from the same teeming region, the *Galati* and *Getae*,² the Kelts and Goths, carried modifications of the system to the shores of Armorica and the Baltic, the cliffs of Caledonia, and the remote isles of the German Ocean. The monumental circles sacred to the sun-god Belenus at once existing in that central region,³ in India,⁴ and throughout Europe, is conclusive. The apotheosis of the patriarch Noah, whom the Hindu styles "*Manú-Vaivaswata*, 'the man, son of the sun,' may have originated the *Dolayatra* of the Hindus, the ark of Osiris, the ship of Isis amongst the Suevi, in memory of "*thè forty days*" noticed in the traditions of every nation of the earth.

The time may be approaching when this worship in the East-like the Egyptian, shall be only matter of tradition; although this is not likely to be effected by such summary means as were adopted by Cambyses, who slew the sacred Apis and whipped his priests, while their Greek and Roman conquerors adopted and embellished the Pantheon of the Nile.⁵ But when Christianity reared her severe yet simple form, the divinities of the Nile, the Pantheon of Rome, and the Acropolis of Athens, could not abide her awful majesty. The temples of the Alexandrian Serapis were levelled by Theophilus,⁶ while that of Osiris at Memphis became a church of Christ. "*Muni de ses pouvoirs, et escorté d'une foule de moines, il mit en fuite les prêtres, brisa les idoles, démolit les temples, ou y établit des monastères.*" The period for thus subverting idolatry is passed: the religion of Christ is not of the sword, but one enjoining peace and good-will on earth. But as from him "*to whom much is given,*" much will be required, the good and benevolent of the Hindu nations may have ulterior advantages over those Pharisees who would make a monopoly even of the virtues; who "*see the mote in their neighbour's eye, but cannot discern the beam in their own.*" While, therefore, we strive to impart a purer taste and better faith, let us not imagine that the minds of those we would reform are the seats of impurity, because, in accordance with an idolatry coeval with the flood, they continue to worship mysteries opposed to our own modes of thinking.

¹ See Genealogical Table No. 2, for these names. The sons of the three *Midas*, pronounced *Mede*, founded kingdoms at the precise point of time, according to calculation from the number of kings, that Assyria was founded.

² The former were more *pastoral*, and hence the origin of their name, corrupted to Keltoi. The Getae or Jits pursued the hunter's occupation, living more by the chase, though these occupations are generally conjoined in the early stages of civilisation.

³ Rubruquais and other travellers.

⁴ Colonel Mackenzie's invaluable and gigantic collection.

⁵ Isis and Osiris, Serapis and Canopus, Apis and Ibis, adopted by the Romans, whose temples and images, yet preserved, will allow full scope to the Hindu antiquary for analysis of both systems. The temple of Serapis at Pozzouli is quite Hindu in its ground plan.

⁶ In the reign of Theodosius.

⁷ *Du Culte*, etc. etc., p. 47.

CHAPTER XXIII

The nicer shades of character difficult to catch—Morals more obvious and less changeable than manners—Dissimilarity of manners, in the various races of Rajast'han—Rajpoots have deteriorated in manners, as they declined in power—Regard and deference paid to Women in Rajast'han—Seclusion of the Females, no mark of their degradation—High spirit of the Rajpoot princesses—Their unbounded devotion to their husbands—Examples from the chronicles and bardic histories—Anecdotes in more recent times—Their magnanimity—Delicacy—Courage and presence of mind—Anecdote of Sadoo of Poogul and Korumdévi, daughter of the Mohil chief—The seclusion of the Females increases their influence—Historical evidences of its extent.

THE manners of a nation constitute the most interesting portion of its history, but a thorough knowledge of them must be the fruit of long and attentive observation: an axiom which applies to a people even less inaccessible than the Rajpoots. The importance and necessity of such an illustration of the Rajpoot character, in a work like the present, calls for and sanctions the attempt, however inadequate the means. Of what value to mankind would be the interminable narrative of battles, were their moral causes and results passed by unheeded? Although both the Persian and Hindu annalists not unfrequently unite the characters of moralist and historian, it is in a manner unsuitable to the subject, according to the more refined taste of Europe. In the poetic annals of the Rajpoot, we see him check his war-chariot, and when he should be levelling his javelin, commence a discourse upon ethics; or when the battle is over, the Nestor or Ulysses of the host converts his tent into a lyceum, and delivers lectures on morals or manners. But the reflections which should follow, and form the corollary to each action, are never given; and even if they were, though we might comprehend the moral movements of a nation, we should still be unable to catch the minute shades of character that complete the picture of domestic life, and which are to be collected from those familiar sentiments uttered in social intercourse, when the mind unbends and nature throws aside the trammels of education and of ceremony. Such a picture would represent the *manners*, which are continually undergoing modifications, in contradistinction to the *morals* of society; the latter, having a fixed creed for their basis, are definite and unchangeable. The *chál* of the Rajpoot, like the *mores* of the Romans, or *costumi* of modern Italy, is significant alike of mental and external habit. In the moral point of view, it is the path chalked out for him by the sages of antiquity; in the personal, it is that which custom has rendered immutable. *Kea boora chál chalta*, 'in what a bad path does he march!' says the moralist: *Báp, Dádá ca chál choora*, 'he abandons the usages of his ancestors,' says the stickler for custom, in Rajast'han.

The grand features of morality are few, and nearly the same in every nation not positively barbarous. The principles contained in the Decalogue form the basis of every code—of Menu and of Mahomed, as well as of Moses. These are grand landmarks of the truth of divine history; and are confirmed by the less important traits of personal customs and religious rites, which nations the most remote from each other continue to hold in common. The *Koran* we know to have been founded on the Mosaic law;

the *Sastra* of Menu, unconsciously, approaches still more to the Jewish Scriptures in spirit and intention ; and from its pages might be formed a manual of moral instruction, which, if followed by the disciples of the framer, might put more favoured societies to the blush.

As it has been observed in a former part of this work, the same religion governing all must tend to produce a certain degree of mental uniformity. The shades of *moral* distinction which separate these races are almost imperceptible : while you cannot pass any grand natural barrier without having the dissimilarity of customs and manners forced upon your observation. Whoever passes from upland Méwar, the country of the Seesodias, into the sandy flats of Marwar, the abode of the Rahtores, would feel the force of this remark. Innovations proceeding from external causes, such as conquest by irreligious foes, and the birth of new sects and schisms, operate important changes in manners and customs. We can only pretend, however, to describe facts which are obvious, and those which history discloses, whence some notions may be formed of the prevailing traits of character in the Rajpoot ; his ideas of virtue and vice, the social intercourse and familiar courtesies of Rajast'han, and their recreations, public and private.

"The manners of a people," says the celebrated Goguet, "always bear a proportion to the progress they have made in the arts and sciences." If by this test we trace the analogy between past and existing manners amongst the Rajpoots, we must conclude at once that they have undergone a decided deterioration. Where can we look for sages like those whose systems of philosophy were the prototypes of those of Greece : to whose works Plato, Thales, and Pythagoras were disciples ? Where shall we find the astronomers, whose knowledge of the planetary system yet excites wonder in Europe, as well as the architects and sculptors, whose works claim our admiration, and the musicians, "who could make the mind oscillate from joy to sorrow, from tears to smiles, with the change of modes and varied intonation."¹ The manners of those days must have corresponded with this advanced stage of refinement, as they must have suffered from its decline : yet the homage paid by Asiatics to precedent, has preserved many relics of ancient customs, which have survived the causes that produced them.

It is universally admitted that there is no better criterion of the refinement of a nation than the condition of the fair sex therein. As it is elegantly expressed by Comte Ségur, "*Leur sort est un boussole sûr pour le premier regard d'un étranger qui arrive dans un pays inconnu.*"² Unfortunately, the habitual seclusion of the higher classes of females in the East contracts the sphere of observation in regard to their influence on society ; but, to borrow again from our ingenious author, "*les hommes font les lois, les femmes font les mœurs*" ; and their incarceration in Rajast'han by no means lessens the application of the adage to that country. Like the magnetic power, however latent, their attraction is not the less certain. "*C'est aux hommes à faire des grandes choses, c'est aux femmes à les inspirer,*" is a maxim to which every Rajpoot cavalier would subscribe, with whom the age of chivalry is not fled, though ages of oppression have passed over him. He knows there is no retreat into which the report of a

¹ So says Valmika, the author of the oldest epic in existence, the *Ramayana*.

² *Les Femmes, leur Condition et leur Influence dans l'Ordre Social*, vol. i. p. 10.

gallant action will not penetrate, and set fair hearts in motion to be the object of his search. The bards, those chroniclers of fame, like the *jongleurs* of old, have everywhere access, to the palace as to the hamlet ; and a brilliant exploit travels with all the rapidity of a comet, and clothed with the splendid decorations of poetry, from the Indian desert to the valley of the Jumna. If we cannot paint the Rajpoot dame as invested with all the privileges which Ségur assigns to the first woman, “*compagne de l’homme et son égale, vivant par lui, pour lui, associée, à son bonheur, à ses plaisirs, à la puissance qu’il exerçait sur ce vaste univers*” ; she is far removed from the condition which demands commiseration.

Like the ancient German or Scandinavian, the Rajpoot consults her in every transaction ; from her ordinary actions he draws the omen of success, and he appends to her name the epithet of *dévi*, or ‘godlike.’ The superficial observer, who applies his own standard to the customs of all nations, laments with an affected philanthropy, the degraded condition of the Hindu female, in which sentiment he would find her little disposed to join. He particularly laments her want of liberty, and calls her seclusion imprisonment. Although I cordially unite with Ségur, who is at issue with his compatriot Montesquieu on this part of discipline, yet from the knowledge I do possess of the freedom, the respect, the happiness, which Rajpoot women enjoy, I am by no means inclined to deplore their state as one of captivity. The author of the *Spirit of Laws*, with the views of a closet philosopher, deems seclusion necessary from the irresistible influence of climate on the passions ; while the chivalrous Ségur, with more knowledge of human nature, draws the very opposite conclusion, asserting all restraints to be injurious to morals. Of one thing we are certain, seclusion of females could only originate in a moderately advanced stage of civilisation. Amongst hunters, pastors, and cultivators, the women were required to aid in all external pursuits, as well as internal economy. The Jews secluded not their women, and the well, where they assembled to draw water, was the place where marriages were contracted, as with the lower classes in Rajpootana. The inundations of the Nile, each house of whose fertile valleys was isolated, is said to have created habits of secluding women with the Egyptians ; and this argument might apply to the vast valleys of the Indus and Ganges first inhabited, and which might have diffused example with the spread of population. Assuredly, if India was colonised from the cradle of nations, Central Asia, they did not thence bring these notions within the Indus ; for the Scythian women went to the opposite extreme, and were polyandrists.¹ The desire of eradicating those impure habits, described by Herodotus, that the slipper at the tent-door should no longer be a sign, may have originated the opposite extreme in a life of entire seclusion. Both polygamy and polyandrisms originated in a mistaken view of the animal economy, and of the first great command to people the earth : the one was general amongst all the nations of antiquity ; the other rare, though to be found in Scythia, India, and even amongst the Natches, in the new world ; but never with the Rajpoot, with whom monogamy existed during the patriarchal ages of India, as amongst the Egyptians. Of all the nations of the world who have habitu-

¹ So are some of the Hindu races in the mountainous districts about the Himalaya, and in other parts of India. This curious trait in ancient manners is deserving of investigation : it might throw some light on the early history of the world.

ated the female to a restricted intercourse with society, whether Grecian, Roman, Egyptian, or Chinese, the Rajpoot has given least cause to provoke the sentiment of pity ; for if deference and respect be proofs of civilisation, Rajpootana must be considered as redundant in evidence of it. The uxoriousness of the Rajpoot might be appealed to as indicative of the decay of national morals ; “ chez les barbares (says Ségur) les femmes ne sont rien : les mœurs de ces peuples s'adoucisent-t-elles, on compte les femmes pour quelque-chose : enfin, se corrompent-elles, les femmes sont tout ” ; and whether from this decay, or the more probable and amiable cause of seeking, in their society, consolation for the loss of power and independence, the women are nearly everything with the Rajpoot.

It is scarcely fair to quote Menu as an authority for the proper treatment of the fair sex, since many of his dicta by no means tend to elevate their condition. In his lengthened catalogue of things pure and impure he says, however, “ The mouth of a woman is constantly pure,”¹ and he ranks it with the running waters, and the sun-beam ; he suggests that their names should be “ agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, resembling words of benediction.”²

“ Where females are honoured ” (says Menu), “ there the deities are pleased ; but where dishonoured, *there all religious rites become useless* ” : and he declares, “ that in whatever house a woman not duly honoured pronounces an imprecation, that house, with all that belongs to it, shall utterly perish.”³ “ Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults,”⁴ says another sage : a sentiment so delicate, that Reginald de Born, the prince of troubadours, never uttered any more refined.

However exalted the respect of the Rajpoot for the fair, he nevertheless holds that

“ — Nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to study household good.”

In the most tempestuous period of the history of Méwar, when the Ranas

¹ Chap. v. 130.

² Chap. ii. 33.

³ *Digest of Hindu Law*, Colebrooke, vol. ii. p. 209.

⁴ Of all the religions which have diversified mankind, whatever man might select, woman should chose the Christian. This alone gives her just rank in the scale of creation, whether arising from the demotic principle which pervades our faith, or the dignity conferred on the sex in being chosen to be the mother of the Saviour of man. In turning over the pages of Menu, we find many mortifying texts, which I am inclined to regard as interpolations ; as the following, so opposed to the beautiful sentiment above quoted :—“ A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a *younger brother*, may be corrected when they commit faults with a rope, or the small thong of a cane.”¹ Such texts might lead us to adopt Ségur's conclusions, that ever since the days of the patriarchs women were only brilliant slaves—victims, who exhibited, in the wreaths and floral coronets which bedecked them, the sacrifices to which they were destined. In the patriarchal ages their occupations were to season the viands, and bake the bread, and weave cloth for the tents : their recreations limited to respire the fresh evening air under the shade of a fig tree, and sing canticles to the Almighty. Such a fate, indeed, must appear to a Parisian dame, who passes her time between the *Feydeau* and *Tivoli*, and whose daily promenade is through the *Champs Elysées*, worse than death : yet there is no positive hardship in these employments, and it was but the fair division of labour in the primitive ages, and that which characterises the Rajpootni of the present day.

¹ *On Judicature*, p. 268.

broke asunder the bonds which united them to the other chiefs of Rajast'han, and bestowed their daughters on the foreign nobles incorporated with the higher class of their own kin, the chief of Sadri, so often mentioned, had obtained a princess to wife. There was a hazard to domestic happiness in such unequal alliance, which the lord of Sadri soon experienced. To the courteous request, "Ranawut-jí, fill me a cup of water," he received a contemptuous refusal, with the remark, that "The daughter of a hundred kings would not become cup-bearer to the chieftain of Sadri."—"Very well," replied the plain soldier, "you may return to your father's house, if you can be of no use in mine." A messenger was instantly sent to the court, and the message, with every aggravation, was made known; and she followed on the heels of her messenger. A summons soon arrived for the Sadri chief to attend his sovereign at the capital. He obeyed; and arrived in time to give his explanation just as the Rana was proceeding to hold a full court. As usual, the Sadri chief was placed on his sovereign's right hand, and when the court broke up, the heir-apparent of Méwar, at a preconcerted sign, stood at the edge of the carpet, performing the menial office of holding the slippers of the chief. Shocked at such a mark of extreme respect, he stammered forth some words of homage, his unworthiness, etc.; to which the Rana replied, "As my son-in-law, no distinction too great can be conferred: take home your wife, she will never again refuse you a cup of water."¹

Could authority deemed divine ensure obedience to what is considered a virtue in all ages and countries, the conjugal duties of the Rajpoots are comprehended in the following simple text: "*Let mutual fidelity continue to death; this, in few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife.*"²

That this law governed the Rajpoots in past ages, as well as the present, in as great a degree as in other stages of society and other countries, we cannot doubt. Nor will the annals of any nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion, than those of the Rajpoots; and such would never have been recorded, were not the incentive likely to be revered and followed. How easy would it be to cite examples for every passion which can actuate the human mind! Do we desire to see a model of unbounded devotion, resignation, and love, let us take the picture of Síta, as painted by the Milton of their silver age, than which nothing more beautiful or sentimental may be culled even from *Paradise Lost*. Rama was about to abandon his faithful wife for the purpose of becoming a *Vena-*

¹ Menu lays down some plain and wholesome rules for the domestic conduct of the wife; above all, he recommends her to "preserve a cheerful temper," and "frugality in domestic expenses." Some of his texts savour, however, more of the anchorite than of a person conversant with mankind; and when he commands the husband to be revered as a god by the virtuous wife, even though enamoured of another woman, it may be justly doubted if ever he found obedience thereto; or the scarcely less difficult ordinance, "for a whole year let a husband bear with his wife who treats him with aversion," after which probation he is permitted to separate. It is very likely the Rajpoots are more in the habit of quoting the first of these texts than of hearing the last: for although they have a choice at home, they are not ashamed to be the avowed admirers of the Aspasias and Phrynes of the capital; from the same cause which attracted Socrates and made Pericles a slave, and which will continue until the united charms of the dance and the song are sanctioned to be practised by the *légitimes* within.

² Menu, chap. ix. p. 302, text 101, *Haughton's edition*.

prest'ha or hermit, when she thus pours out her ardent desire to partake of his solitude.

"A woman's bliss is found, not in the smile
Of father, mother, friend, nor in herself :
Her husband is her only portion here,
Her heaven hereafter. If thou indeed
Depart this day into the forest drear,
I will precede, and smooth the thorny way.

A gay recluse
On thee attending, happy shall I feel
Within the honey-scented grove to roam,
For thou e'en here canst nourish and protect ;
And therefore other friend I cannot need.
To-day most surely with thee will I go,
And thus resolved, I must not be deny'd.
Roots and wild fruit shall be my constant food ;
Nor will I near thee add unto thy cares,
Nor lag behind, nor forest-food refuse,
But fearless traverse every hill and dale.

Thus could I sweetly pass a thousand years ;
But without thee e'en heaven would lose its charms. .

Pleased to embrace thy feet, I will reside
In the rough forest as my father's house.
Void of all other wish, supremely thine,
Permit me this request—I will not grieve,
I will not burden thee—refuse me not.
But shouldst thou, Raghuvū, this prayer deny
Know, I resolve on death."

—*Vide Ward, On the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 408.

The publication of Mr. Wilson's specimens of the Hindu drama has put the English public in possession of very striking features of ancient Hindu manners, amongst which conjugal fidelity and affection stand eminently conspicuous. The *Uttara Rama Cheritra*, the *Vikrama and Urvast*, and the *Mudra Rākshasa*, contain many instances in point. In the latter piece occurs an example, in comparatively humble life, of the strong affection of a Hindu wife. Chandana Das, like Antonio in the *Merchant of Venice*, is doomed to die, to save his friend. His wife follows him to the scene of execution, with their only child, and the succeeding dialogue ensues :—

Chand. Withdraw, my love, and lead our boy along.

Wife. Forgive me, husband,—to another world
Thy steps are bound, and not to foreign realms,
Whence in due time thou homeward wilt return ;
No common farewell our leave-taking now
Admits, nor must the partner of thy fate
Leave thee to trace thy solitary way.

Chand. What dost thou mean ?

Wife. To follow thee in death.

Chand. Think not of this—our boy's yet tender years
Demand affectionate and guardian care.

Wife. I leave him to our household gods, nor fear
They will desert his youth :—come, my dear boy,
And bid thy sire a long and last farewell.

The annals of no nation on earth record a more ennobling or more magnanimous instance of female loyalty than that exemplified by Dewuldé,

mother of the Binafur brothers, which will at once illustrate the manners of the Rajpoot fair, and their estimation and influence in society.

The last Hindu emperor of Dehli, the chivalrous Pirthiraj of the Chohan race, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Saméta. Some of the wounded who had covered his retreat were assailed and put to death by Purmal, the Chundail prince of Mahoba. In order to avenge this insult, the emperor had no sooner conveyed his bride to Dehli than he invaded the territory of the Chundail, whose troops were cut to pieces at Sirswah,¹ the advanced post of his kingdom. While pursuing his success, the Chundail called a council, and by the advice of his queen Malundevi demanded a truce of his adversary, on the plea of the absence of his chieftains Ala and Udila. The brother of the bard of Mahoba was the envoy, who found the Chohan ready to cross the Pahouj. He presented his gifts, and adjured him, "as a true Rajpoot, not to take them at such disadvantage." The gifts were accepted, and the Chohan pledged himself, "albeit his warriors were eager for the fight," to grant the truce demanded; and having dismissed the herald, he inquired of his own bard, the prophetic Chund, the cause of the disaffection which led to the banishment of the Binafurs; to which he thus replies: "Jessraj was the leader of the armies of Mahoba when his sovereign was defeated and put to flight by the wild race of Goands; Jessraj repulsed the foe, captured Gurra their capital, and laid his head at his sovereign's feet. Purmal returning with victory to Mahoba, in gratitude for his service, embraced the sons of Jessraj, and placed them in his honours and lands, while Malundevi the queen made no distinction between them and her son." The fief of the young Binafur chieftains was at the celebrated fortress Kalinjer, where their sovereign happening to see a fine mare belonging to Ala, desired to possess her, and being refused, so far forgot past services as to compel them to abandon the country. On retiring they fired the estates of the Purihara chief who had instigated their disgrace. With their mother and families they repaired to Canouj, whose monarch received them with open arms, assigning lands for their maintenance. Having thus premised the cause of banishment, Chund conducts us to Canouj, at the moment when Jagruk the bard was addressing the exiles on the dangers of Mahoba.

"The Chohan is encamped on the plains of Mahoba; Nursing and Birsing have fallen, Sirswah is given to the flames, and the kingdom of Purmal laid waste by the Chohan. For one month a truce has been obtained: while to you I am sent for aid in his griefs. Listen, oh sons of Binafur; sad have been the days of Malundevi since you left Mahoba! Oft she looks towards Canouj; and while she recalls you to mind, tears gush from her eyes and she exclaims, 'The fame of the Chundail is departing'; but when gone, oh sons of Jessraj, great will be your self-accusing sorrow: yet, think of Mahoba."

"Destruction to Mahoba! Annihilation to the Chundail who, without fault, expelled us our home: in whose service fell our father, by whom his kingdom was extended. Send the slanderous Purihara—let him lead your armies against the heroes of Dehli. Our heads were the pillars of Mahoba; by us were the Goands expelled, and their strongholds Deogurh and Chandbari added to his sway. We maintained the field against the Jadoon,

¹ On the Pahouj, and now belonging to the Boondela prince of Duttea. The author has been over this field of battle.

sacked Hindown,¹ and planted his standard on the plains of Kuttair. It was I (continued Ala) who stopped the sword of the conquering Cutchwaha²—The amirs of the Sooltan fled before us.—At Gya we were victorious, and added Rewah³ to his kingdom. Antêrved⁴ I gave to the flames, and levelled to the ground the towns of Méwat.⁵ From ten princes did Jessraj bring spoil to Mahoba. This have we done ; and the reward is exile from our home ! Seven times have I received wounds in his service, and since my father's death gained forty battles ; and from seven has Udila conveyed the *record of victory*⁶ to Purmal. Thrice my death seemed inevitable. The honour of his house I have upheld—yet exile is my reward !”

The bard replies—“ The father of Purmal left him when a child to the care of Jessraj. Your father was in lieu of his own ; the son should not abandon him when misfortune makes him call on you. The Rajpoot who abandons his sovereign in distress will be plunged into hell. Then place on your head the loyalty of your father. Can you desire to remain at Canouj while he is in trouble, who expended thousands in rejoicings for your birth ? Malundevi (the queen), who loves you as her own, presses your return. She bids me demand of Dewuldé fulfilment of the oft-repeated vow, that your life and Mahoba, when endangered, were inseparable. The breaker of vows, despised on earth, will be plunged into hell, there to remain while sun and moon endure.”

Dewuldé heard the message of the queen. “ Let us fly to Mahoba,” she exclaimed. Ala was silent, while Udila said aloud, “ May evil spirits seize upon Mahoba !—Can we forget the day when, in distress, he drove us forth ?—Return to Mahoba—let it stand or fall, it is the same to me ; Canouj is henceforth my home.”

“ Would that the gods had made me barren,” said Dewuldé, “ that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the paths of the Rajpoot, and refuse to succour their prince in danger !” Her heart bursting with grief, and her eyes raised to heaven, she continued : “ Was it for this, O universal lord, thou mad'st me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Binafur's fame ? Unworthy offspring ! the heart of the true Rajpoot dances with joy at the mere name of strife—but ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jessraj—some carl must have stolen to my embrace, and from such ye must be sprung.” The young chiefs arose, their faces withered in sadness. “ When we perish in defence of Mahoba, and covered with wounds, perform deeds that will leave a deathless name ; when our heads roll in the field—when we embrace the valiant in fight, and treading in the footsteps of the brave, make resplendent the blood of both lines, even in the presence of the heroes of the Chohan, then will our mother rejoice.”

¹ Hindown was a town dependent on Biana, the capital of the Jadoons, whose descendants still occupy Kerowli and Sri Mat'hura.

² Rao Phjaon of Ambér, one of the great vassals of the Chohan, and ancestor of the present Raja of Jeipoor.

³ In the original, “ the land of the Bhagél to that of the Chundail.” Rewah is capital of Bhagélkhund, founded by the Bhagela Rajpoots, a branch of the Solanki kings of Anhulwarra.

⁴ Antêrved, the Do-áb, or Mesopotamia of the Jumna and Ganges.

⁵ A district S.W. of Dehli, notorious for the lawless habits of its inhabitants : a very ancient Hindu race, but the greater part forced proselytes to the faith of Islam. In the time of Firthiraj the chief of Mewat was one of his vassals.

⁶ *Jeytpatra*, or ‘ bulletin of victory.’

The envoy having, by this loyal appeal of Dewuldé, attained the object of his mission, the brothers repair to the monarch of Canouj,¹ in order to ask permission to return to Mahoba; this is granted, and they are dismissed with magnificent gifts, in which the bardic herald participated;² and the parting valediction was "*preserve the faith of the Rajpoots.*" The omens during the march were of the worst kind: as Jugnuk expounded them, Ala with a smile replied, "O bard, though thou canst dive into the dark recesses of futurity, to the brave all omens are happy, even though our heroes shall fall, and the fame of the Chundail must depart; thus in secret does my soul assure me." The sarus³ was alone on the right—the eagle as he flew dropped his prey—the chukwa⁴ separated from his mate—drops fell from the eyes of the warlike steed—the shial⁵ sent forth sounds of lamentation; spots were seen on the disc of the sun." The countenance of Lakhun fell;⁶ these portents filled his soul with dismay: but Ala said, "though these omens bode death, yet death to the valiant, to the pure in faith, is an object of desire not of sorrow. The path of the Rajpoot is beset with difficulties, rugged, and filled with thorns; but he regards it not, so it but conducts to battle."—"To carry joy to Purnala alone occupied their thoughts: the steeds bounded over the plain like the swift-footed deer." The brothers, ere they reached Mahoba, halted to put on the *saffron robe*, the sign of "*no quarter*" with the Rajpoot warrior. The intelligence of their approach filled the Chundaila prince with joy, who advanced to embrace his defenders, and conduct them to Mahoba; while the queen Malundevi came to greet Dewuldé, who with the herald bard paid homage, and returned with the queen to the city. Rich gifts were presented, gems resplendent with light. The queen sent for Ala, and extending her hands over his head, bestowed the *asees*⁷ (blessing), as kneeling he swore his head was with Mahoba, and then waved a vessel filled with pearls over his head, which were distributed to his followers.⁸

The bardic herald was rewarded with four villages. We are then introduced to the Chohan camp and council, where Chund the bard is expatiating on the return of the Binafurs with the succours of Canouj. He recommends his sovereign to send a herald to the Chundail to announce the expiration of the truce, and requiring him to meet him in the field, or abandon Mahoba. According to the bard's advice, a despatch was transmitted to Purnala, in which the cause of war was recapitulated—the

¹ Jeichund was then king of this city, only second to Dehli. He was attacked in 1193 (A.D.) by Shabudin, after his conquest of the Chohan, driven from his kingdom, and found a watery grave in the Ganges.

² Jugnuk had two villages conferred upon him, besides an elephant and a dress.

³ The phenicopteros.

⁴ A large red duck, the emblem of fidelity with the Rajpoots.

⁵ The jackal.

⁶ Commander of the succours of Canouj.

⁷ *Asees* is a form of benediction only bestowed by females and priests: it is performed by clasping both hands over the person's head, and waving a piece of silver or other valuable over him, which is bestowed in charity.

⁸ This is a very ancient ceremony, and is called *Nachravali*. The author has frequently had a large salver filled with silver coin waved over his head, which was handed for distribution amongst his attendants. It is most appropriate from the fair, from whom also he has had this performed by their proxies, the family priest or female attendants.

murder of the wounded ; and stating that, according to Rajpoot faith, he had granted seven days beyond the time demanded, " and although so many days had passed since succour had arrived from Canouj, the lion-horn had not yet sounded (*sing-nád*) " : adding, " if he abandon all desire of combat, let him proclaim his vassalage to Dehli, and abandon Mahoba."

Purmal received the hostile message in despair ; but calling his warriors around him, he replied to the herald of the chohan, that " on the day of the sun, the first of the month, he would join him in strife."

" On the day sacred to *Sucra* (Friday), Pirthiraj sounded the shell, while the drums thrice struck proclaimed the truce concluded.¹ The standard was brought forth, around which the warriors gathered ; the cup circulated, the prospect of battle filled their souls with joy. They anointed their bodies with fragrant oils, while the celestial apsaras with ambrosial oils and heavenly perfumes anointed their silver forms, tinged their eyelids, and prepared for the reception of heroes.² The sound of the war-shell reached Kylás ; the abstraction of Iswara was at an end—joy seized his soul at the prospect of completing his chaplet of skulls (*roonda-mala*). The Yoginis danced with joy, their faces sparkled with delight, as they seized their vessels to drink the blood of the slain. The devourers of flesh, the *Palcharas*, sung songs of triumph at the game of battle between the Chohan and Chundail."

In another measure, the bard proceeds to contrast the occupations of his heroes and the celestials preparatory to the combat, which descriptions are termed *roopaca*. " The heroes gird on their armour, while the heavenly fair deck their persons. They place on their heads the helm crowned with the war-bell (*virá-gantha*), these adjust the corset ; they draw the girths of the war-steed, the fair of the world of bliss bind the anklet of bells ; nets of steel defend the turban's fold, they braid their hair with golden flowers and gems ; the warrior polishes his falchion—the fair tints the eyelid with *unjum* ; the hero points his dagger, the fair paints a heart on her forehead ; he braces on his ample buckler—she places the resplendent orb in her ear ; he binds his arms with a gauntlet of brass—she stains her hands with the *henna*. The hero decorates his hand with the tiger-claw³—the Apsara ornaments with rings and golden bracelets ; the warrior shakes the ponderous lance—the heavenly fair the garland of love⁴ to decorate those who fall in the fight ; she binds on a necklace of pearls, he a *mala* of the *tulasi*.⁵ The warrior strings his bow—the fair assume their killing glances. Once more the heroes look to their girths, while the celestial fair prepare their cars."

After the bard has finished his *roopaca*, he exclaims, " Thus says Chund, the lord of verse ; with my own eyes have I seen what I describe." It is important to remark, that the national faith of the Rajpoot never questions

¹ The lankh, or war-shell, is thrice sounded, and the nakarras strike thrice, when the army is to march ; but should it after such proclamation remain on its ground, a scape-goat is slain in front of the imperial tent.

² This picture recalls the remembrance of Hacon and the heroes of the north ; with the Valkyrias or choosers of the slain ; the celestial maids of war of Scandinavia.

³ Bâgh-nuk, or Nahar-nuk.

⁴ Burmala.

⁵ *Mala*, a necklace. The *tulasi* or *rudraca* had the same estimation amongst the Hindus that the mistletoe had amongst the ancient Britons, and was always worn in battle as a charm.

the prophetic power of their chief bard, whom they call *Tricāla*, or cognoscent of the past, the present, and the future—a character which the bard has enjoyed in all ages and climes ; but Chūnd was the last whom they admitted to possess supernatural vision.

We must now return to Mahoba, where a grand council had assembled at a final deliberation ; at which, shaded by screens, the mother of the Binafurs, and the queen Malundevi, were present. The latter thus opens the debate : “ O mother of Ala, how may we succeed against the lord of the world ? ¹ If defeated, lost is Mahoba ; if we pay tribute, we are loaded with shame.” Dewuldé recommends hearing *seriatim* the opinions of the chieftains, when Ala thus speaks : “ Listen, O mother, to your son ; he alone is of pure lineage who, placing loyalty on his head, abandons all thoughts of self, and lays down his life for his prince ; my thoughts are only for Pural. *If she lives* she will show herself a woman, or emanation of Parvati.² The warriors of Sambhur shall be cut in pieces. I will so illustrate the blood of my fathers, that my fame shall last for ever. My son Eendal, O prince ! I bequeath to you, and the fame of Dewuldé is in your keeping.”

The queen thus replies : “ The warriors of the Chohan are fierce as they are numerous ; pay tribute, and save Mahoba.” The soul of Udila inflamed, and turning to the queen, “ Why thought you not thus when you slew the defenceless ? but then I was unheard. Whence now your wisdom ? thrice I beseeched you to pardon. Nevertheless, Mahoba is safe while life remains in me, and in your cause, O Pural ! we shall espouse celestial brides.”

“ Well have you spoken, my son,” said Dewuldé, “ nothing now remains but to make thy parent’s milk resplendent by thy deeds. The call of the peasant driven from his home meets the ear, and while we deliberate, our villages are given to the flames.” But Pural replied : “ Saturn ³ rules the day, to-morrow we shall meet the foe.” With indignation Ala turned to the king : “ He who can look tamely on while the smoke ascends from his ruined towns, his fields laid waste, can be no Rajpoot—he who succumbs to fear when his country is invaded, his body will be plunged into the hell of hells, his soul a wanderer in the world of spirits for sixty thousand years ; but the warrior who performs his duty will be received into the mansion of the sun, and his deeds will last for ever.”

But cowardice and cruelty always accompany each other, nor could all the speeches of the brothers “ screw his courage to the sticking place ” Pural went to his queen, and gave fresh vent to his lamentation. She upbraided his unmanly spirit, and bid him head his troops and go forth to the fight. The heroes embraced their wives for the last time, and with the dawn performed their pious rites. The Binafur offered oblations to the nine planets, and having adored the image of his tutelary god, he again put the chain round his neck ; ⁴ then calling his son Eendal, and Udila his brother, he once more poured forth his vows to the universal

¹ *Pirthiraj*.

² A Rajpoot never names his wife. Here it is evidently optional to the widow to live or die, though Ala shows his wish for her society above. See chapter on *Satis*, which will follow.

³ Sanichur.

⁴ It was a *juntur* or phylactery of Hanooman the monkey deity ; probably a magical stanza, with his image.

mother "that he would illustrate the name of Jessraj, and evince the pure blood derived from Dewuldé, whene'er he met the foe."—"Nobly have you resolved," said Udila, "and shall not my *kirban*¹ also dazzle the eyes of Sambhur's lord? shall he not retire from before me?"—"Farewell, my children," said Dewuldé, "*be true to your salt*, and should you lose your heads for your prince, doubt not you will obtain the celestial crown." Having ceased, the wives of both exclaimed, "What virtuous wife survives her lord? for thus says Gori-ji,² 'the woman, who survives her husband who falls in the field of battle, will never obtain bliss, but wander a discontented ghost in the region of unhallowed spirits.'"

This is sufficient to exhibit the supreme influence of women, not only on, but also in society.

The extract is taken from the Bardic historian, when Hindu customs were pure, and the Chohan was paramount sovereign of India. It is worth while to compare it with another written six centuries after the conquest by the Mahomedans; although six dynasties—namely, Ghizni, Gor, Khillij, Seyed, Lodi, and Mogul, numbering more than thirty kings, had intervened, yet the same uncontrollable spirit was in full force, unchangeable even in misfortune. Both Hindu and Persian historians expatiate with delight on the anecdote; but we prefer the narrative of the ingenuous Bernier, under whose eye the incident occurred.

In the civil war for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, when Arungzéb opened his career by the deposal of his father and the murder of his brothers, the Rajpoots, faithful to the emperor, determined to oppose him. Under the intrepid Rahtore Jeswunt Sing, thirty thousand Rajpoots, chiefly of that clan, advanced to the Nerbudda, and with a magnanimity amounting to imprudence, they permitted the junction of Morad with Arungzéb, who, under cover of artillery served by Frenchmen, crossed the river almost unopposed. Next morning the action commenced, which continued throughout the day. The Rajpoots behaved with their usual bravery; but were surrounded on all sides, and by sunset left ten thousand dead on the field.³ The Maharaja retreated to his own country, but his wife, a daughter of the Rana of Oodipoor, "disdained (says Ferishta) to receive her lord, and shut the gates of the castle."

Bernier, who was present, says, "I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jeswunt Sing, after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat; instead of sending some one to condole him in his misfortunes, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not have so mean a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious a house, he was to imitate its virtue;

¹ A crooked scimitar.

² One of the names of Méra or Parvati. This passage will illustrate the subject of *Satis* in a future chapter.

³ "'Tis a pleasure (says Bernier) to see them with the fume of opium in their heads, embrace each other when the battle is to begin, and give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to die."

in a word, he was to vanquish, or to die. A moment after, she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; that they abused her; that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after, she was seen to change countenance, to fall into a passion, and break into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming, brought her in time to herself, composed by assuring her that as soon as the Raja had but refreshed himself he would raise another army to fight Arungzéb, and repair his honour. By which story one may see," says Bernier, "a pattern of the courage of the women in that country"; and he adds this philosophical corollary on this and the custom of suttees, which he had witnessed: "*There is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, may not make men do or suffer.*"¹

The romantic history of the Chohan emperor of Dehli abounds in sketches of female character; and in the story of his carrying off Sunjogta, the princess of Canouj, we have not only the individual portrait of the Helen of her country, but in it a faithful picture of the sex. We see her, from the moment when, rejecting the assembled princes, she threw the "garland of marriage" round the neck of her hero, the Chohan abandon herself to all the influences of passion—mix in a combat of five days' continuance against her father's array, witness his overthrow, and the carnage of both armies, and subsequently, by her seductive charms, lulling her lover into a neglect of every princely duty. Yet when the foes of his glory and power invade India, we see the enchantress at once start from her trance of pleasure, and exchanging the softer for the sterner passions, in accents not less strong because mingled with deep affection, she conjures him, while arming him for the battle, to die for his fame, declaring that she will join him in "the mansions of the sun." Though it is difficult to extract, in passages sufficiently condensed, what may convey a just idea of this heroine, we shall attempt it in the bard's own language, rendered into prose. He announces the tidings of invasion by the medium of a dream, which the Chohan thus relates:—

" 'This night, while in the arms of sleep, a fair, beautiful as Rembha, rudely seized my arm; then she assailed you, and while you were struggling, a mighty elephant,² infuriated, and hideous as a demon, bore down upon me. Sleep fled—nor Rembha nor demon remained—but my heart was panting, and my quivering lips muttering *Hur! Hur!*³ What is decreed the gods only know.'

"Sunjogta replied, 'Victory and fame to my lord! O, sun of the Chohans, in glory, or in pleasure, who has tasted so deeply as you? To die is the destiny not only of man but of the gods: all desire to throw off the old garment; but to die well is to live for ever. Think not of self, but of immortality; let your sword divide your foe, and I will be your *ardhanga*⁴ hereafter.'

¹ Bernier's *History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Mogul*, fol. p. 13, ed. 1684.

² It is deemed unlucky to see this emblem of Ganésa in sleep.

³ The battle-shout of the Rajpoot.

⁴ 'Half-body,' which we may render, in common phraseology, "*other half.*"

The king sought the bard, who expounded the dream, and the Gúru wrote an incantation, which he placed in his turban. A thousand brass vessels of fresh milk were poured in libations to the sun and moon. Ten buffaloes were sacrificed to the supporters of the globe, and gifts were made to all. But will offerings of blood or libations of milk arrest what is decreed? If by these man could undo what is ordained, would Nala or the Pandus have suffered as they did?"

While the warriors assemble in council to consult on the best mode of opposing the Sultan of Ghizni, the king leaves them to deliberate, in order to advise with Sunjogta. Her reply is curious:

"Who asks woman for advice? The world deems their understanding shallow; even when truths issue from their lips, none listen thereto. Yet what is the world without woman? We have the forms of Sacti with the fire of Siva; we are at once thieves and sanctuaries; we are vessels of virtue and of vice—of knowledge and of ignorance. The man of wisdom, the astrologer, can from *the books* calculate the motion and course of the planets; but in the book of woman he is ignorant: and this is not a saying of to-day, it ever has been so: our book has not been mastered, therefore, to hide their ignorance, they say, in woman there is no wisdom! Yet woman shares your joys and your sorrows. Even when you depart from the mansion of the sun, we part not. Hunger and thirst we cheerfully partake with you; we are as the lakes, of which you are the swans; what are you when absent from our bosoms?"

The army having assembled, and all being prepared to march against the Islamite, in the last great battle which subjugated India, the fair Sunjogta armed her lord for the encounter. "In vain she sought the rings of his corslet; her eyes were fixed on the face of the Chohan, as those of the famished wretch who finds a piece of gold. The sound of the drum reached the ear of the Chohan; it was as a death-knell on that of Sunjogta: and as he left her to head Dehli's heroes, she vowed that henceforward water only should sustain her. "I shall see him again in the region of Surya, but never more in Yoginipoor."¹ Her prediction was fulfilled: her lord was routed, made captive and slain; and, faithful to her vow, she mounted the funeral pyre.

Were we called upon to give a pendant for Lucretia, it would be found in the queen of Ganore. After having defended five fortresses against the foe, she retreated to her last stronghold on the Nerbudda, and had scarcely left the bark, when the assailants arrived in pursuit. The disheartened defenders were few in number, and the fortress was soon in possession of the foe, the founder of the family now ruling in Bhopal. The beauty of the queen of Ganore was an allurement only secondary to his desire for her country, and he invited her to reign over it and him. Denial would have been useless, and would have subjected her to instant coercion, for the Khan awaited her reply in the hall below; she therefore sent a message of assent, with a complimentary reflection on his gallant conduct and determination of pursuit; adding, that he merited her hand for his bravery, and might prepare for the nuptials, which should be celebrated on the terrace of the palace. She demanded two hours for unmolested preparation, that she might appear in appropriate attire, and with the distinction her own and his rank demanded.

¹ Dehli.

Ceremonials, on a scale of magnificence equal to the shortness of the time, were going on. The song of joy had already stifled the discordant voice of war, and at length the Khan was summoned to the terrace. Robed in the marriage garb presented to him by the queen, with a necklace and aigrette of superb jewels from the coffers of Ganôre, he hastened to obey the mandate, and found that fame had not done justice to her charms. He was desired to be seated, and in conversation full of rapture on his side, hours were as minutes while he gazed on the beauty of the queen. But presently his countenance fell—he complained of heat; punkas and water were brought, but they availed him not, and he began to tear the bridal garments from his frame, when the queen thus addressed him: "Know, Khan, that your last hour is come; our wedding and our death shall be sealed together. The vestments which cover you are poisoned; you had left me no other expedient to escape pollution." While all were horror-struck by this declaration, she sprung from the battlements into the flood beneath. The Khan died in extreme torture, and was buried on the road to Bhopal; and, strange to say, a visit to his grave has the reputation of curing the tertian of that country.

We may give another anecdote illustrative of this extreme delicacy of sentiment, but without so tragical a conclusion. The celebrated Raja Jey Sing of Ambér had espoused a princess of Haravati, whose manners and garb, accordant with the simplicity of that provincial capital, subjected her to the *badinage* of the more refined court of Ambér, whose ladies had added the imperial costume to their own native dress. One day being alone with the prince, he began playfully to contrast the sweeping *jupe* of Kotah with the more scanty robe of the belles of his own capital; and taking up a pair of scissors, said he would reduce it to an equality with the latter. Offended at such levity, she seized his sword, and assuming a threatening attitude, said, "that in the house to which she had the honour to belong, they were not habituated to jests of this nature; that mutual respect was the guardian, not only of happiness but of virtue;" and she assured him, that if he ever again so insulted her, he would find that the daughter of Kotah could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Ambér the scissors; adding, that she would prevent any future scion of her house from being subjected to similar disrespect, by declaring such intermarriages '*tilac*,' or forbidden, which interdict I believe yet exists.¹

I will append an anecdote related by the celebrated Zalim Sing, characteristic of the presence of mind, prowess, and physical strength of the Rajpoot women. To attend and aid in the minutiae of husbandry is by no means uncommon with them, as to dress and carry the meals of their husbands to the fields is a general practice. In the jungle which skirts the knolls of Puchpahar, a huge bear assaulted a Rajpootni as she was carrying her husband's dinner. As he approached with an air of gallantry upon his hind-legs, doubting whether the food or herself were the intended prey, she retreated behind a large tree, round the trunk of which Bruin, still in his erect attitude, tried all his powers of circumvention to seize her. At length, half exhausted, she boldly grasped his paws, and with so vigorous

¹ The physician (unless he unite with his office that of ghostly comforter) has to feel the pulse of his patient with a curtain between them, through a rent, in which the arm is extended.

a hold that he roared with pain, while in vain, with his short neck, did he endeavour to reach the powerful hand which fixed him. While she was in this dilemma, a *purdési* (a foreign soldier of the state) happened to be passing to the garrison of Gagrown, and she called out to him in a voice of such unconcern to come and release her for a time, that he complied without hesitation. She had not retired, however, above a dozen yards ere he called loudly for her return, being scarcely able to hold his new friend; but laughingly recommending perseverance, she hastened on, and soon returned with her husband, who laid the monster prostrate with his matchlock, and rescued the *purdési* from his displeasing predicament.

Such anecdotes might be multiplied *ad infinitum*; but I will conclude with one displaying the romantic chivalry of the Rajpoot, and the influence of the fair in the formation of character; it is taken from the annals of Jessulmér, the most remote of the states of Rajast'han, and situated in the heart of the desert, of which it is an oasis.

Raningdeo was lord of Poogul, a fief of Jessulmér; his heir, named Sadoo, was the terror of the desert, carrying his raids even to the valley of the Indus, and on the east to Nagore. Returning from a foray, with a train of captured camels and horses, he passed by Aurecent, where dwelt Manik Rao, the chief of the Mohils, whose rule extended over 1440 villages. Being invited to partake of the hospitality of the Mohil, the heir of Poogul attracted the favourable regards of the old chieftain's daughter:

"She loved him for the dangers he had passed";

for he had the fame of being the first riever of the desert. Although betrothed to the heir of the Rahtore of Mundore, she signified her wish to renounce the throne to be the bride of the chieftain of Poogul; and in spite of the dangers he provoked, and contrary to the Mohil chief's advice, Sadoo, as a gallant Rajpoot, dared not reject the overture, and he promised "to accept the coco,"¹ if sent in form to Poogul. In due time it came, and the nuptials were solemnised at Aurecent. The dower was splendid; gems of high price, vessels of gold and silver, a golden bull, and a train of thirteen *dēwādhāris*,² or damsels of wisdom and penetration.

Irrinkowal, the slighted heir of Mundore, determined on revenge, and with four thousand Rahtores planted himself in the path of Sadoo's return, aided by the Sankla Mehraj, whose son Sadoo had slain. Though entreated to add four thousand Mohils to his escort, Sadoo deemed his own gallant band of seven hundred Bhattis sufficient to convey his bride to his desert abode, and with difficulty accepted fifty, led by Megraj, the brother of the bride.

The rivals encountered at Chondun, where Sadoo had halted to repose; but the brave Rahtore scorned the advantage of numbers, and a series of single combats ensued, with all the forms of chivalry. The first who entered the lists was Jeytanga, of the Pahoo clan, and of the kin of Sadoo. The enemy came upon him by surprise while reposing on the ground, his saddle-cloth for his couch, and the bridle of his steed twisted round his arm; he was soon recognised by the Sankla, who had often encountered his

¹ Sriphala.

² Literally 'lamp-holders'; such is the term applied to these handmaids; who invariably form a part of the *dacfa* or 'dower.'

prowess, on which he expatiated to Irrinkowal, who sent an attendant to awake him ; but the gallant *Panch Kalyan* for such was the name of his steed) had already performed this service, and they found him upbraiding *white-legs*¹ for treading upon him. Like a true Rajpoot, "*toujours prêt*," he received the hostile message, and sent the envoy back with his compliments, and a request for some *umī* or opium, as he had lost his own supply. With all courtesy this was sent, and prepared by the domestics of his antagonist ; after taking which he lay down to enjoy the customary *siesta*. As soon as he awoke, he prepared for the combat, girt on his armour, and having reminded *Panch Kalyan* of the fields he had won, and telling him to bear him well that day, he mounted and advanced. The son of Chonda admiring his *sang froid*, and the address with which he guided his steed, commanded Joda Chohan, the leader of his party, to encounter the Pahoo. "Their two-edged swords soon clashed in combat ;" but the gigantic Chohan fell beneath the Bhatti, who, warmed with the fight, plunged amidst his foes, encountering all he deemed worthy of his assault.

The fray thus begun, single combats and actions of equal parties followed, the rivals looking on. At length Sadoo mounted : twice he charged the Rahtore ranks, carrying death on his lance ; each time he returned for the applause of his bride, who beheld the battle from her car. Six hundred of his foes had fallen, and nearly half his own warriors. He bade her a last adieu, while she exhorted him to the fight, saying, "she would witness his deeds, and if he fell, would follow him even "in death." Now he singled out his rival Irrinkowal,² who was alike eager to end the strife, and blot out his disgrace in his blood. They met : some seconds were lost in a courteous contention, each yielding to his rival the first blow, at length dealt out by Sadoo on the neck of the disappointed Rahtore. It was returned with the rapidity of lightning, and the daughter of the Mohil saw the steel descend on the head of her lover. Both fell prostrate to the earth : but Sadoo's soul had sped ; the Rahtore had only swooned. With the fall of the leaders the battle ceased ; and the fair cause of strife, Korumdévi, at once a virgin, a wife, and a widow, prepared to follow her affianced. Calling for a sword, with one arm she dissevered the other, desiring it might be conveyed to the father of her lord—"tell him such was his daughter." The other she commanded to be struck off, and given, with her marriage jewels thereon, to the bard of the Mohils. The pile was prepared on the field of battle ; and taking her lord in her embrace, she gave herself up to the devouring flames. The dissevered limbs were disposed of as commanded ; the old Rao of Poogul caused the one to be burnt, and a tank was excavated on the spot, which is still called after the heroine, "the lake of Korumdévi."

This encounter took place in S. 1462, A.D. 1406. The brunt of the battle fell on the Sanklas, and only twenty-five out of three hundred and fifty left the field with their leader, Mehraj, himself severely wounded. The rejected lover had four brothers dangerously hurt ; and in six months the wounds of Irrinkowal opened afresh : he died, and the rites to the

¹ *Panch Kalyan* is generally, if not always, a chestnut, having four white legs, with a white nose and list or star.

² *Arānkowal*, 'the lotos of the desert,' from *aranya* (Sanskrit), 'a waste,' and *comala* (pronounced *kowal*), 'a lotos' : classically it should be written *arancomala* ; I write it as pronounced.

manes of these rivals in love, the *chaomassa* ¹ of Sádoo, and the *diúddasa* ² of Irrinkowal, were celebrated on the same day.

Without pausing to trace the moral springs of that devotion which influenced the Mohila maiden, we shall relate the sequel to the story (though out of place) ³ in illustration of the prosecution of feuds throughout Rajast'han. The fathers now took up the quarrel of their sons; and as it was by the prowess of the Sankla vassal of Mundore that the band of Sádoo was discomfited, the old Roa, Raningdeo, drew together the lances of Poogul, and carried destruction into the fief of Mehraj. The Sanklas yield in valour to none of the brave races who inhabit the "region of death"; and Mehraj was the father of Harba Sankla, the Palladin of Maroodés, whose exploits are yet the theme of the erratic bards of Rajast'han. Whether he was unprepared for the assault, or overcome by numbers, three hundred of his kin and clan moistened the sand-hills of the Looni with their blood. Raningdeo, flushed with revenge and laden with spoil, had reached his own frontier, when he was overtaken by Chonda of Mundore, alike eager to avenge the loss of his son Irrinkowal, and this destructive inroad on his vassal. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Rao of Poogul was slain; and the Rahtore returned in triumph to Mundore.

Unequal to cope with the princes of Mundore, the two remaining sons of Raningdeo, Tunno and Mairah, resolved to abandon their faith, in order to preserve the point of honour, and "to take up *their father's feud*."⁴ At this period the king, Khizer Khan, was at Mooltan; to him they went, and by offers of service and an open apostacy, obtained a force to march against Chonda, who had recently added Nagore to his growing dominions. While the brothers were thus negotiating, they were joined by Keelun, the third son of their common sovereign, the Rawul of Jessulmér, who advised the use of *chul*, which with the Rajpoot means indifferently stratagem or treachery, so that it facilitates revenge. With the ostensible motive of ending their feuds, and restoring tranquillity to their borderers, whose sole occupation was watching, burning, and devastating, Keelun offered a daughter in marriage to Chonda, and went so far as to say, that if he suspected aught unfair, he would, though contrary to custom and his own dignity, send the Bhatti princess to Nagore. This course being deemed the wisest, Chonda acquiesced in his desire "to extinguish the feud (*wér bujâona*)."

Fifty covered chariots were prepared as the nuptial *cortège*, but which, instead of the bride and her handmaids, contained the bravest men of Poogul. These were preceded by a train of horses led by Rajpoots, of whom seven hundred also attended the camels laden with baggage, provisions, and gifts, while a small armed retinue brought up the rear. The king's troops, amounting to one thousand horse, remained at a cautious distance behind. Chonda left Nagore to meet the cavalcade and his bride, and had reached the chariots ere his suspicions were excited. Observing, however, some matters which little savoured of festivity, the Rahtore commenced his retreat. Upon this the chiefs rushed from their chariots

¹ The rites to the manes on the completion of the 'sixth month.'

² The rites to the manes on the 'twelfth day.'

³ The greater portion of these anecdotes, the foundation of national character, will appear in the respective annals.

⁴ Bap ra wér léná.

and camels, and the royal auxiliaries advancing, Chonda was assailed and fell at the gate of Nagore ; and friend and foe entering the city together, a scene of general plunder commenced.

Once more the feud was balanced ; a son and a father had fallen on each side, and the petty Rao of Poogul had bravely maintained the *wér* against the princes of Mundore. The point of honour had been carried to the utmost bound by both parties, and an opportunity of reconciliation was at hand, which prevented the shadow of disgrace either to him who made or him who accepted the overture. The Rahtores dreaded the loss of the recent acquisition, Nagore, and proposed to the Bhattis to seal their pacification with the blood of their common foe. United, they fell on the spoil-encumbered Tatars, whom they slew to a man.¹ Their father's feud thus revenged, the sons of Raningdeo (who, as apostates from their faith, could no longer hold Poogul in fief, which was retained by Keelun, who had aided their revenge) retired amongst the *Abhoria* Bhattis, and their descendants are now styled *Moomun Músulmán Bhatti*.

From such anecdotes, it will be obvious wherein consists the point of honour with the Rajpoots ; and it is not improbable that the very cause which has induced an opinion that females can have no influence on the lords of the creation, namely, their seclusion, operates powerfully in the contrary way.

In spite of this seclusion, the knowledge of their accomplishments and of their personal perfections, radiates wherever the itinerant bard can travel. Though invisible themselves, they can see ; and accident often favours public report, and brings the object of renown within the sphere of personal observation : as in the case of Sadoo and the Mohila maiden. Placed behind screens, they see the youths of all countries, and there are occasions when permanent impressions are made, during tournaments and other martial exercises. Here we have just seen that the passion of the daughter of the Mohil was fostered at the risk of the destruction not only of her father's house, but also that of her lover ; and as the fourteen hundred and forty towns, which owned the sway of the former, were not long after absorbed into the accumulating territory of Mundore, this insult may have been the cause of the extirpation of the Mohils, as it was of the Bhattis of Poogul.

The influence of women on Rajpoot society is marked in every page of Hindu history, from the most remote periods. What led to the wars of Rama ? the rape of Sítá. What rendered deadly the feuds of the Yadus ? the insult to Drupdévi. What made prince Nala an exile from Nirwur ? his love for Damyanta. What made Raja Bhirtri abandon the throne of Awinti ? the loss of Pingani. What subjected the Hindu to the dominion of the Islamite ? the rape of the princess of Canouj. In fine, the cause which overturned kingdoms, commuted the sceptre to the pilgrim's staff, and formed the groundwork of all their grand epics, is woman. In ancient, and even in modern times, she had more than a negative in the choice of a husband, and this choice fell on the gallant and the gay. The fair Drupdévi was the prize of the best archer, and the Pandu Bhima established his fame, and bore her from all the suitors of Kampila. The princess of Canouj, when led through ranks of the princes of Hind, each

¹ Khizer Khan succeeded to the throne of Dehli in A.D. 1414, and according to the Jessulmér annals, the commencement of these feuds was in A.D. 1406.

hoping to be the object of her choice, threw the marriage-garland (*burmala*) over the neck of the effigy of the Chohan, which her father in derision had placed as porter at the gate. Here was incense to fame and incentive to gallantry !¹

In the same manner, as related in another part of this work, did the princess of Kishengurh invite Rana Raj Sing to bear her from the impending union with the emperor of the Moguls ; and abundant other instances could be adduced of the free agency of these invisibles.

It were superfluous to reason on the effects of traditional histories, such as these, on the minds and manners of the females of Rajast'han. They form the amusement of their lives, and the grand topic in all their conversations ; they read them with the *Purohit*, and they have them sung by the itinerant bard or Dholi minstrel, who disseminates them wherever the Rajpoot name extends. The Rajpoot mother claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount his first rudiments of chivalry ; and the importance of this parental instruction cannot be better illustrated than in the ever-recurring simile, " make thy mother's milk resplendent " ; the full force of which we have in the powerful, though over-strained expression of the Boondî queen's joy on the announcement of the heroic death of her son : " the long-dried fountain at which he fed, jetted forth as she listened to the tale of his death, and the marble pavement, on which it fell, rent asunder." Equally futile would it be to reason on the intensity of sentiment thus implanted in the infant Rajpoot, of whom we may say without metaphor, the shield is his cradle, and daggers his playthings ; and with whom the first commandment is, " avenge thy father's feud " ; on which they can heap text upon text, from the days of the great Pandu moralist Vyasû, to the not less influential bard of their nation, the Tricala Chund.

CHAPTER XXIV

Origin of female immolation—The sacrifice of Sati, the wife of Iswara—The motive to it considered—Infanticide—Its causes among the Rajpoots, the Rajkoomars, and the Jarejas—The rite of Johur—Female captives in war enslaved—Summary of the Rajpoot character—Their familiar habits—The use of Opium—Hunting—The use of weapons—Jaitis, or wrestlers—Armouries—Music—Feats of dexterity—Maharâja Sheodan Sing—Literary qualifications of the princes—Household economy—Furniture—Dress, etc.

WE now proceed to consider another trait of Rajpoot character, exemplified in the practice of female immolation, and to inquire whether religion,

¹ The Samnite custom, so lauded by Montesquieu as the reward of youthful virtue, was akin in sentiment to the Rajpoot, except that the fair Rajpootni made herself the sole judge of merit in her choice. It was more calculated for republican than aristocratic society :—" On assembloit tous les jeunes gens, et on les jugeoit ; celui qui était déclaré le meilleur de tout prenoit pour sa femme la fille qu'il vouloit : l'amour, la beauté, la chasteté, la vertu, la naissance, les richesses même, tout cela était, pour ainsi dire, la dot de la vertu." It would be difficult, adds Montesquieu, to imagine a more noble recompense, or one less expensive to a petty state, or more influential on the conduct of both sexes.—*L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. xvi. livre vii.

custom, or affection, has most share in such sacrifice. To arrive at the origin of this rite, we must trace it to the recesses of mythology, where we shall discover the precedent in the example of *Sati*, who to avenge an insult to Iswara, in her own father's omission to ask her lord to an entertainment, consumed herself in the presence of the assembled gods. With this act of fealty (*sati*) the name of Dacsha's daughter has been identified; and her regeneration and reunion to her husband, as the mountain-nymph *Mérá*, or '*Párvati*,' furnish the incentive to similar acts. In the history of these celestial beings, the Rajpootni has a memorable lesson before her, that no domestic differences can afford exemption from this proof of faith: for Jupiter and Juno were not more eminent examples of connubial discord than *Mérá* and Siva, who was not only alike unfaithful, but more cruel, driving *Mérá* from his Olympus (*Kylas*), and forcing her to seek refuge in the murky caverns of Caucasus. Female immolation, therefore, originated with the sun-worshipping *Saivas*, and was common to all those nations who adored this the most splendid object of the visible creation. Witness the Scythic Gete or Jut warrior of the Jaxartes, who devoted his wife, horse, arms, and slaves, to the flames; the "giant Gete" of Scandinavia, who forgot not on the shores of the Baltic his Transoxianian habits; and the Frisian Frank and Saxon descended from him, who ages after omitted only the female. Could we assign the primary cause of a custom so opposed to the first law of nature with the same certainty that we can prove its high antiquity, we might be enabled to devise some means for its abolition. [The chief characteristic of *satiism* is its expiating quality: for by this act of faith, the Sati not only makes atonement for the sins of her husband, and secures the remission of her own, but has the joyful assurance of reunion to the object whose beatitude she procures.] Having once imbibed this doctrine, its fulfilment is powerfully aided by that heroism of character inherent to the Rajpootni; though we see that the stimulant of religion requires no aid even in the timid female of Bengal, who, relying on the promise of regeneration, lays her head on the pyre with the most philosophical composure.

Nothing short of the abrogation of the doctrines which pronounce such sacrifices exculpatory can be effectual in preventing them; but this would be to overturn the fundamental article of their creed, the notion of metempsychosis. Further research may disclose means more attainable, and the sacred Sastras are at once the surest and the safest. Whoever has examined these, is aware of the conflict of authorities for and against cremation; but a proper application of them (and they are the highest who give it not their sanction) has, I believe, never been resorted to. Vyasu, the chronicler of the Yadus, a race whose manners were decidedly Scythic, is the great advocate for female sacrifice: he (in the *Mahabharat*) pronounces the expiation perfect. But Menu inculcates no such doctrine; and although the state of widowhood he recommends might be deemed onerous by the fair sex of the west, it would be considered little hardship in the east. "Let her emaciate her body; by living *voluntarily* on pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man." Again he says, "A virtuous wife ascends to heaven, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity; but a widow, who slights her deceased husband by *marrying again*, brings

disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord." ¹

These and many other texts, enjoining purity of life and manners to the widow, are to be found in this first authority, but none demanding such a cruel pledge of affection. Abstinence from the common pursuits of life, and entire self-denial, are rewarded by "high renown in this world, and in the next the abode of her husband"; and procure, for her the title of "*sāddwi*, or the *virtuous*." These are deemed sufficient pledges of affection by the first of sages.² So much has been written on this subject, that we shall not pursue it further in this place; but proceed to consider a still more inhuman practice, infanticide.

Although custom sanctions, and religion rewards, a Sati, the victim to marital selfishness, yet, to the honour of humanity, neither traditionary adage nor religious text can be quoted in support of a practice so revolting as infanticide. Man alone, of the whole animal creation, is equal to the task of destroying his offspring: for instinct preserves what reason destroys. The wife is the sacrifice to his egotism, and the progeny of her own sex to his pride; and if the unconscious infant should escape the influence of the latter, she is only reserved to become the victim of the former at the period when life is most desirous of extension. If the female reasoned on her destiny, its hardships are sufficient to stifle all sense of joy, and produce indifference to life. When a female is born, no anxious inquiries await the mother—no greetings welcome the new-comer, who appears an intruder on the scene, which often closes in the hour of its birth. But the very silence with which a female birth is accompanied, forcibly expresses

¹ Menu, *On Women*, chap. v. text 157, 160, 161.

² Were all Menu's maxims on this head collected, and with other good authorities, printed, circulated, and supported by Hindu missionaries, who might be brought to advocate the abolition of Satiism, some good might be effected. Let every text tending to the respectability of widowhood be made prominent, and degrade the opponents by enumerating the weak points they abound in. Instance the polyandry which prevailed among the Pandus, whose high priest Vyas was an illegitimate branch; though above all would be the efficacy of the abolition of polygamy, which in the lower classes leaves women destitute, and in the higher condemns them to mortification and neglect. Whatever result such a course might produce, there can be no danger in the experiment. Such sacrifices must operate powerfully on manners; and, barbarous as is the custom, yet while it springs from the same principle, it ought to improve the condition of women, from the fear that harsh treatment of them might defeat the atonement hereafter. Let the advocate for the abolition of this practice by the hand of power, read attentively Mr. Colebrooke's essay, "On the Duties of a faithful Hindu Widow," in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, to correct the notion that there is no adequate religious ordinance for the horrid sacrifice. Mr. C. observes (p. 220): "Though an alternative be allowed, the Hindu legislators have shown themselves disposed to encourage widows to burn themselves with their husband's corpse." In this paper he will find too many authorities deemed sacred for its support; but it is only by knowing the full extent of the prejudices and carefully collecting the conflicting authorities, that we can provide the means to overcome it. Jehangir legislated for the abolition of this practice by successive ordinances. At first he commanded that no woman, being mother of a family, should under any circumstances be permitted, however willing, to immolate herself; and subsequently the prohibition was made entire when the slightest compulsion was required, "whatever the assurances of the people might be." The royal commentator records no reaction. We might imitate Jehangir, and adopting the partially prohibitive ordinance, forbid the sacrifice where there was a family to rear.

sorrow; and we dare not say that many compunctious visitings do not obtrude themselves on those who, in accordance with custom and imagined necessity, are thus compelled to violate the sentiments of nature. Families may exult in the *Satis* which their cenotaphs portray, but none ever heard a Rajpoot boast of the destruction of his infant progeny.

What are the causes, we may ask, sufficiently powerful to induce the suppression of a feeling which every sentient being has in common for its offspring? To suppose the Rajpoot devoid of this sentiment would argue his deficiency in the ordinary attributes of humanity: often is he heard to exclaim, "Accursed the day when a woman child was born to me!" The same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rajpoot to infanticide: and, however revolting the policy, it is perhaps kindness compared to incarceration. There can be no doubt that monastic seclusion, practised by the Frisians in France, the Langobardi in Italy, and the Visigoths in Spain, was brought from Central Asia, the cradle of the Goths.¹ It is, in fact, a modification of the same feeling, which characterises the Rajpoot and the ancient German warrior,—the dread of dishonour to the fair: the former raises the poniard to the breast of his wife rather than witness her captivity, and he gives the opiate to the infant, whom, if he cannot portion and marry to her equal, he dare not see degraded.

Although religion nowhere authorises this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage amongst the Rajpoots powerfully promote infanticide. Not only is intermarriage prohibited between families of the same clan (*campa*), but between those of the same tribe (*gote*); and though centuries may have intervened since their separation, and branches thus transplanted may have lost their original patronymic, they can never be re-grafted on the original stem: for instance, though eight centuries have separated the two grand subdivisions of the Gehlotes, and the younger, the Seesodia, has superseded the elder, the Aharya, each ruling distinct states, a marriage between any of the branches would be deemed incestuous: the Seesodia is yet brother to the Aharya, and regards every female of the race as his sister. Every tribe has therefore to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females. Foreign war, international feuds, or other calamities affect tribes the most remote from each other; nor can war or famine thin the clans of Marwar, without diminishing the female population of Ambér: thus both suffer in a two-fold degree. Many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajpoots were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings. The plan proposed, and in some degree followed by the great Jey Sing of Ambér, might with caution be pursued,

¹ The Ghikers, a Scythic race inhabiting the banks of the Indus, at an early period of history were given to infanticide. "It was a custom," says Ferishta, "as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand and a knife in the other, that any one wanting a wife might have her; otherwise she was immolated." By this means they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When any one husband visited her, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by the others, they withdrew till the signal was removed.

and with great probability of success. He submitted to the prince of every Rajpoot state a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective vassals, in which he regulated the *daea* or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, limiting it to one year's income of the estate. This plan was, however, frustrated by the vanity of the Chondawut of Saloombra, who expended on the marriage of his daughter a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded ; and to have his name blazoned by the bards and genealogists, he sacrificed the beneficent views of one of the wisest of the Rajpoot race. Until vanity suffers itself to be controlled, and the aristocratic Rajpoot submit to republican simplicity,¹ the evils arising from nuptial profusion will not cease. Unfortunately, those who could check it, find their interest in stimulating it, namely, the whole class of *mangtas* (mendicants), bards, minstrels, jugglers, Brahmins who assemble on these occasions, and pour forth their epithalamiums in praise of the virtue of liberality. The *bardais* are the grand recorders of fame, and the volume of *precedent* is always resorted to, in citing the liberality of former chiefs ; while the dread of their satire (*viscra*, literally 'poison') shuts the eyes of the chiefs to consequences, and they are only anxious to maintain the reputation of their ancestors, though fraught with future ruin. "The Dahima emptied his coffers" (says Chund, the pole-star of the Rajpoots) "on the marriage of his daughter with Pirthiraj ; but he filled them with the praises of mankind." The same bard retails every article of these *dacjas* or 'dowers,' which thus become precedents for future ages ; and the "*lakh passao*," then established for the chief bardai, has become a model to posterity. Even now the Rana of Oodipoor, in his season of poverty, at the recent marriage of his daughters bestowed "the gift of a lakh" on the chief bard ; though the articles of gold, horses, clothes, etc., were included in the estimate, and at an undue valuation, which rendered the gift not quite so precious as in the days of the Chohan. Were bonds taken from all the feudal chiefs, and a penal clause inserted, of forfeiture of their fief by all who exceeded a fixed nuptial expenditure, the axe would be laid to the root, the evil would be checked, and the heart of many a mother (and we may add father) be gladdened, by preserving at once the point of honour and their child. When ignorance declaims against the gratuitous love of murder amongst these brave men, our contempt is excited equally by its short-sighted conclusions, and the affected philanthropy which overlooks all remedy but the "*sic volo*." Sir John Shore, when acting on the suggestions of the benevolent Duncan for the suppression of this practice amongst the Rajkoomars, judged more wisely as a politician, and more charitably in his estimate of human motives. "A prohibition," says he, "enforced by the denunciation of the severest temporal penalties, would have had little efficacy in abolishing a custom which existed in opposition to the feelings of humanity and natural affection ;" but "the sanction of that religion which the Rajkoomars professed was appealed to in aid of the ordinances of civil authority ; and an engagement binding themselves to desist from the barbarous practice was prepared, and circulated for signature amongst

¹ Could they be induced to adopt the custom of the ancient Marsellois, infanticide might cease : "Marseille fut la plus sage des républiques de son temps ; les dots ne pourraient passer cents écus en argent, et cinq en habits, dit Strabon." —*De l'Esprit des Loix*, chap. xv. liv. v. 21.

the Rajkoomars." It may well be doubted how far this influence could extend, when the root of the evil remained untouched, though not unseen, as the philanthropic Duncan pointed out in the confession of the Rajkoomars: "all unequivocally admitted it, but all did not fully acknowledge its atrocity; and the only reason they assigned for the inhuman practice was the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if they allowed them to grow up." The Rajkoomar is one of Chohan *sachæ*, chief of the *Agnicûlas*, and in proportion to its high and well-deserved pretensions on the score of honour, it has more infanticides than any other of the "thirty-six royal races." Amongst those of this race out of the pale of feudalism, and subjected to powers not Rajpoot, the practice is fourfold greater, from the increased pressure of the cause which gave it birth, and the difficulty of establishing their daughters in wedlock. Raja Jey Sing's enactment went far to remedy this. Conjoin his plan with Mr. Duncan's, provide dowers, and infanticide will cease. It is only by removing the cause that the consequences can be averted.

As to the almost universality of this practice amongst the Jarejas, the leading cause, which will also operate to its continuance, has been entirely overlooked. The Jarejas were Rajpoots, a subdivision of the Yadus; but by intermarriage with the Mahomedans, to whose faith they became proselytes, they lost their caste. Political causes have disunited them from the Mahomedans, and they desire again to be considered as pure Rajpoots; but having been contaminated, no Rajpoot will intermarry with them. The owner of a *hyde* of land, whether Seesodia, Rahtore, or Chohan, would scorn the hand of a Jareja princess. Can the "*sic volo*" be applied to men who think in this fashion?

Having thus pointed out the causes of the sacrifice of widows and of infants, I shall touch on the yet more awful rite of *Johur*, when a whole tribe may become extinct, of which several instances have been recorded in the annals of Méwar. To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajpootni must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life, death is ready to claim her; by the poppy at its dawn, by the flames in riper years; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period is her existence worth a twelvemonth's purchase. The loss of a battle, or the capture of a city, is a signal to avoid captivity and its horrors, which to the Rajpootni are worse than death. To the doctrines of Christianity Europe owes the boon of protection to the helpless and the fair, who are comparatively safe amidst the vicissitudes of war; to which security the chivalry of the Middle Ages doubtless contributed. But it is singular that a nation so refined, so scrupulous in its ideas with regard to females, as the Rajpoot, should not have entered into some national compact to abandon such proof of success as the bondage¹ of the sex. We can enter into the feeling, and applaud the deed, which ensured the preservation of their honour by the fatal *johur*, when the foe was the brutalised Tatar. But the practice was common in the international wars of the Rajpoots; and I possess numerous inscriptions (on stone and on brass) which record as the first token of victory the captive wives of the foeman. When "the mother of Sisera looked out of the window, and cried *through the lattice*, Why tarry the wheels of his chariot—have they not sped? have

¹ *Bunda* is 'a bondsman' in Persian; *Bandi*, 'a female slave' in Hindi.

they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two?"¹ we have a perfect picture of the Rajpoot mother expecting her son from the foray.

The Jewish law with regard to female captives was perfectly analogous to that of Menu; both declare them "lawful prize," and both Moses and Menu establish rules sanctioning the marriage of such captives with the captors. "When a girl is made captive by her lover, after a victory over her kinsman," marriage "is permitted by law."² That forcible marriage in the Hindu law termed *Rachasa*, namely, "the seizure of a maiden by force from her house while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsman and friends have been slain in battle,"³ is the counterpart of the ordinance regarding the usage of a captive in the *Pentateuch*,⁴ excepting the "*shaving of the head*," which is the sign of complete slavery with the Hindu. When Hector, anticipating his fall, predicts the fate which awaits Andromache, he draws a forcible picture of the misery of the Rajpoot; but the latter, instead of a lachrymose and enervating harangue as he prepared for the battle with the same chance of defeat, would have spared her the pain of plying the "Argive loom" by her death. To prevent such degradation, the brave Rajpoot has recourse to the *johur*, or immolation of every female of the family: nor can we doubt that, educated as are the females of that country, they gladly embrace such a refuge from pollution. Who would not be a Rajpoot in such a case? The very term widow (*rand*) is used in common parlance as one of reproach.⁵

Menu commands that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "sister,"⁶ and that "way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, a prince, or a bridegroom"; and in the admirable text on the laws of hospitality, he ordains that "pregnant women, brides, and damsels shall have food⁷ before all the other guests"; which, with various other texts, appears to indicate a time when women were less than now objects of restraint; a custom attributable to the paramount dominion of the Mahomedans, from whose rigid system the Hindus have borrowed. But so many conflicting texts are to be found in the pages

¹ Jud. v. 28-30.

² Menu, on Marriage, art. 26.

³ Menu, on Marriage, art. 33.

⁴ "When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive, and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife; then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails; and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife."—Deut. xxi. 10, 11, 12, 13.

⁵ I remember in my subaltern days, and wanderings through countries then little known, one of my Rajpoot soldiers at the well, impatient for water, asked a woman for the rope and bucket by the uncivil term of *rand*: "*Myn Rajpútni ché*," 'I am a Rajputni,' she replied in the Hara dialect, to which tribe she belonged, "*aur Rajpoot ca ma cho*," 'and the mother of Rajpoots.' At the indignant reply the hands of the brave Kulian were folded, and he asked her forgiveness by the endearing and respectful epithet of "mother." It was soon granted, and filling his brass vessel, she dismissed him with the epithet of "son," and a gentle reproof. Kulian was himself a Rajpoot, and a bolder lives not, if he still exists; this was in 1807, and in 1817 he gained his sergeant's knot, as one of the thirty-two firelocks of my guard, who led the attack, and defeated a camp of fifteen hundred Pindaries.

⁶ On Education, art. 129.

⁷ On Marriage, art. 114.

of Menu, that we may pronounce the compilation never to have been the work of the same legislator : from whose dicta we may select with equal facility texts tending to degrade as to exalt the sex. For the following he would meet with many plaudits : " Let women be constantly supplied with ornaments at festivals and jubilees, for if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate her husband. A wife gaily adorned, the whole house is embellished." ¹ In the following text he pays an unequivocal compliment to her power : " A female is able to draw from the right path in this life, not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath." With this acknowledgment from the very fountain of authority, we have some ground for asserting that *les femmes font les mœurs*, even in Rajpootana ; and that though immured and invisible, their influence on society is not less certain than if they moved in the glare of open day.

Most erroneous ideas have been formed of the Hindu female from the pictures drawn by those who never left the banks of the Ganges. They are represented as degraded beings, and that not one in many thousands can even read. I would ask such travellers whether they know the name of Rajpoot, for there are few of the lowest chieftains whose daughters are not instructed both to read and write ; though the customs of the country requiring much form in epistolary writing, only the signature is made to letters. But of their intellect, and knowledge of mankind, whoever has had to converse with a Rajpootni guardian of her son's rights, must draw a very different conclusion. ² Though excluded by the Salic law of India from governing, they are declared to be fit regents during minority ; and the history of India is filled with anecdotes of able and valiant females in this capacity. ³

The more prominent traits of character will be found disseminated throughout the annals ; we shall therefore omit the customary summaries of nationalities, those fanciful debtor and creditor accounts, with their balanced amount, favourable or unfavourable according to the disposition of the observer ; and from the anecdotes through these pages leave the reader to form his own judgment of the Rajpoot. High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality, and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them ; and if we cannot vindicate them from charges to which human nature in every clime is obnoxious ;

¹ On Marriage, arts. 57, 60, 61, 62, 63.

² I have conversed for hours with the Boondí queen-mother on the affairs of her government and welfare of her infant son, to whom I was left guardian by his dying father. She had adopted me as her brother ; but the conversation was always in the presence of a third person in her confidence, and a curtain separated us. Her sentiments showed invariably a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which I had many. I could give many similar instances.

³ Ferishta in his history gives an animated picture of Durgavati, queen of Gurrah, defending the rights of her infant son against Akber's ambition. Like another Boadicea, she headed her army, and fought a desperate battle with Asoph Khan, in which she was wounded and defeated ; but scorning flight, or to survive the loss of independence, she, like the antique Roman in such a predicament, slew herself on the field of battle.

Whoever desires to judge of the comparative fidelity of the translations of this writer, by Dow and Briggs, cannot do better than refer to this very passage. The former has clothed it in all the trappings of Ossianic decoration : the latter gives " a plain unvarnished tale," which ought to be the aim of every translator.

if we are compelled to admit the deterioration of moral dignity, from the continual inroads of, and their consequent collision with, rapacious conquerors ; we must yet admire the quantum of virtue which even oppression and bad example have failed to banish. The meaner vices of deceit and falsehood, which the delineators of national character attach to the Asiatic without distinction, I deny to be universal with the Rajpoots, though some tribes may have been obliged from position to use these shields of the weak against continuous oppression. Every court in Rajast'han has its characteristic epithet ; and there is none held more contemptible than the affix of *jool'ha durbar*, 'the lying court,' applied to Jeipoor ; while the most comprehensive measure of praise is the simple epithet of *sacha*,¹ 'the truth-teller.' Again, there are many shades between deceit and dissimulation : the one springs from natural depravity ; the other may be assumed, as with the Rajpoot, in self-defence. But their laws, the mode of administering them, and the operation of external causes, must be attentively considered before we can form a just conclusion of the springs which regulate the character of a people. We must examine the opinions of the competent of past days, when political independence yet remained to the Rajpoots, and not found our judgment of a nation upon a superficial knowledge of individuals. To this end I shall avail myself of the succinct but philosophical remarks of Abulfuzil, the wise minister of the wise Akber, which are equally applicable to mankind at large, as to the particular people we are treating of. "If," he says, speaking of the Hindus, "a diligent investigator were to examine the temper and disposition of the people of each tribe, he would find every individual differing in some respect or other. Some among them are virtuous in the highest degree, and others carry vice to the greatest excess. They are renowned for wisdom, disinterested friendship, obedience to their superiors, and many other virtues : but, at the same time, there are among them men whose hearts are obdurate and void of shame, turbulent spirits, who for the merest trifle will commit the greatest outrages."

Again : "The Hindus are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, *enamoured of knowledge*, lovers of justice, able in business, grateful, *admirers of truth*, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers (the Rajpoots) know not what it is to fly from the field of battle ; but when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour."

I shall conclude this chapter with a sketch of their familiar habits, and a few of their indoor and outdoor recreations.

To Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, India is indebted for the introduction of its melons and grapes ; and to his grandson Jehangir for tobacco.² For the introduction of opium we have no date, and it is not even mentioned in the poems of Chund. This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues ; and while it obscures these, it heightens

¹ *Sach'ha* is very comprehensive ; in common parlance it is the opposite of 'untrue' ; but it means 'loyal, upright, just.'

² The autobiography of both these noble Tatar princes are singular compositions, and may be given as standards of Eastern intellectual acquirement. They minutely note the progress of refinement and luxury.

his vices, giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time; but the reaction is not less certain: and the faded form or amorphous bulk too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug which alike debases mind and body. In the more ancient epics we find no mention of the poppy-juice as now used, though the Rajpoot has at all times been accustomed to his *madhava ra-peala*, or 'intoxicating cup.' The essence,¹ whether of grain, of roots, or of flowers, still welcomes the guest, but is secondary to the opiate. *Umul lar kana*, 'to eat opium together,' is the most inviolable pledge; and an agreement ratified by this ceremony is stronger than any adjuration. If a Rajpoot pays a visit, the first question is, *umul kya*? 'have you had your opiate?'—*umul kao*, 'take your opiate.' On a birthday, when all the chiefs convene to congratulate their brother on another 'knot to his years,' the large cup is brought forth, a lump of opiate put therein, upon which water is poured, and by the aid of a stick a solution is made, to which each helps his neighbour, not with a glass, but with the hollow of his hand held to his mouth. To judge by the wry faces on this occasion, none can like it, and to get rid of the nauseous taste, comfit-balls are handed round. It is curious to observe the animation it inspires; a Rajpoot is fit for nothing without his *umul*, and I have often dismissed their men of business to refresh their intellects by a dose, for when its effects are dissipating they become mere logs.² Opium to the Rajpoot is more necessary than food, and a suggestion to the Rana to tax it highly was most unpopular. From the rising generation the author exacted promises that they would resist initiation in this vice, and many grew up in happy ignorance of the taste of opium. He will be the greatest friend to Rajast'han who perseveres in eradicating the evil. The valley of Oodipoor is a poppy garden, of every hue and variety, whence the Hindu Sri may obtain a coronet more variegated than ever adorned the Isis of the Nile.

A pledge once given by the Rajpoot, whether ratified by the "eating opium together," "an exchange of turbans," or the more simple act of "giving the right hand," is maintained inviolable under all circumstances.

¹ *Arac*, 'essence'; whence *arrack* and *rack*.

² Even in the midst of conversation, the eye closes and the head nods as the exciting cause is dissipating, and the countenance assumes a perfect vacuity of expression. Many a chief has taken his siesta in his chair while on a visit to me: an especial failing of my good friend Raj Kulian of Sadri, the descendant of the brave Shama, who won "*the right hand*" of the prince at Huldighat. The lofty turban worn by the Raj, which distinguishes this tribe (*the Jhala*), was often on the point of tumbling into my lap, as he unconsciously nodded. When it is inconvenient to dissolve the opium, the chief carries it in his pocket, and presents it, as we would a pinch of snuff in Europe. In my subaltern days, the chieftain of Sent'hal, in Jeipoor, on paying me a visit, presented me with a piece of opium, which I took and laid on the table. Observing that I did not eat it, he said he should like to try the *Frangi ca umul*, 'the opiate of the Franks.' I sent him a bottle of powerful *Schedam*, and to his inquiry as to the quantity of the dose, I told him he might take from an eighth to the half, as he desired exhilaration or oblivion. We were to have hunted the next morning; but having no sign of my friend, I was obliged to march without ascertaining the effect of the barter of *apheem* for the waters of Friesland; though I have no doubt that he found them quite Lethean.

Their grand hunts have been described. The Rajpoot is fond of his dog and his gun. The former aids him in pulling down the boar or hare, and with the stalking-horse he will toil for hours after the deer. The greater chieftains have their *ramnas* or preserves, where poaching would be summarily punished, and where the slaughter of all kinds of beasts, elk, hog, hyena, tiger, boar, deer, wild-dog, wolf, or hare, is indiscriminate. Riding in the ring with the lance in tournaments, without the spike, the point being guarded; defence of the sword against the lance, with every variety of "noble horsemanship," such as would render the most expert in Europe an easy prey to the active Rajpoot, are some of the chief exercises. Firing at a mark with a matchlock, in which they attain remarkable accuracy of aim; and in some parts of the country throwing a dart or javelin from horseback, are favourite amusements. The practice of the bow is likewise a main source of pastime, and in the manner there adopted it requires both dexterity and strength. The Rajpoot is not satisfied if he cannot bury his arrow either in the earthen target, or in the buffalo, to the feather. The use of the bow is hallowed; Arjuna's bow in the "great war," and that of the Chohan king, Pirthiraj, with which the former gained Droopdevi and the latter the fair Sunjogta, are immortalised like that of Ulysses. In these martial exercises, the youthful Rajpoot is early initiated, and that the sight of blood may be familiar, he is instructed, before he has strength to wield a sword, to practise with his boy's scimitar on the heads of lambs and kids. His first successful essay on the animals '*feræ naturæ*' is a source of congratulation to his whole family.¹ In this manner the spirit of chivalry is continually fed, for everything around him speaks of arms and strife. His very amusements are warlike; and the dance and the song, the burthen of which is the record of his successful gallantry, so far from enervating, serve as fresh incitements to his courage.

The exhibition of the *jaitis*, or wrestlers, is another mode of killing time. It is a state concern for every prince or chief to entertain a certain number of these champions of the glove. Challenges are sent by the most celebrated from one court to another; and the event of the *akarra*, as the arena is termed, is looked to with great anxiety.

No prince or chief is without his *silleh-khaneh*, or armoury, where he passes hours in viewing and arranging his arms. Every favourite weapon, whether sword, matchlock, spear, dagger, or bow, has a distinctive epithet. The keeper of the armoury is one of the most confidential officers about the person of the prince. These arms are beautiful and costly. The *sirohi*, or slightly-curved blade, is formed like that of Damascus, and is the greatest favourite of all the variety of sabres throughout Rajpootana. The long cut-and-thrust, like the *Andrea Ferrara*, is not uncommon; nor the *khandā*, or double-edged sword. The matchlocks both of Lahore and the country are often highly finished and inlaid with mother-of-pearl and gold: those of Boondl are the best. The shield of the rhinoceros-hide offers the best resistance, and is often ornamented with animals, beautifully painted, and enamelled in gold and silver. The bow is of buffalo-

¹ The author has now before him a letter written by the queen-mother of Boondl desiring his rejoicings on *Lalji*, the beloved's, *coup d'essai* on a deer, which he had followed most pertinaciously to the death. On this occasion a court was held, and all the chiefs presented offerings and congratulations.

horn, and the arrows of reed, and barbed in a variety of fashions, as the crescent, the trident, the snake's tongue, and other fanciful forms.

The Maharaja Sheodan Sing (whose family are heirs presumptive to the throne) was one of my constant visitors ; and the title of 'adopted brother,' which he conferred upon me, allowed him to make his visits unreasonably long. The Maharaja had many excellent qualities. He was the best shot in Méwar ; he was well read in the classic literature of his nation ; deeply versed in the secrets of the chronicles, not only of Méwar but of all Rajwarra ; conversant with all the mysteries of the bard, and could *improvise* on every occasion. He was a proficient in musical science, and could discourse most fluently on the whole theory of Sangita, which comprehends vocal and instrumental harmony. He could explain each of the *ragas*, or musical modes, which issued from the five mouths of Siva and his consort Méra, together with the almost endless variations of the *ragas*, to each of which are allotted six consorts or *raginis*. He had attached to his suite the first vocalists of Méwar, and occasionally favoured me by letting them sing at my house. The chief *cantatrice* had a superb voice, a *contr' alto* of great extent, and bore the familiar appellation of 'Catalani.' Her execution of all the *bussunt* or 'spring-songs,' and the *megh* or 'cloud-songs' of the monsoon, which are full of melody, was perfect. But she had a rival in a singer from Oojein, and we made a point of having them together, that emulation might excite to excellence. The chieftain of Saloombra, the chief of the Suktawuts, and others, frequently joined these parties, as well as the Maharaja : for all are partial to the dance and the song, during which conversation flows unrestrained. Sadoola, whose execution on the guitar would have secured applause even at the Philharmonic, commanded mute attention when he played a *tan* or symphony, or when, taking any of the simple *tuppas* of Oojein as a theme, he wandered through a succession of voluntaries. In summer, these little parties were held on the terrace or the house-top, where carpets were spread under an awning, while the cool breezes of the lake gave life after the exhaustion of a day passed under 96° of Fahrenheit. The subjects of their songs are various, love, glory, satire, etc. I was invited to similar assemblies by many of the chiefs ; though none were so intellectual as those of the Maharaja. On birthdays or other festivals, the chief bardai often appears, or the bard of any other tribe who may happen to be present. Then all is mute attention, broken only by the emphatic "*wah, wah !*" the measured nod of the head, or fierce curl of the moustache, in token of approbation or the reverse.¹

The Maharaja's talents for amplification were undoubted, and by more than one of his friends this failing was attributed to his long residence at the court of Jeipoor, whose cognomen will not have been forgotten. He had one day been amusing us with feats of his youth, his swimming from island to island, and bestriding the alligators for an excursion.²

¹ Poetic impromptus pass on these occasions unrestricted by the fear of the critic, though the long yawn now and then should have given the hint to my friend the Maharaja that his verses wanted Attic. But he had certainly talent, and he did not conceal his light, which shone the stronger from the darkness that surrounded him : for poverty is not the school of genius, and the trade of the schoolmaster has ever been the least lucrative in a capital where rapine has ruled.

² There are two of these alligators quite familiar to the inhabitants of Oodipoor, who come when called "from the vasty deep" for food ; and I have often ex-

Like Tell, he had placed a mark on his son's head and hit it successfully. He could kill an eagle on the wing, and divide a ball on the edge of a knife, the knife itself unseen. While running on in this manner, my features betraying some incredulity, he insisted on redeeming his word. A day was accordingly appointed, and though labouring under an ague, he came with his favourite matchlocks. The more dangerous experiment was desisted from, and he commenced by dividing the ball on the knife. This he placed perpendicularly in the centre of an earthen vessel filled with water; and taking his station at about twenty paces, perforated the centre of the vessel, and allowed you to take up the fragments of the ball; having previously permitted you to load the piece, and examine the vessel, which he did not once approach himself. Another exhibition was striking an orange from a pole without perforating it. Again, he gave the option of loading to a bystander, and retreating a dozen paces, he knocked an orange off untouched by the ball, which, according to a preliminary proviso, could not be found: the orange was not even discoloured by the powder. He was an adept also at chess¹ and choupán, and could carry on a conversation by stringing flowers in a peculiar manner. If he plumed himself upon his pretensions, his vanity was always veiled under a demeanour full of courtesy and grace; and Maharaja Sheodan Sing would be esteemed a well-bred and well-informed man at the most polished court of Europe.

Every chief has his band, vocal and instrumental; but Sindia, some years since, carried away the most celebrated vocalists of Oodipoor. The Rajpoots are all partial to music. The tuppá is the favourite measure. Its chief character is plaintive simplicity; and it is analogous to the Scotch, or perhaps still more to the Norman.²

The Rana, who is a great patron of the art, has a small band of musicians, whose only instrument is the *shehna*, or hautboy. They played their national tuppás with great taste and feeling; and these strains, wafted from the lofty terrace of the palace in the silence of the night, produced a sensation of delight not unmixed with pain, which its peculiarly melancholy character excites. The Rana has also a few flute or flageolet players, who discourse most eloquent music. Indeed, we may enumerate this among the principal amusements of the Rajpoots; and although it would be deemed indecorous to be a performer, the science forms a part of education.³

asperated them by throwing an inflated bladder, which the monsters greedily received, only to dive away in angry disappointment. It was on these that my friend affirmed he had ventured.

¹ *Chatranga*, so called from imitating the formation of an army. The 'four' *chatur* 'bodied' *anga* array; or elephants, chariots, horse, and foot. His chief antagonist at chess was a blind man of the city.

² The *tuppá* belongs to the very extremity of India, being indigenous as far as the Indus and the countries watered by its arms; and though the peculiar measure is common in Rajast'hán, the prefix of *punjabí* shows its origin. I have listened at Caen to the viola or hurdy-gurdy, till I could have fancied myself in Méwar.

³ Chund remarks of his hero, the Chohan, that he was "master of the art," both vocal and instrumental. Whether profane music was ever common may be doubted; but sacred music was a part of early education with the sons of kings. Rama and his brothers were celebrated for the harmonious execution of episodes from the grand epic, the *Ramayana*. The sacred canticles of Jydeva were set to music, and apparently by himself, and are yet sung by the Chobis.

Who that has marched in the stillness of night through the mountainous regions of Central India, and heard the warder sound the *tooraye* from his turreted abode, perched like an eyrie on the mountain-top, can ever forget its graduated intensity of sound, or the emphatic *hem ! hem !* 'all's well,' which follows the lengthened blast of the cornet reverberating in every recess.¹

A species of bagpipe, so common to all the Celtic races of Europe, is not unknown to the Rajpoots. It is called the *mêshek*, but is only the rudiment of that instrument whose peculiar influence on the physical, through the moral agency of man, is described by our own master-bard. They have likewise the double flageolet ; but in the same ratio of perfection to that of Europe as the *mêshek* to the heart-stirring pipe of the north. As to their lutes, guitars, and all the varieties of tintibulants (as Dr. Johnson would call them), it would fatigue without interesting the reader to enumerate them.

We now come to the literary attainments of the lords of Rajast'han, of whom there is none without sufficient clerkship to read his grant or agreement for *rekwalee* or blackmail ; and none either so ignorant, or so proud, as the boasted ancestral wisdom of England, whose barons could not even sign their names to the great charter of their liberties. The Rana of Oodipoor has unlimited command of his pen, and his letters are admirable ; but we may say of him nearly what was remarked of Charles the Second—"he never wrote a foolish thing, and seldom did a wise one." The familiar epistolary correspondence of the princes and nobles of Rajast'han would exhibit abundant testimony of their powers of mind : they are sprinkled with classical allusions, and evince that knowledge of mankind which constant collision in society must produce. A collection of these letters, which exist in the archives of every principality, would prove that the princes of this country are upon a par with the rest of mankind, not only in natural understanding, but, taking their opportunities into account, even in its cultivation. The prince who in Europe could quote Hesiod and Homer with the freedom that the Rana does on all occasions Vyasa and Valmika, would be accounted a prodigy ; and there is not a divine who could make application of the ordinances of Moses with more facility than the Rana of those of their great lawgiver Menu. When they talk of the wisdom of their ancestors, it is not a mere figure of speech. The instruction of their princes is laid down in rules held sacred, and must have been far more onerous than any system of European university education, for scarcely a branch of human knowledge is omitted. But the cultivation of the mind, and the arts of polished life, must always flourish in the ratio of a nation's prosperity, and from the decline of the one, we may date the deterioration of the other with the Rajpoot. The astronomer has now no

The inhabitants of the various monastic establishments chant their addresses to the deity ; and I have listened with delight to the modulated cadences of the hermits, singing the praises of Pataliswara from their pinnacled abode of Aboo. It would be injustice to touch incidentally on the merits of the minstrel Dholi, who sings the warlike compositions of the sacred Bardai of Rajast'han.

¹ The *tooraye* is the sole instrument of the many of the trumpet kind which is not dissonant. The Kotah prince has the largest band, perhaps, in these countries ; instruments of all kinds—stringed, wind, and percussion. But as it is formed by rule, in which the sacred and shrill conch-shell takes precedence, it must be allowed that it is anything but harmonious.

patron to look to for reward ; there is no Jey Sing to erect such stupendous observatories as he built at Dehli, Benares, Oojein, and at his own capital ; to construct globes and armillary spheres, of which, according to their own and our system, the Kotah prince has two, each three feet in diameter. The same prince (Jey Sing) collated De la Hire's tables with those of Ulug Bég, and presented the result to the last emperor of Dehli, worthy the name of the Great Mogul. To these tables he gave the name of *Zeej Mohamed Shahé*. It was Jey Sing who, as already mentioned, sought to establish sumptuary laws throughout the nation, to regulate marriages, and thereby prevent infanticide ; and who left his name to the capital he founded, the first in Rajast'han.

But we cannot march over fifty miles of country without observing traces of the genius, talent, and wealth of past days : though—whether the more abstruse sciences, or the lighter arts which embellish life—all are now fast disappearing. Whether in the tranquillity secured to them by the destruction of their predatory foes, these arts and sciences may revive, and the nation regain its elevated tone, is a problem which time alone can solve.

In their household economy, their furniture and decorations, they remain unchanged during the lapse of a thousand years. No chairs, no couches adorn their sitting apartments, though the painted and gilded ceiling may be supported by columns of serpentine, and the walls one mass of mirrors, marble, or china ;—nothing but a soft carpet, hidden by a white cloth, on which the guests seat themselves according to rank. In fine, the quaint description of the chaplain to the first embassy which England sent to India, more than two hundred years ago, applies now, as it probably will two hundred years hence. “As for the furniture the greatest men have, it is *curta supellex*, very little ; they (the rooms) being not beautified with hangings, nor with anything besides to line their walls ; for they have no chairs, no stools, nor couches, nor tables, nor beds enclosed with canopies, nor curtains, in any of their rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat would forbid the use of many of them ; all their bravery is upon their floors, on which they spread most excellent carpets.”¹

¹ Those who wish for an opinion “of the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the people of these nations,” cannot do better than read the 14th section of the observant, intelligent, and tolerant chaplain, who is more just, at least on one point, than the modern missionary, who denies to the Hindu filial affection. “And here I shall insert another most needful particular, which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean soever they be ; and that is, the great exemplary care they manifest in their piety to their parents, that, notwithstanding they serve for very little, but five shillings a moon for their whole livelihood and subsistence, yet if their parents be in want, they will impart, at the least, half of that little towards their necessities, choosing rather to want themselves than that their parents should suffer need.” It is in fact one of the first precepts of their religion. The Chaplain thus concludes his chapter “On the Moralities of the Hindu” : “O ! what a sad thing is it for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities ; come short of those, who themselves believe to come short of heaven !”

The Chaplain closes his interesting and instructive work with the subject of Conversion, which is as remote from accomplishment at this day, as it was at that distant period. “Well known it is that the Jesuits there, who, like the Pharisees that would ‘compass sea and land to make one proselyte’ (Matt. xxiii. 15), have sent into Christendom many large reports of their great

It were useless to expatiate on dress, either male or female, the fashion varying in each province and tribe, though the texture and materials are everywhere the same: cotton in summer, and quilted chintz or broad-cloth in winter. The ladies have only three articles of *parure*; the *ghagra*, or 'petticoat'; the *kanchli*, or 'corset'; and the *dopati*, or 'scarf,' which is occasionally thrown over the head as a veil. Ornaments are without number. For the men, trousers of every shape and calibre, a tunic girded with a ceinture, and a scarf, form the wardrobe of every Rajpoot. The turban is the most important part of the dress, and is the unerring mark of the tribe; the form and fashion are various, and its decorations differ according to time and circumstances. The *balabund*, or 'silken fillet,' was once valued as the mark of the sovereign's favour, and was tantamount to the courtly "orders" of Europe. The colour of the turban and tunic varies with the season; and the changes are rung upon crimson, saffron, and purple, though white is by far the most common. Their shoes are mere slippers, and sandals are worn by the common classes. Boots are yet used in hunting or war, made of chamois leather, of which material the warrior often has a doublet, being more commodious, and less oppressive, than armour. The dagger or poniard is inseparable from the girdle.

The culinary art will be discussed elsewhere, together with the medical, which is very low, and usurped by empyrics, who waste alike the purse and health of the ignorant by the sale of aphrodisiacs, which are sought after with great avidity. Gums, metals, minerals, all are compounded, and for one preparation, while the author was at Oodipoor, 7000 rupees (nearly £1000) were expended by the court-physician.

Their superstitions, incantations, charms, and phylacteries against danger, mental or bodily, will appear more appropriately where the subject is incidently introduced.

conversions of infidels in East India. But all these boastings are but reports; the truth is, that they have there spilt the precious water of Baptism upon some few faces, working upon the necessity of some poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear crucifixes; but for want of knowledge in the doctrine of Christianity are only in name Christians." ¹

¹ "A Voyage to East India" (*Della Valle*), pp. 402, 417, 419, 480.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE AUTHOR

CHAPTER XXV

JOURNEY TO MARWAR

Valley of Oodipoor—Departure for Marwar—Encamp on the heights of Toos—Resume the march—Distant view of Oodipoor—Deopoor—Zalim Sing—Reach Pulanoh—Ram Sing Mehta—Manikchund—Ex-*raja* of Nursingurh—False policy pursued by the British Government in 1817-18—Departure from Pulanoh—Aspect and geological character of the country—Nat'h-dwara ridge—Arrival at the city of Nat'hdwara—Visit from the Mookhia of the temple—Departure for the village of Oosurwas—Benighted—Elephant in a bog—Oosurwas—A Sanyasi—March to Sumaicha—The Shero Nullah—Locusts—Coolness of the air—Sumaicha—March to Kailwarra, the capital—Elephant's pool—Moorcho—Kheyrlee—Maharaja Dowlut Sing—Komulmér—Its architecture, remains, and history—March to the 'Region of Death,' or Marwar—The difficult nature of the country—A party of native horsemen—Bivouac in the glen.

October 11, 1819.—Two years had nearly sped since we entered the valley of Oodipoor, the most diversified and most romantic spot on the continent of India. In all this time, none of us had penetrated beyond the rocky barrier which formed the limit of our horizon, affording the vision a sweep of six miles radius. Each hill and dale, tower and tree, had become familiar to us; every altar, cenotaph, and shrine, had furnished its legend, till tradition was exhausted. The ruins were explored, their inscriptions deciphered, each fantastic pinnacle had a name, and the most remarkable chieftains and servants of the court had epithets assigned to them, expressive of some quality or characteristic. We had our 'Red Reaver,' our 'Roderic Dhu,' and a 'Falstaff,' at the court; our 'Catalani,' our 'Vestris,' in the song or the ballet. We had our palace in the city, our cutter on the lake, our villa in the woods, our fairy-islands in the waters; streams to angle in, deer to shoot, much, in short, to please the eye and gratify the taste:—yet did *ennui* intrude, and all panted to escape from the "happy valley," to see what was in the world beyond the mountains. In all these twenty moons, the gigantic portals of Dobarri, which guard the entrance of the *Gîrwoh*,¹ had not once creaked on their hinges for our egress; and though from incessant occupation I had wherewithal to lessen the *tedium vitæ*, my companions not having such resources, it was in vain that, like the sage Imlac, I urged them not to feel dull in this "blissful captivity": the scenery had become hideous, and I verily believe had there been any pinion-maker in the capital of the Seesodias, they would have essayed a flight, though it might have terminated in the lake. Never did Rasselas sigh more for escape. At length the day arrived,

¹ The amphitheatre, or *circle*.

and although the change was to be from all that constitutes the enchantments of vision, from wood and water, dale and mountain, verdure and foliage, to the sterile plains of the sandy desert of Marwar, it was sufficient that it was *change*. Our party was composed of Captain Waugh, Lieutenant Carey, and Dr. Duncan, with the whole of the escort, consisting of two companies of foot and sixty of Skinner's Horse, all alike delighted to quit the valley where each had suffered more or less from the prevalent fevers of the monsoon, during which the valley is peculiarly unhealthy, especially to foreigners, when the wells and reservoirs overflow from the springs which break in, impregnated with putrid vegetation and mineral poisons, covering the surface with a bluish oily fluid. The art of filtrating water to free it from impurities is unknown to the Rajpoots, and with some shame I record that we did not make them wiser, though they are not strangers to the more simple process, adopted throughout the desert, of using potash and alum ; the former to neutralise the salt and render the water more fit for culinary purposes ; the latter to throw down the impurities held suspended. They also use an alkaline nut in washing, which by simply steeping emits a froth which is a good substitute for soap.¹

On the 12th *October*, at five a.m. our trumpet sounded to horse, and we were not slow in obeying the summons ; the "yellow boys" with their old native commandant looking even more cheerful than usual as we joined them. Skinner's Horse wear a jamah or tunic of yellow broadcloth, with scarlet turbans and cincture. Who does not know that James Skinner's men are the most orderly in the Company's service, and that in every other qualification constituting the efficient soldier, they are second to none ? On another signal which reverberated from the palace, where the drums announced that the descendant of Surya was no sluggard, we moved on through the yet silent capital towards the gate of the sun, where we found drawn up the quotas of Bheendir, Dailwarra, Amait, and Bansi, sent as an honorary guard by the Rana, to escort us to the frontiers. As they would have been an incumbrance to me and an inconvenience to the country, from their laxity of discipline, after chatting with their leader, during a sociable ride, I dismissed them at the pass, with my respects to the Rana and their several chieftains. We reached the camp before eight o'clock, the distance being only thirteen miles. The spot chosen (and where I afterwards built a residence) was a rising ground between the villages of Mairta and Toos, sprinkled with trees, and for a space of four miles clear of the belt of forest which fringes the granite barriers of the valley. It commanded an entire view of the plains in the direction of Cheetore, still covered, excepting a patch of cultivation here and there, with jungle. The tiger-mount, its preserves of game, and the smouldering hunting-seats of the Rana and his chieftains, were three miles to the north ; to the south, a mile distant, we had the Bérís River, abounding in trout ; and the noble lake whence it issues, called after its founder the Oody Sagur, was not more than three to the west. For several reasons it was deemed advisable to choose a spot out of the valley ; the health of the party, though not an unimportant, was not a principal motive for choosing such a distance from the court. The wretchedness in which we found it rendered a certain degree of interference requisite, and it was necessary that they should shake this off, in order to preserve their independence. It was dreaded

¹ *Sabon*, in the *lingua franca* of India, signifies 'soap.'

lest the aid requested by the Rana, from the peculiar circumstances on our first going amongst them, might be construed as a precedent for the intrusion of advice on after occasions. The distance between the court and the agent of the British Government was calculated to diminish this impression, and obliged them also to trust to their own resources, after the machine was once set in motion. On the heights of Toos our tents were pitched, the escort paraded, and St. George's flag displayed. Here camels, almost wild, were fitted for the first time with the pack-saddle, lamenting in discordant gutturals the hardship of their fate, though luckily ignorant of the difference between grazing whither they listed in the happy valley, and carrying a load in "the region of death," where they would only find the thorny *mimosa* or prickly *phok* to satisfy their hunger.

PULANOH, October 13.—There being no greater trial of patience, than the preparations for a march after a long halt, we left the camp at daybreak amidst the most discordant yells from the throats of a hundred camels, which drowned every attempt to be heard, while the elephants squeaked their delight in that peculiar treble which they emit when happy. There was one little fellow enjoying himself free from all restraints of curbs or pack-saddles, and inserting his proboscis into the sepoy's baggage, whence he would extract a bag of flour, and move off, pursued by the owner; which was sure to produce shouts of mirth to add to the discord. This little representative of Ganésa was only eight years old, and not more than twelve hands high. He was a most agreeable pet, though the proofs he gave of his wisdom in trusting himself amidst the men when cooking their dinners, were sometimes disagreeable to them, but infinitely amusing to those who watched his actions. The rains having broken up unusually late, we found the boggy ground, on which we had to march, totally unable to bear the pressure of loaded cattle; even the ridges, which just showed their crests of quartz above the surface, were not safe. Our route was over a fine plain well wooded and watered, soil excellent, and studded with numerous large villages; yet all presenting uniformly the effects of warfare and rapine. The landscape, rendered the more interesting by our long incarceration in the valley, was abstractedly pleasing. On our left lay the mountains enclosing the capital, on one of whose elevated peaks are the ruins of Ratakote, overlooking all around; while to the east the eye might in vain seek for a boundary. We passed Deopoor, once a township of some consequence, and forming part of the domain of the *Bhanaij*,¹ Zalim Sing, the heir of Marwar, whose history, if it could be given here, would redeem the nobles of Rajpootana from the charge of being of uncultivated intellect. In listening to his biography, both time and place were unheeded; the narrator, my own venerable *Gírii*,² had imbibed much of his varied knowledge from this accomplished chieftain, to whom arms and letters were alike familiar. He was the son of Raja Beejy Sing and a princess of Méwar: but domestic quarrels made it necessary to abandon the paternal for the maternal mansion, and a domain was assigned by the Rana, which put him on a footing with his own children. Without neglect-

¹ *Bhanaij*, or 'nephew,' a title of courtesy enjoyed by every chieftain who marries a daughter or immediate kinswoman of the Rana's house.

² My guide or instructor, Yati Gyan Chandra, a priest of the Jain sect, who had been with me ten years. To him I owe much, for he entered into all my antiquarian pursuits with zeal.

ing any of the martial amusements and exercises of the Rajpoot, he gave up all those hours, generally devoted to idleness, to the cultivation of letters. He was versed in philosophical theology, astronomy, and the history of his country; and in every branch of poesy, from the sacred canticles of Jydéva to the couplets of the modern bard, he was an adept. He composed and *improvised* with facility, and his residence was the rendezvous for every bard of fame. That my respected tutor did not over-rate his acquirements, I had the best proof in his own, for all which (and he rated them at an immeasurable distance compared with the subject of his eulogy) he held himself indebted to the heir of Marwar, who was at length slain in asserting his right to the throne in the desert.

After a four hours' march, picking our way amidst swamps and treacherous bogs, we reached the advanced tents at Pulanoh. Like Deopoor, it presented the spectacle of a ruin, a corner of which held all its inhabitants; the remains of temples and private edifices showed what it had once been. Both towns formerly belonged to the fisc of the Rana, who, with his usual improvidence, on the death of his nephew included them in the grant to the temple of Kaniya. I found at my tent the minister's right hand, Ram Sing Mehta; Manikchund, the *dewan* or *factotum* of the chieftain of Bheendir; and the ex-Raja of Nursingurh, now an exile at Oodipoor. The first was a fine specimen of the non-militant class of these countries, and although he had seldom passed the boundaries of Méwar, no country could produce a better specimen of a courteous gentleman: his figure tall, deportment easy, features regular and handsome, complexion fair, with a fine slightly-curved beard and mustachios jet black. Ram Sing, without being conceited, is aware that nature has been indulgent to him, and without any foppery he pays great attention to externals. He is always elegantly attired, and varies with good taste the colours of his turban and ceinture, though his loose tunics are always white; the aroma of the *uttur* is the only mark of the dandy about him: and this forms no criterion, as our red coats attest, which receive a sprinkling at every visit. With his dagger and pendant tassel, and the *balabund* or purple cordon (the Rana's gift) round his turban, behold the servant "whom the king delighteth to honour." As he has to support himself by paying court to the Rana's sister, the queens, and other fair influentials behind the curtain, his personal *attrails* are no slight auxiliaries. He is of the Jain faith, and of the tribe of Osi, which now reckons one hundred thousand families, all of Rajpoot origin, and descendants of the Agnicúla stock. They proselytised in remote antiquity, and settling at the town of Osi in Marwar, retain this designation, or the still more common one of Oswal. It was from the Pramara and Solanki branches of the Agnicúla race that these assumed the doctrines of Budha or Jaina: not however from the ranks of the Brahmins, but, as I firmly believe, from that faith, whatever it was, which these Scythic or Takshac tribes brought from beyond the Indus. In like manner we found the Chohan (also an Agnicúla) regenerated by the Brahmins on Mount Aboo; while the fourth tribe, the Purihara (ancient sovereigns of Cashmere), have left traces in the monuments of their capital, Mundore, that they espoused the then prevailing faith of Rajast'han, namely, that of Budha.

Manikchund, also of the Jain faith, but of a different tribe (the Sambri), was in all the reverse of Ram Sing. He was tall, thin, rather bent, and of

swarthy complexion, and his tongue and his beads were in perpetual motion. He had mixed in all the intrigues of the last quarter of a century, and, setting Zalim Sing of Kotah aside, had more influenced events than any individual now alive. He was the organ of the Suktawuts, and the steward and counsellor of the head of this clan, the Bheendir chief; and being accordingly the irreconcilable foe of the Chondawuts, had employed all the resources of his talents and his credit to effect their humiliation. To this end, he has leagued with Sindies, Pat'hans, and Mahrattas, and would not have scrupled to coalesce with his Satanic majesty, could he thereby have advanced their revenge: in pursuance of which he has been detained in confinement as a hostage, put to torture from inability to furnish the funds he would unhesitatingly promise for aid, and all the while sure of death if he fell into the hands of his political antagonists. His talent and general information made him always a welcome guest: which was wormwood to the Chondawuts, who laid claim to a monopoly of patriotism, and stigmatised the Suktawuts as the destroyers of Méwar, though in truth both were equally blind to her interests in their contests for supremacy. He was now beyond fifty, and appeared much older; but was cheerful, good-humoured, and conversant in all the varied occurrences of the times. He at length completely established himself in the Rana's good graces, who gave his elder son a confidential employment. Had he lived, he would have been conspicuous, for he had all the talent of his father, with the personal adjuncts possessed by Ram Sing; but being sensitive and proud, he swallowed poison, in consequence it was said of the severity of an undeserved rebuke from his father, and died generally regretted. I may here relate the end of poor Manika. It was on the ground we had just quitted that he visited me for the last time, on my return from the journey just commenced. He had obtained the contract for the whole transit duties of the state, at the rate of 250,000 rupees per annum. Whether from the corruption of his numerous deputy collectors, his own cupidity, or negligence, he professed his inability to fulfil the contract by nearly a sixth of the amount, though from his talents and promises, a perfect establishment of this important department, which had been taken from others on his account, was expected. It was difficult to judge charitably of his assertions, without giving occasion to his enemies to put a wrong construction on the motives. He pitched his tent near me, and requested an interview. He looked very disconsolate, and remarked, that he had seven several times left his tent, and as often turned back, the bird of omen having each time passed him on the adverse side; but that at length he had determined to disregard it, as having forfeited confidence, he was indifferent to the future. He admitted the profligacy of his inferiors, whom he had not sufficiently superintended, and took his leave, promising by assiduity to redeem his engagements, though his past character for intrigue made his asseverations doubtful. Again failing to make good his promises, or, as was surmised, having applied the funds to his own estate, he took *sirna* with the Raja of Shahpoora; where, mortified in all probability by the reflection of the exultation of his rivals over his disgrace, and having lost the confidence of his own chief when he obtained that of the Rana, he had recourse to the usual expedient of these countries when "perplexed in the extreme."—took poison and died.

The last of the trio of visitors on this occasion, the Raja of Nursingurh, is now, as before stated, in exile. He is of the tribe of Omúta, one of thirty-six divisions of the Pramaras,¹ settled during fifteen generations in Central India, and giving the name of Omutwarra to the petty sovereignty of which Nursingurh is the capital. Placed in the very heart of the predatory hordes, the Pindarries and Mahrattas occupied almost every village that owned their sway, and compelled him to the degradation of living under Holkar's orange standard, which waved over the battlements of his abode. To one or other of the great Mahratta leaders, Sindia and Holkar, all the petty princes were made tributary dependents, and Omutwarra had early acknowledged Holkar, paying the annual sum of eighty thousand rupees : but this vassalage did not secure the Raja from the ravages of the other spoliators, nor from the rapacity of the myrmidons of his immediate lord paramount. In 1817, when these countries, for the first time in many centuries, tasted the blessings of peace, Omutwarra was, like Mēwar, a mass of ruins, its fertile lands being overgrown with the thorny *mimosa* or the useful *kesoola*. The Raja partook of the demoralisation around him ; he sought refuge in opium and *wrruc* from his miseries, and was totally unfitted to aid in the work of redemption when happier days shone upon them. His son Chyne Sing contrived to escape these snares, and was found in every respect competent to co-operate in the work of renovation, and through the intervention of the British agent (Major Henley), an arrangement was effected by which the Raja retired on a stipend and the son carried on the duties of government in his name.

It was unfortunate for these ancient races, that on the fortunate occasion presented in 1817-18, when both Sindia and Holkar aimed at the overthrow of our power (the one treacherously cloaking his views, the other disclosing them in the field), our policy did not readily grasp it, to rescue all these states from ruin and dependence. Unfortunately, their peculiar history was little known, or it would have been easily perceived that they presented the exact materials we required between us, and the entire occupation of the country. But there was then a strong notion afloat of a species of balance of power, and it was imagined that these demoralised, and often humiliated Mahrattas, were the fittest materials to throw into the scale—against I know not what, except ourselves : for assuredly the day of our reverses will be a jubilee to them, and will level every spear that they can bring against our existence. They would merit contempt if they acted otherwise. Can they cease to remember that the orange flag which waved in triumph from the Sutledge to the Kistna, has been replaced by the cross of St. George ? But the snake which flutters in tortuous folds thereon, fitting crest for the wily Mahratta, is only scathed, and may yet call forth the lance of the red cross knight to give the *coup de grace*.² Let it then be remembered that, both as regards good policy and justice, we owe to these states—independence.

To what does our interference with Omutwarra tend, but to realise the tribute of Holkar ; to fix a millstone round their necks, which, notwithstanding the comparative happiness they enjoy, will keep them always repining, and to secure which will make our interference eternal. Had

¹ One of the four Agnicúlas.

² Sindia's flag is a snake *argent* on an *orange* field,

a due advantage been taken of the hostilities in 1817, it might have obviated these evils by sending the predatory sovereign of half a century's duration to a more restricted sphere. It may be said that it is easy to devise plans years after the events which immediately called for them: these not only were mine at the time, but were suggested to the proper authorities; and I am still disposed to think my views correct.

After chatting some time with the two chiefs described, and presenting them with *uttr* and *pán*,¹ they took leave.

NAT'HDWARA—October 14.—Marched at day-break, and found the route almost impracticable for camels, from the swampy nature of the soil. The country is much broken with irregular low ridges of micaeous schist, in the shape of a chine or hog's back, the crest of which has throughout all its length a vein of quartz piercing the slate, and resembling a back-bone; the direction of these veins is uniformly N.N.E., and the inclination about 75° to the east. Crossed the Nat'hdwara ridge, about four hundred feet in height, and, like the hills encircling the valley, composed of a brown granite intersected with protruding veins of quartz, incumbent on blue compact slate. The ascent was a mile and a half east of the town, and on the summit, which is table-land, there are two small lakes, whence water-courses conduct streams on each side of the road to supply the temple and the town. There are noble trees planted on either side of these rivulets, forming a delightful shade. As we passed through the town to our encampment on the opposite side of the Bunas River, the inhabitants crowded the streets, shouting their grateful acknowledgments to the power which had redeemed the sacred precincts of Kaniya from the scenes of turpitude amidst which they had grown up. They were all looking forward with much pleasure to the approaching festival of Anacúta.

October 15.—Halted to allow the baggage to join, which, partly from the swamps and partly from the intractable temper of the cattle, we have not seen since we parted company at Mairta. Received a visit from the mookhia of the temple, accompanied by a pilgrim in the person of a rich banker of Surat. A splendid quilted cloak of gold brocade, a blue scarf with a deep border of gold, and an embroidered band for the head, were brought to me as the gift of the god through his high-priest, in testimony of my zeal. I was also honoured with a tray of the sacred food, which consisted of all the dried fruits, spices, and aromatics of the East. In the evening I had a portion of the afternoon repast, consisting of a preparation of milk; but the days of simplicity are gone, and the Apollo of Vrij has his curds adulterated with rose-water and amber. Perhaps, with the exception of Lodi, where is fabricated the far-famed *Parmasan*, whose pastures maintain forty thousand kine, there is no other place known which possesses more than the city of the Hindu Apollo, though but a tenth of that of Lodi. But from the four thousand cows, the expenditure of milk and butter for the votaries of Kaniya may be judged. I was entertained with the opinions of the old banker on the miraculous and oracular power

¹ *Pán*, 'the leaf'; *pan* and *pat*, the Sanscrit for 'a leaf'; and hence *panna*, 'a leaf or sheet of paper'; and *patera* 'a plate of metal or sacrificial cup,' because these vessels were first made of leaves. I was amused with the coincidence between the Sanscrit and Tuscan *panna*. That lovely subject by Raphael, the "Madonna impannata," in the Pitti palace at Florence, is so called from the subdued light admitted through the window, the *panes* of which are of *paper*.

of the god of Nat'hdwara. He had just been permitted to prostrate himself before the car which conveyed the deity from the Yamuna, and held forth on the impiety of the age, in withholding the transmission of the miraculous wheels from heaven, which in former days came once in six months. The most devout alone are permitted to worship the chariot of Kaniya. The garments which decorate his representative are changed several times a day, to imitate the different stages of his existence, from the youthful Bala to the conqueror of Kansa; or, as the Surat devotee said in broken English, "Oh, sir, he be much great god; he first of all; and he change from de baluk, or child, to de fierce chief, with de bow and arrow a hees hands;" while the old mookhia, whose office it is to perambulate the whole continent of India as one of the couriers of Kaniya, lifted up his eyes as he ejaculated, "Sri Kishna! Sri Kishna!" I gave him a paper addressed to all officers of the British Government who might pass through the lands of the church, recommending the protection of the peacocks and peepul trees, and to forbear polluting the precincts of the god with the blood of animals. To avoid offending against their prejudices in this particular, I crossed the river, and killed our fowls within our own sanctuary, and afterwards concealed the murder by burying the feathers.

OOSURWAS—October 16.—There is nothing so painful as sitting down inactive when the mind is bent upon an object. Our escort was yet labouring in the swamps, and as we could not be worse off than we were, we deemed it better to advance, and accordingly decamped in the afternoon, sending on a tent to Oosurwas; but though the distance was only eight miles we were benighted, and had the comfort to find old Futteh, *the victorious*, floundering with his load in a bog, out of which he was picking his way in a desperate rage. It is generally the driver's fault when such an accident occurs: for if there be but a foot's breadth of sound footing, so sensible is the animal, that he is sure to avoid danger if left to his own discretion and the free use of his proboscis, with which he thumps the ground as he cautiously proceeds step by step, giving signals to his keeper of the safety or the reverse of advancing, as clearly as if he spoke. Futteh's signals had been disregarded, and he was accordingly in a great passion at finding himself abused, and kept from his cakes and butter, of which he had always thirty pounds' weight at sunset. The sagacity of the elephant is well known, and was in no instance better displayed than in the predicament above described. I have seen the huge monster in a position which to him must have been appalling; but, with an instinctive reliance on others, he awaited in tolerable patience the arrival of materials for his extrication, in the shape of fascines and logs of wood, which being thrown to him, he placed deliberately in front, and making a stout resistance with head, teeth, and foot, pressing the wood, he brought up one leg after the other in a most methodical and pioneer-like manner, till he delivered himself from his miry prison. Futteh did not require such aid; but, aware that the fault was not his, he soon indignantly shook the load off his back, and left them to get it out in any manner they chose.

Waited to aid in reloading, and it being already dusk, pushed on with my dog Belle, who, observing a couple of animals, darted off into the jungles, and led me after her as fast as the devious paths in such a savage scene would permit. But I soon saw her scampering down the height, the

game, in the shape of two huge wolves, close at her heels, and delighted to find rescue at hand. I have no doubt their retreat from my favourite greyhound was a mere *ruse de guerre* to lead her beyond supporting distance, and they had nearly effected their object: they went off in a very sulky and leisurely manner. In my subaltern days, when with the subsidiary force in Gohud, I remember scouring the tremendous ravines near the Antri pass to get a spear at a wolf, my companion (Lieut. now Lieut.-Col. T. D. Smith) and myself were soon surrounded by many scores of these hungry animals, who prowled about our camp all night, having carried off a child the night before. As we charged in one direction, they gave way; but kept upon our quarters without the least fear, and seemingly enjoyed the fun. I do not recollect whether it excited any other feeling than mirth. They showed no symptom of ferocity, or desire to make a meal of us; or a retreat from these ravines, with their superior topographical knowledge, would doubtless have been difficult.

We passed the Bunas river, just escaping from the rock-bound barriers, our path almost in contact with the water to the left. The stream was clear as crystal, and of great depth; the banks low and verdant, and fringed with wood. It was a lovely, lonely spot, and well deserved to be consecrated by legendary tale. In ancient times, ere these valleys were trod by the infidel Tatar, coco-nuts were here presented to the genius of the river, whose arm appeared above the waters to receive them; but ever since some unhallowed hand threw a stone in lieu of a coco-nut, the arm has been withdrawn. Few in fact lived, either to supply or keep alive the traditions which lend a charm to a journey through these wild scenes, though full of bogs and wolves. We reached our journey's end very late, and though no tents were up, we had the consolation to spy the cook in a snug corner with a leg of mutton before some blazing logs, round which he had placed the wall of a tent to check the force of the mountain air. We all congregated round the cook's fire, and were infinitely happier in the prospect before us, and with the heavens for our canopy, than with all our accustomed conveniences and fare. Every one this day had taken his own road, and each had his adventure to relate. Our repast was delicious; nor did any favourable account reach us of tents or other luxuries to mar our enjoyments, till midnight, when the fly of the doctor's tent arrived, of which we availed ourselves as a protection against the heavy dews of the night; and though our bivouac was in a ploughed field, and we were surrounded by wild beasts in a silent waste, they proved no drawbacks to the enjoyment of repose.

Halted the 17th, to collect the dislocated baggage; for although such scenes, seasoned with romance, might do very well for us, our followers were ignorant of the name of Ann Radcliffe or other conjurers; and though admirers of tradition, like myself, preferred it after dinner. Oosurwas is a valuable village, but now thinly inhabited. It was recently given by the Rana, with his accustomed want of reflection, to a Charun bard, literally for an old song. But even this folly was surpassed on his bestowing the township of Seesodia, in the valley in advance, the place from which his tribe takes its appellation, on another of the fraternity, named Kishna, his master bard, who has the art to make his royal patron believe that opportunity alone is wanting to render his name as famed as that of the illustrious Sanga, or the immortal Pertáp. I received and

returned the visit of an ascetic Sanyasi, whose hermitage was perched upon a cliff not far from our tents. Like most of his brethren, he was intelligent, and had a considerable store of local and foreign legends at command. He was dressed in a loose orange-coloured unga or tunic, with a turban of the same material, in which was twisted a necklace of the lotos-kernel; he had another in his hand, with which he repeated the name of the deity at intervals. He expressed his own surprise and the sentiments of the inhabitants at the tranquillity they enjoyed, without any tumultuary cause being discoverable; and said that we must be something more than human. This superstitious feeling for a while was felt as well by the prince and the turbulent chief, as by the anchorite of Oosurwas.

October 18.—Marched at daybreak to Sumaicha, distance twelve miles. Again found our advanced elephant and breakfast-tent in a swamp: halted to extricate him from his difficulties. The road from Nat'hdwara is but a footpath, over or skirting a succession of low broken ridges, covered with prickly shrubs, as the Khyr, the Khureel, and Babool. At the village of Gong Goorah, midway in the morning's journey, we entered the alpine valley called the Shero Nullah. The village of Goorah is placed in the opening or break in the range through which the river flows, whose serpentine meanderings indicate the only road up this majestic valley. On the banks, or in its bed, which we frequently crossed, lay the remainder of this day's march. The valley varies in breadth, but is seldom less than half a mile, the hills rising boldly from their base; some with a fine and even surface covered with mango trees, others lifting their splintered pinnacles into the clouds. Nature has been lavish of her beauties to this romantic region. The *goolur* or wild fig, the *sitaphal* or custard-apple, the peach or *aroo bódám* (almond-peach), are indigenous and abundant; the banks of the stream are shaded by the withy, while the large trees, the useful mango and picturesque tamarind, the sacred peepul and burr, are abundantly scattered with many others, throughout. Nor has nature in vain appealed to human industry and ingenuity to second her intents. From the margin of the stream on each side to the mountain's base, they have constructed a series of terraces rising over each other, whence by simple and ingenious methods they raise the waters to irrigate the rich crops of sugar-cane, cotton, and rice, which they cultivate upon them. Here we have a proof that ingenuity is the same, when prompted by necessity, in the Jura or the Aravalli. Wherever soil could be found, or time decomposed these primitive rocks, a barrier was raised. When discovered, should it be in a hollow below, or on the summit of a crag, it is alike greedily seized on: even there water is found, and if you leave the path below and ascend a hundred feet above the terraces, you will discover pools or reservoirs dammed in with massive trees, which serve to irrigate such insulated spots, or serve as nurseries to the young rice-plants. Not unfrequently, their labour is entirely destroyed, and the dykes swept away by the periodical inundations; for we observed the high-water mark in the trees considerably up the acclivity. The rice crop was abundant, and the *joar* or maize was thriving, but scanty; the standard autumnal crop which preceded it, the *makhi*, or 'Indian corn,' had been entirely devoured by the locust. The sugar-cane, by far the most valuable product of this curious region, was very fine but sparingly cultivated,

from the dread of this insect, which for the last three years had ravaged the valley. There are two species of locusts, which come in clouds, darkening the air, from the desert : the *farka* and the *teeri* are their names ; the first is the great enemy of our incipient prosperity. I observed a colony some time ago proceeding eastward with a rustling, rushing sound, like a distant torrent, or the wind in a forest at the fall of the leaf. We have thus to struggle against natural and artificial obstacles to the rising energies of the country ; and dread of the *farkas* deters speculators from renting this fertile tract, which almost entirely belongs to the fisc. Its natural fertility cannot be better demonstrated than in recording the success of an experiment, which produced *five crops, from the same piece of ground, within thirteen months*. It must, however, be understood that two of these are species of millet, which are cut in six weeks from the time of sowing. A patch of ground, for which the cultivator pays six rupees rent, will produce sugar-cane six hundred rupees in value : but the labour and expense of cultivation are heavy, and cupidity too often deprives the husbandman of the greater share of the fruits, ninety rupees having been taken in arbitrary taxes, besides his original rent.

The air of this elevated region gave vigour to the limbs, and appetite to the disordered stomach. There was an exhilarating *fraicheur*, which made us quite frantic ; the transition being from 96° of Fahrenheit to English summer heat. We breakfasted in a verdant spot under the shade of a noble fig-tree fanned by the cool breezes from the mountains.

SUMAICHA consists of three separate hamlets, each of about one hundred houses. It is situated at the base of a mountain distinctively termed *Rana Paj*, from a well-known path, by which the Ranas secured their retreat to the upland wilds when hard pushed by the Moguls. It also leads direct to the capital of the district, avoiding the circuitous route we were pursuing. Sumaicha is occupied by the Koombhawuts, descendants of Rana Koombho, who came in a body with their elders at their head to visit me, bringing the famed *cukri* of the valley (often three feet in length), curds, and a kid as gifts. I rose to receive these Rajapútras, the Bhomias or yeomen of the valley ; and though undistinguishable in dress from the commonest cultivator, I did homage to their descent. Indeed, they did not require the auxiliaries of dress, their appearance being so striking as to draw forth the spontaneous exclamation from my friends, " what noble-looking fellows ! " Their tall and robust figures, sharp aquiline features, and flowing beards, with a native dignity of demeanour (though excepting their chiefs, who wore turbans and scarfs, they were in their usual labouring dresses, immense loose breeches and turbans), compelled respect and admiration. Formerly they gave one hundred matchlocks for garrison duty at Komulmér ; but the Mahrattas have pillaged and impoverished them. These are the real allodial tenants of the land, performing personal local service, and paying an annual quit-rent. I conciliated their good opinion by talking of the deeds of old days, the recollection of which a Rajpoot never outlives. The assembly under the fig-tree was truly picturesque, and would have furnished a good subject for Gerard Dow. Our baggage joined us at Sumaicha ; but many of our camels were already worn out by labouring through swamps, for which they are by nature incapacitated.

October 19.—Marched to Kailwarra, the capital of this mountainous

region, and the abode of the Ranas when driven from Cheetore and the plains of the Bunas ; on which occasion these valleys received and maintained a great portion of the population of Méwar. There is not a rock or a stream that has not some legend attached to it, connected with these times. The valley presents the same features as already described. Passed a cleft in the mountain on the left, through which a stream rushes, called the "elephant's pool" ; a short cut may be made by the foot passenger to Kailwarra, but it is too intricate for any unaccustomed to these wilds to venture. We could not ascertain the origin of the "elephant's pool," but it is most likely connected with ancient warfare. Passed the village of Moorcho, held by a Rahtore chieftain. On the margin of a small lake adjoining the village, a small and very neat sacrificial altar attracted my regard ; and not satisfied with the reply that it was *sulli ca macan*, 'the place of faith,' I sent to request the attendance of the village seer. It proved to be that of the ancestor of the occupant : a proof of devotion to her husband, who had fallen in the wars waged by Arungzéb against this country ; when, with a relic of her lord, she mounted the pyre. He is sculptured on horseback, with lance at rest, to denote that it is no churl to whom the record is devoted.

Near the "elephant's pool," and at the village of Kheyrlee, two roads diverge : one, by the Birgoola *nal* or pass, conducts direct to Nat'hdwara ; the other, leading to Reechair, and the celebrated shrine of the *four-armed god*, famed as a place of pilgrimage. The range on our left terminating abruptly, we turned by Oladur to Kailwarra, and encamped in a mango-grove, on a table-land half a mile north of the town. Here the valley enlarges, presenting a wild, picturesque, and rugged appearance. The barometer indicated about a thousand feet of elevation above the level of Oodipoor, which is about two thousand above the sea : yet we were scarcely above the base of the alpine cliffs which towered around us on all sides. It was the point of divergence for the waters, which, from the numerous fountains in these uplands, descended each declivity, to refresh the arid plains of Marwar to the west, and to swell the lakes of Méwar to the east. Previous to the damming of the stream which forms that little ocean, the Kunkerowli lake, it is asserted that the supply to the west was very scanty, nearly all flowing eastward, or through the valley ; but since the formation of the lake, and consequent saturation of the intermediate region, the streams are ever flowing to the west. The spot where I encamped was at least five hundred feet lower than *Arait pol*, the first of the fortified barriers leading to Komulmér, whose citadel rose more than seven hundred feet above the *terre-pleine* of its outworks beneath.

The Mahraja Dowlut Sing, a near relative of the Rana, and governor of Komulmér, attended by a numerous suite, the crimson standard, trumpets, kettledrums, seneschal, and bard, advanced several miles to meet and conduct me to the castle. According to etiquette, we both dismounted and embraced, and afterwards rode together conversing on the affairs of the province, and the generally altered condition of the country. Dowlut Sing, being of the immediate kin of his sovereign, is one of the *babas* or infants of Méwar, enumerated in the tribe called Ranawut, with the title of Mahraja. Setting aside the family of Sheodan Sing, he is the next in succession to the reigning family. He is one of the few over whom the general demoralisation has had no power, and

remains a simple-minded straight-forward honest man ; blunt, unassuming, and courteous. His rank and character particularly qualify him for the post he holds on this western frontier, which is the key to Marwar. It was in February 1818 that I obtained possession of this place (Komulmér), by negotiating the arrears of the garrison. Gold is the cheapest, surest and most expeditious of all *generals in the East, amongst such mercenaries* as we had to deal with, who change masters with the same facility as they would their turban. In twenty-four hours we were put in possession of the fort, and as we had not above one-third of the stipulated sum in ready cash, they without hesitation took a bill of exchange, *written on the drum-head*, on the mercantile town of Palli in Marwar : in such estimation is British faith held, even by the most lawless tribes of India ! Next morning we saw them winding down the western declivity, while we quietly took our breakfast in an old ruined temple. During this agreeable employment, we were joined by Major Macleod, of the artillery, sent by General Donkin to report on the facilities of reducing the place by siege, and his opinion being, *that a gun could not be placed in position in less than six weeks*, the grilling spared the European force in such a region was well worth the £4000 of arrears. My own escort and party remained in possession for a week, until the Rana sent his garrison. During these eight days our time was amply occupied in sketching and decyphering the monumental records of this singularly diversified spot. It would be vain to attempt describing the intricacies of approach to this far-famed abode. A massive wall, with numerous towers and pierced battlements, having a strong resemblance to the Etruscan, encloses a space of some miles extent below, while the pinnacle or *sikra* rises, like the crown of the Hindu Cybele, tier above tier of battlements, to the summit, which is crowned with the *Badul Mahl*, or 'cloud-palace' of the Ranas. Thence the eye ranges over the sandy deserts and the chaotic mass of mountains, which are on all sides covered with the *cactus*, which luxuriates amidst the rocks of the Aravulli. Besides the *Avait pol*, or barrier thrown across the first narrow ascent, about one mile from Kailwarra, there is a second called the *Hulla pol*, intermediate to the *Hanuman pol*, the exterior gate of the fortress, between which and the summit there are three more, viz. the gate of victory, the sanguinary gate, and that of Rama, besides the last, or *Chougum pol*. The barometer stood, at half-past seven A.M., 26° 65'; thermometer 58° Fahr. at the *Avait pol* : and on the summit at nine, while the thermometer rose to 75°, the barometer had only descended 15', and stood at 26° 50',¹ though we had ascended full six hundred feet. Admitting the last range as our guide, the peak of Komulmér will be 3,353 feet above the level of the ocean. Hence I laid down the positions of many towns far in the desert. Here were subjects to occupy the pencil at least for a month ; but we had only time for one of the most interesting views, a Jain temple, and a sketch of the fortress itself, both finished on the spot. The design of this temple is truly classic. It consists only of the sanctuary, which has a vaulted dome and colonnaded portico all round. The architecture is undoubtedly Jain, which is as distinct in character from the Brahminical as their religion. There is a chasteness and simplicity in this specimen of monotheistic worship, affording a wide contrast to

¹ At four o'clock P.M., same position, thermometer 81° ; barometer, 26° 85'.

the elaborately sculptured shrines of the Saivas, and other polytheists of India. The extreme want of decoration best attests its antiquity, entitling us to attribute it to that period when Sumpriti Raja, of the family of Chandragupta, was paramount sovereign over all these regions (two hundred years before Christ); to whom tradition ascribes the most ancient monuments of this faith, yet existing in Rajast'han and Saurashtia. The proportions and forms of the columns are especially distinct from the other temples, being slight and tapering instead of massive, the general characteristic of Hindu architecture; while the projecting cornices, which would absolutely deform shafts less slight, are peculiarly indicative of the *Takshac* architect.¹ Sumpriti was the fourth prince in descent from Chandragupta, of the Jain faith, and the ally of Seleucus, the Grecian sovereign of Bactriana. The fragments of Megasthenes, ambassador from Seleucus, record that this alliance was most intimate; that the daughter of the Rajpoot king was married to Seleucus, who, in return for elephants and other gifts, sent a body of Greek soldiers to serve Chandragupta. It is curious to contemplate the possibility, nay the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Rajpoots may have been modelled after the Grecian. This was our temple of Theseus in Méwar. A massive monolithic emblem of black marble of the Hindu Jivápitri, had been improperly introduced into the shrine of the worshippers of the "spirit alone." Being erected on the rock, and chiselled from the syenite on which it stands, it may bid defiance to time. There was another sacred structure in its vicinity, likewise Jain, but of a distinct character; indeed, offering a perfect contrast to that described. It was three stories in height; each tier was decorated with numerous massive low columns, resting on a sculptured panelled parapet, and sustaining the roof of each story, which being very low, admitted but a broken light to break the pervading gloom. I should imagine that the sacred architects of the East had studied effect equally with the preservers of learning and the arts in the dark period of Europe, when those monuments, which must ever be her pride, arose on the ruins of paganism. How far the Saxon or Scandinavian pagan contributed to the general design of such structures may be doubted; but that their decorations, especially the grotesque, have a powerful resemblance to the most ancient Hindu-Scythic, there is no question, as I shall hereafter more particularly point out.

Who, that has a spark of imagination, but has felt the indescribable emotion which the gloom and silence of a Gothic cathedral excites? The very extent provokes a comparison humiliating to the pigmy spectator, and this is immeasurably increased when the site is the mountain pinnacle, where man and his works fade into nothing in contemplating the magnificent expanse of nature. The Hindu priest did not raise the temple for heterogeneous multitudes: he calculated that the mind would be more highly excited when left to its solitary devotions, amidst the silence of these cloistered columns, undisturbed save by the monotony of the passing bell, while the surrounding gloom is broken only by the flare of the censer as the incense mounts above the altar.

It would present no distinct picture to the eye were I to describe each individual edifice within the scope of vision, either upwards towards

¹ See note ² in p. 26; and also note in p. 276.

the citadel, or below. Looking down from the Jain temple towards the pass, till the contracting gorge is lost in distance, the gradually diminishing space is filled with masses of ruin. I will only notice two of the most interesting. The first is dedicated to *Mama Devi* 'the mother of the gods,' whose shrine is on the brow of the mountain overlooking the pass. The goddess is placed in the midst of her numerous family, including the greater and lesser divinities. They are all of the purest marble, each about three feet in height, and tolerably executed, though evidently since the decline of the art, of which very few good specimens exist executed within the last seven centuries. The temple is very simple and primitive, consisting but of a long hall, around which the gods are ranged, without either niche or altar.

The most interesting portion of this temple is its court, formed by a substantial wall enclosing a tolerable area. The interior of this wall had been entirely covered with immense tables of black marble, on which was inscribed the history of their gods, and, what was of infinitely greater importance, that of the mortal princes who had erected the tablets in their honour. But what a sight for the antiquary ! Not one of the many tables was entire ; the fragments were strewed about, or placed in position to receive the flesh-pots of the sons of Ishmael, the mercenary Rohilla Afghan.¹

On quitting the temple of *Mama Devi*, my attention was attracted by a simple monumental shrine on the opposite side of the valley, and almost in the gorge of the pass. It was most happily situated, being quite isolated, overlooking the road leading to Marwar, and consisted of a simple dome of very moderate dimensions, supported by columns, without any intervening object to obstruct the view of the little monumental altar arising out of the centre of the platform. It was the Sybilline temple of Tivoli in miniature. To it, over rock and ruin, I descended. Here repose the ashes of the Troubadour of Méwar, the gallant Pirthi-raj, and his heroine wife, Tarra Bhaé, whose lives and exploits fill many a page of the legendary romances of Méwar.

This fair 'star' (*tarra*) was the daughter of Rao Soortan, the chieftain of Bednore. He was of the Solanki tribe, the lineal descendant of the famed Balhara kings of Anhulwarra. Thence expelled by the arms of Alla in the thirteenth century, they migrated to Central India, and obtained possession of Tonk-Thoda and its lands on the Bunas, which from remote times had been occupied (perhaps founded) by the Táks, and hence bore the name of Taksilla-nuggur, familiarly Takitpoor and Thoda.² Soortan

¹ These people assert their Coptic origin : being driven from Egypt by one of the Pharaohs, they wandered eastwards till they arrived under that peak of the mountains west of the Indus called *Suliman-e-koh*, or 'Hill of Solomon,' where they halted. Others draw their descent from the lost tribes. They are a very marked race, and as unsettled as their forefathers, serving everywhere. They are fine gallant men, and, when managed by such officers as Skinner, make excellent and orderly soldiers ; but they evince great contempt for the eaters of swine, who are their abomination.

² From the ruins of its temples, remnants of Takshac architecture, the amateur might speedily fill a portfolio. This tract abounds with romantic scenery : Rajmahl on the Bunas, Gokurn, and many others. Herbert calls Cheetore the abode of Taxiles, the ally of Alexander. The Táks were all of the race of *Poorú*, so that *Porus* is a generic, not a proper name. This Taksilla-nuggur has been a large city. We owe thanks to the Emperor Baber, who has given us the position of the city of Taxiles, where Alexander left it, west of the Indus.

had been deprived of Thoda by Lilla the Afghan, and now occupied Bednore at the foot of the Aravulli, within the bounds of Méwar. Stimulated by the reverses of her family, and by the incentives of its ancient glory, Tarra Bhaé, scorning the habiliments and occupations of her sex, learned to guide the war-horse, and throw with unerring aim the arrow from his back, even while at speed. Armed with the bow and quiver, and mounted on a fiery Kattyawar, she joined the cavalcade in their unsuccessful attempts to wrest Thoda from the Afghan. Jeimul, the third son of Rana Raemul, in person made proposals for her hand. "Redeem Thoda," said the star of Bednore, "and my hand is thine." He assented to the terms: but evincing a rude determination to be possessed of the prize ere he had earned it, he was slain by the indignant father. Pirthi-raj, the brother of the deceased, was then in exile in Marwar; he had just signalled his valour, and ensured his father's forgiveness, the redemption of Godwar,¹ and the catastrophe at Bednore determined him to accept the gage thrown down to Jeimul. Fame and the bard had carried the renown of Pirthi-raj far beyond the bounds of Méwar; the name alone was attractive to the fair, and when thereto he who bore it added all the chivalrous ardour of his prototype, the Chohan, Tarra Bhaé, with the sanction of her father, consented to be his, on the simple asseveration that "he would restore to them Thoda, or he was no true Rajpoot." The anniversary of the martyrdom of the sons of Alli was the season chosen for the exploit. Pirthi-raj formed a select band of five hundred cavaliers, and accompanied by his bride, the fair Tarra, who insisted on partaking his glory and his danger, he reached Thoda at the moment the *tazzia* or bier containing the martyr-brothers was placed in the centre of the *chouk* or 'square.' The prince, Tarra Bhaé, and the faithful Sengar chief, the inseparable companion of Pirthi-raj, left their cavalcade and joined the procession as it passed under the balcony of the palace in which the Afghan was putting on his dress preparatory to descending. Just as he had asked, who were the strange horsemen that had joined the throng, the lance of Pirthi-raj and an arrow from the bow of his Amazonian bride stretched him on the floor. Before the crowd recovered from the panic, the three had reached the gate of the town, where their exit was obstructed by an elephant. Tarra Bhaé with her scimitar divided his trunk, and the animal flying, they joined their cavalcade, which was close at hand.

The Afghans were encountered, and could not stand the attack. Those who did not fly were cut to pieces; and the gallant Pirthi-raj inducted the father of his bride into his inheritance. A brother of the Afghans, in his attempt to recover it, lost his life. The Nawab Mulloo Khan then holding Ajmér, determined to oppose the Scesodia prince in person; who, resolved upon being the assailant, advanced to Ajmér, encountered his foe in the camp at daybreak, and after great slaughter entered Gur'h Beetli, the citadel, with the fugitives. "By these acts," says the chronicle, "his fame increased in Rajwarra: one thousand Rajpoots, animated by the same love of glory and devotion, gathered round the *naharras* of Pirthi-raj. Their swords shone in the heavens, and were dreaded on the earth; but they aided the defenceless."

Another story is recorded and confirmed by Mahomedan writers as to the result, though they are ignorant of the impulse which prompted the

¹ See p. 237.

act. Pirthi-raj on some occasion found the Rana conversing familiarly with an ahdy of the Malwa king, and feeling offended at the condescension, expressed himself with warmth. The Rana ironically replied: "You are a mighty seizer of kings; but for me, I desire to retain my land." Pirthi-raj abruptly retired, collected his band, made for Neemutch, where he soon gathered five thousand horse, and reaching Depalpoor, plundered it, and slew the governor. The king on hearing of the irruption, left Mandoo at the head of what troops he could collect; but the Rajpoot prince, in lieu of retreating, rapidly advanced and attacked the camp while refreshing after the march. Singling out the royal tent, occupied by eunuchs and females, the king was made captive, and placed on an express camel beside the prince, who warned the pursuers to follow peaceably, or he would put his majesty to death; adding that he intended him no harm, but that after having made him "touch his father's feet," he should restore him to liberty. Having carried him direct to Cheetore and to his father's presence, he turned to him saying, "Send for your friend the ahdy, and ask him who this is?" The Malwa king was detained a month within the walls of Cheetore, and having paid his ransom in horses, was set at liberty with every demonstration of honour. Pirthi-raj returned to Komulmér, his residence, and passed his life in exploits like these from the age of fourteen to twenty-three, the admiration of the country and the theme of the bard.

It could not be expected that long life would be the lot of one who thus courted distinction, though it was closed neither by shot nor sabre, but by poison, when on the eve of prosecuting his unnatural feud against his brother Sanga, the place of whose retreat was made known by his marriage with the daughter of the chieftain of Srinuggur, who had dared to give him protection in defiance of his threats.

At the same time he received a letter from his sister, written in great grief, complaining of the barbarous treatment of her lord, the Sirohi prince, from whose tyranny she begged to be delivered and to be restored to the paternal roof; since whenever he had indulged too freely in the 'essence of the flower,' or in opium, he used to place her under the bedstead, and leave her to sleep on the floor. Pirthi-raj instantly departed, reached Sirohi at midnight, scaled the palace, and interrupted the repose of Pabhoo Rao by placing his poniard at his throat. His wife, notwithstanding his cruelty, complied with his humiliating appeal for mercy, and begged his life, which was granted on condition of his standing as a suppliant with his wife's shoes on his head, and touching her feet, the lowest mark of degradation. He obeyed, was forgiven, and embraced by Pirthi-raj, who became his guest during five days. Pabhoo Rao was celebrated for a confection, of which he presented some to his brother at parting. He partook of it as he came in sight of Komulmér; but on reaching the shrine of Mama Devi was unable to proceed. Here he sent a message to the fair Tarra to come and bid him farewell; but so subtle was the poison, that death had overtaken him ere she descended from the citadel. Her resolution was soon formed; the pyre was erected, and with the mortal remains of the chivalrous Pirthi-raj in her embrace, she sought "the regions of the sun." Such the end of the Seesodia prince, and the star of Bednore. From such instances we must form our opinion of the manners of these people. But for the poisoned confection of the chief of Sirohi, Pirthi-raj would have had the glory of opposing himself to Baber, instead of his heroic

brother and successor, Sanga.¹ Whether, from his superior ardour of temperament, and the love of military glory which attracted similarly-constituted minds to his fortunes, he would have been more successful than his brother, it is futile to conjecture.

October 20.—Halted till noon, that the men might dress their dinners, and prepare for the descent into "the region of death," or Marwar. The pass by which we had to gain it was represented as terrific; but as both horse and elephant, with the aid of the hatchet, will pick their way wherever man can go, we determined to persevere. Struck the camp at noon, when the baggage filed off, halting ourselves till three; the escort and advanced tents, and part of the *cuisine* being ordered to clear the pass, while we designed to spend the night midway, in a spot forming the natural boundary of Méwar and Marwar, reported to be sufficiently capacious. Rumour had not magnified the difficulties of the descent, which we found strewn with our baggage, arresting all progress for a full hour. For nearly a mile there was but just breadth sufficient to admit the passage of a loaded elephant, the descent being at an angle of 55° with the horizon, and streams on either side rushing with a deafening roar over their rugged beds. As we gained a firmer footing at the base of this first descent, we found that the gallant Manika, the gift of my friend the Boondl prince, had missed his footing and rolled down the steep, breaking the cantle of the saddle; a little farther appeared the cook, hanging in dismay over the scattered implements of his art, his camel remonstrating against the replacing of his *cujavas* or panniers. For another mile it became more gentle, when we passed under a tower of Komulmér, erected on a scarped projection of the rock, full five hundred feet above us. The scenery was magnificent; the mountains rising on each side in every variety of form, and their summits, as they caught a ray of the departing sun, reflecting on our sombre path a momentary gleam from the masses of rose-coloured quartz which crested them. Noble forest trees covered every face of the hills and the bottom of the glen, through which, along the margin of the serpentine torrent which we repeatedly crossed, lay our path. Notwithstanding all our mishaps, partly from the novelty and grandeur of the scene, and partly from the invigorating coolness of the air, our mirth became wild and clamorous: a week before, I was oppressed with a thousand ills; and now I trudged the rugged path, leaping the masses of granite which had rolled into the torrent.

There was one spot where the waters formed a pool or *dé*. Little Cary determined to trust to his pony to carry him across, but deviating to the left, just as I was leaping from a projecting ledge, to my horror, horse and rider disappeared. The shock was momentary, and a good ducking the only result, which in the end was the luckiest thing that could have befallen him. On reaching the Hattidurra, or 'barrier of the elephant' (a very appropriate designation for a mass of rock serving as a rampart to shut up the pass), where we had intended to remain the night, we found no spot capacious enough even for a single tent. Orders accordingly passed to the rear for the baggage to collect there, and wait the return of day to continue the march. The shades of night were fast descending, and we proceeded almost in utter darkness towards the banks of the stream, the roar of whose waters was our guide, and not a little perplexed by the

¹ See Annals, p. 240.

tumultuous rush which issued from every glen, to join that we were seeking. Towards the termination of the descent the path became wider, and the voice of the waters of a deeper and hoarser tone, as they glided to gain the plains of Marwar. The vault of heaven, in which there was not a cloud, appeared as an arch to the perpendicular cliffs surrounding us on all sides, and the stars beamed with peculiar brilliancy from the confined space through which we viewed them. As we advanced in perfect silence, fancy busily at work on what might befall our straggling retinue from the ferocious tiger or plundering mountaineer, a gleam of light suddenly flashed upon us on emerging from the brushwood, and disclosed a party of dismounted cavaliers seated round their night-fires under some magnificent fig-trees.¹

Halted, and called a council of war to determine our course: we had gained the spot our guides had assigned as the only fitting one for *bivouac* before we reached the plains beyond the mountains; it afforded shade from the dews, and plenty of water. The *munitions de bouche* having gone on, was a good argument that we should follow; but darkness and five miles more of intricate forest, through a path from which the slightest deviation, right or left, might lead us into the jaws of a tiger, or the toils of the equally savage Mair, decided us to halt. We now took another look at the group above-mentioned. Though the excitement of the morning was pretty well chilled by cold and hunger (poor sharpeners of the imagination), it was impossible to contemplate the scene before us without a feeling of the highest interest. From twenty-five to thirty tall figures, armed at all points, were sitting or reposing in groups round their watch-fires, conversing and passing the pipe from hand to hand, while their long black locks, and motley-fashioned turbans, told that they belonged to Maroodésa. A rude altar, raised in honour of some "gentle blood" shed by the murky mountaineer, served as a place of rest for the chief of the party, distinguished by the gold band in his turban, and his deer-skin doublet. I gave the usual salutation of "Rama, Rama," to the chief and his party, and inquired after the health of their chieftain of Ganora, to whose courtesy I found I owed this mark of attention. This was the boundary between the two states of Marwar and Méwar, since the district of Godwar was lost by the latter about fifty years ago. The spot has been the scene of many a conflict, and a closer approach disclosed several other altars raised in honour of the slain; each represented a cavalier mounted on his war-steed, with his lance poised, denoting that in such attitude he fell in defending the pass, or redeeming the cattle from the plundering mountain Mair. A square tablet placed on each contained the date on which he gained "the mansions of the sun." Midnight being past, and bringing no hope of our appetites growing by what they might feed upon, Dr. Duncan and Captain Waugh took the *jhool*, or broadcloth-housing, from the elephant, and rolling themselves in it, followed the example of the chieftain and reposed upon the ashes of the brave, on an altar adjoining the one he occupied. I soon left them in happy forgetfulness of tigers, Méras, hunger, and all the fatigues of the day, and joined the group to listen to the tale with which they enlivened the midnight hour. *This* I can repeat, but it would have required the pencil of a master to paint the scene. It was a subject for Salvator Rosa; though I should have been perfectly satisfied with one of Captain Waugh's delineations, had he been disposed at that moment to

¹ The burr or banian tree, *figus Indica*.

exert the pictorial art. Several of my friends had encountered the mountaineer on this very spot ; and these humble cenotaphs, covering the ashes of their kin, recalled events not likely to be repeated in these halcyon days, when the names of Bhil and Mair cease to be the synonyms of plunderer. As there may be no place more appropriate for a sketch of the mountaineers, the reader may transport himself to the glen of Komulmér, and listen to the history of one of the aboriginal tribes of Rajast'han.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Mairs or Méras : their history and manners—The ' Barwuttea ' of Goculgurh—Forms of outlawry—Ajeet Sing, the chief of Ganora—Plains of Marwar—Chief of Roopnagurh—Anecdote respecting Daisoori—Contrast between the Seesodias of Méwar and the Rahtores of Marwar—Traditional history of the Rajpoots—Ganora—Kishendas, the Rana's envoy—Local discrimination between Méwar and Marwar—Ancient feuds—The *aonla* and the *bawul*—Aspect of Marwar—Nadole—Superiority of the Chohan race—Goga of Batinda—Lakha of Ajmér : his ancient fortress at Nadole—Jain relic there—The Hindu ancient arch or vault—Inscriptions—Antiquities at Nadole—Eendurira—Its villages—Palli, a commercial mart—Articles of commerce—The bards and genealogists the chief carriers—The " Hill of Virtue "—Khankani—Affray between two caravans—Barbarous self-sacrifices of the Bhats—Jhalamund—March to Jodpoor—Reception *en route* by the Chiefs of Pokurna and Neemaj—Biography of these nobles—Sacrifice of Soortan of Neemaj—Encamp at the capital—Negotiation for the ceremonies of reception at the Court of Jodpoor.

THE *Mair* or *Méra* is the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairwarra*, or " the region of hills." The epithet is therefore merely local, for the Mair is but a branch of the *Ména* or *Maina*, one of the aborigines of India. He is also called *Mairote* and *Mairawat* ; but these terminations only more correctly define his character of mountaineer.¹ *Mairwarra* is that portion of the Aravulli chain between Komulmér and Ajmér, a space of about ninety miles in length, and varying in breadth from six to twenty. The general character of this magnificent rampart, in the natural and physical geography of Rajpootana, is now sufficiently familiar. It rises from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea, and abounds with a variety of natural productions. In short, I know no portion of the globe which would yield to the scientific traveller more abundant materials for observation than the alpine Aravulli. The architectural antiquary might fill his portfolio, and natural history would receive additions to her page in every department, and especially in botany and zoology.² I should know no higher gratification than to be

¹ *Méra* is ' a mountain ' in Sanscrit ; *Mairawat* and *Mairote*, ' of or belonging to the mountain.' I have before remarked, that the name of the Albanian mountaineer, *Mainote*, has the same signification. I know not the etymology of *Maina*, of which the Mair is a branch.

² I had hoped to have embodied these subjects with, and thereby greatly to have increased the interest, of my work ; but just as Lord Hastings had granted my request, that an individual eminently qualified for those pursuits should join me, a Higher Power deemed it fit to deny what had been long near my heart.

The individual, John Tod, was a cousin of my own, and possessed an intellect

of a scientific party to anatomise completely this important portion of India. I would commence on the Guzzerat, and finish on the Shekhawut frontier. The party should consist of a skilful surveyor, to lay down on a large scale a topographical chart of the mountains; several gentlemen thoroughly versed in natural history; able architectural and landscape draughtsmen, and the antiquary to transcribe ancient inscriptions, as well as to depict the various races. The "Aravulli delineated," by the hand of science, would form a most instructive and delightful work.

A minute account of the Mair, his habits and his history, would be no unimportant feature: but as this must be deferred, I will, in the meanwhile, furnish some details to supply the void.

The Mairs are a branch of the Cheetas, an important division of the Ménas. I shall elsewhere enter at large into the history of this race, which consists of as many branches as their conquerors, the Rajpoots. All these wild races have the vanity to mingle their pedigree with that of their conquerors, though in doing so they stigmatise themselves. The Cheeta-Ménas accordingly claim descent from a grandson of the last Chohan emperor of Dehli. Unail and Anoop were the sons of Lakha, the nephew of the Chohan king. The *coco-nut* was sent from Jessulmér, offering princesses of that house in marriage: but an investigation into their maternal ancestry disclosed that they were the issue of a Ména concubine: and their birth being thus revealed, they became exiles from Ajmér, and associates with their maternal relatives.

Unail espoused the daughter of a Ména chieftain, by whom he had Cheeta, whose descendants enjoy almost a monopoly of power in Mairwarra. The sons of Cheeta, who occupied the northern frontier near Ajmér, became Mahomedans about fifteen generations ago, when Doodoh, the sixteenth from the founder of the race, was created Dawad Khan by the Hakim of Ajmér; and as Athoon was his residence, the "Khan of Athoon" signified the chief of the Mairotes. Chang, Jhak, and Rajosi are the principal towns adjoining Athoon. Anoop also took a Ména wife, by whom he had Burrar, whose descendants have continued true to their original tenets. Their chief places are Burrar, Bairawara, Mundilla, etc. Though the progeny of these Ménas may have been improved by the infusion of Rajpoot blood, they were always notorious for their lawless habits, and for the importance attached to them so far back as the period of Beesildeo, the celebrated prince of Ajmér, whom the bard Chund states to have reduced them to submission, making them "carry water in the streets of Ajmér." Like all mountaineers, they of course broke out whenever the hands of power were feeble. In the battle between the Chohans of Ajmér and the Purihars of Mundore, a body of four thousand Mair bowmen served Nahur Rao, and defended the pass of the Aravulli against Pirthi-raj in this his first essay in arms. Chund thus describes them: ¹ "Where

of the highest order. He was only twenty-two years of age when he died, and had only been six months in India. He was an excellent classical scholar, well versed in modern languages and every branch of natural history. His manners, deportment, and appearance were all in unison with these talents. Had it pleased the Almighty to have spared him, this work would have been more worthy of the public notice.

¹ I cannot discover by what part of the range the invasion of Mundore was attempted; it might have been the pass we are now in, for it is evident it was not from the frontier of Ajmér.

hill joins hill, the Mair and Ména thronged. The Mundore chief commanded that the pass should be defended—four thousand heard and obeyed, each in form as the angel of death—men who never move without the omen, whose arrow never flies in vain—with frames like Indra's bolt—faithful to their word, preservers of the land and the honour¹ of Mundore; whose fortresses have to this day remained unconquered—who bring the spoils of the plains to their dwellings. Of these in the dark recesses of the mountains four thousand lay concealed, their crescent-formed arrows beside them. Like the envenomed serpent, they wait in silence the advance of the foe.

"Tidings reached the Chohan that the manly Ména, with bow in hand, stood in the mountain's gorge. Who would be bold enough to force it? his rage was like the hungry lion's when he views his prey. He called the brave Kana, and bade him observe those wretches as he commanded him to clear the pass. Bowing he departed, firm as the rock on which he trod. He advanced, but the mountaineer (Mair) was immovable as Soomair. Their arrows carrying death, fly like Indra's bolts—they obscure the sun. Warriors fall from their steeds, resounding in their armour as a tree torn up by the blast. Kana quits the steed; hand to hand he encounters the foe; the feathery shafts, as they strike fire, appear like birds escaping from the flames. The lance flies through the breast, appearing at the back, like a fish escaping through the meshes of a net. The evil spirits dance in the mire of blood. The hero of the mountain² encountered Kana, and his blow made him reel; but like lightning it was returned, and the mountaineer fell: the crash was as the shaking of Soomair. At this moment Nahur arrived, roaring like a tiger for his prey: he called aloud to revenge their chief, his brother,³ and fresh vigour was infused into their souls. On the fall of the mountain-chief, the Chohan commanded the 'hymn of triumph'⁴ to be sounded; it startled the mountaineer, but only to nerve his soul afresh. In person the Chohan sought his foe. The son of Someśa is a bridegroom. His streaming standards flutter like the first falls of rain in Asar, and as he steps on the bounds which separate Mundore from Ajmér, 'Victory! victory!' is proclaimed. Still the battle rages. Elephants roar, horses neigh, terror stalks everywhere. The aids of Gírnar and of Sínde now appeared for Mundore, bearing banners of every colour, varied as the flowers of the spring. Both arrays were clad in mail; their eyes and their finger-nails alone were exposed; each invoked his tutelary protector as he wielded the *dodhara*.⁵ Pírti-raj was refulgent as Indra; the Púrihar's brightness was as the morning star; each was clad in armour of proof, immovable as gods in mortal form. The sword of the Chohan descended on the steed of the Púrihar; but as he fell, Nahur sprang erect, and they again darted on each other, their warriors forming a fortress around the persons of their lords. Then advanced the standards of the Pramár, like a black rolling cloud, while the lightnings flashed from his sword. Mohuna, the brother of Mundore, received him; they first examined each other—then joining

¹ *Lāj* is properly 'shame,' which word is always used in lieu of honour: *lāj rakhō*, 'preserve my shame,' i.e. my honour from shame.

² Purbut Virá.

³ The Púrihar prince bestowed this epithet merely in compliment.

⁴ *Sindoo Rdga*.

⁵ With two (*do*) edges (*dhara*).

in the strife, the helm of the Pramara was cleft in twain. Now advanced Chaond, the Dahima ; he grasped his iron lance,¹—it pierced the Purihar, and the head appeared like a serpent looking through the door in his back. The flame (*jote*) united with the fire from which it sprung, while the body fell on its parent earth. By his devotion the sins of his life were forgiven. Nobly did the tiger (Nahur) of Mundore meet the lion of the world. He called aloud, 'Hold your ground as did Bul Raja of old.' Again the battle rages—Doorga gluts herself with blood—the air resounds with the clash of arms and the rattling of banners—the Aswar² rains on the foe—Khétrpal sports in the field of blood—Mahadeva fills his necklace—the eagle gluts itself on the slain—the mien of the warriors expands as does the lotos at the sun-beam—the war-song resounds—with a branch of the toolsi on the helm, adorned in the saffron robe, the warriors on either side salute each other." The bard here exclaims, "But why should I enlarge on this encounter?"—but as this digression is merely for breathing time, we shall not follow him, the object being to introduce the mountain Mair, whom we now see *hors de combat*.

Admitting the exaggeration of the poet, the Mair appears to have been in the twelfth century what he is in the nineteenth, a bold, licentious marauder. He maintained himself throughout the whole of the Mogul domination, alternately succumbing and depredating ; and since the Mahrattas crippled these countries, the Mair had regained all his consequence, and was rapidly encroaching upon his Rajpoot suzerain. But when in 1821 their excesses made it imperative to reduce their holds and fastnesses, they made no stand against the three battalions of sepoy sent against them, and the whole tract was compelled to obedience ; not, however, till many of the descendants of Cheeta and Burrar had suffered both in person and property. The facility with which we reduced to entire subjection this extensive association of plunderers, for centuries the terror of these countries, occasioned no little astonishment to our allies. The resistance was indeed contemptible, and afforded a good argument against the prowess of those who had tolerated the existence of a gang at once so mischievous and weak. But this was leading to a conclusion without looking beneath the surface, or to the moral and political revolution which enervated the arms of Mair and Mahratta, Pindarri and Pat'han. All rose to power from the common occupation of plunderers, aided by the national jealousies of the Rajpoots. If the chieftains of Méwar leagued to assault the mountaineers, they found refuge and support in Marwar ; and as their fortresses at all times presented a sanctuary, their Rawuts or leaders obtained consequence amongst all parties by granting it. Every Mair community, accordingly, had a perfect understanding with the chieftain whose lands were contiguous to their own, and who enjoyed rights granted by the Rana over these nominal subjects. These rights were all of a feudal nature, as *rekwalè* or 'blackmail,' and those petty proofs of subordination, entitled in the feudal law of Europe "*petit serjanterie*." The token might be a colt, a hawk, or a bullock, and a *nuzzerana*, or pecuniary acknowledgment, perhaps only of half a crown on the chieftain's birthday, or on the Rajpoot Saturnalia, the *Holi*.

¹ *Sang* is the iron lance, either wholly of iron, or having plates for about ten feet ; these weapons are much used in combats from camels in the Desert.

² 'Sword'—*Aswar* in the dialect.

But all these petty causes for assimilation between the Rajpoot and the lawless Mair were overlooked, as well as the more powerful one which rendered his arms of no avail. Every door was hermetically sealed against him; wherever he looked he saw a foe—the magical change bewildered him; and when their Khan and his adherents were assailed while in fancied security, and cut off in a midnight attack, his self-confidence was annihilated—he saw a red-coat in every glen, and called aloud for mercy.

A corps of these mountaineers, commanded by English officers, has since been formed, and I have no doubt may become useful. Notwithstanding their lawless habits, they did not neglect agriculture and embanking, as described in the valley of Shero Nullah, and a district has been formed in Mairwarra which in time may yield a lakh of rupees annually to the state.

Some of their customs are so curious, and so different from those of their lowland neighbours, that we may mention a few. Leaving their superstitions as regards omens and auguries, the most singular part of their habits, till we give a detailed sketch of the Ménas hereafter, I will notice the peculiarity of their notions towards females. The Mair, following the customary law handed down from his rude ancestry, and existing long before the written law of Menu, has no objection to a widow as a wife. This contract is termed *na'ha*, and his civilised master levies a fine or fee of a rupee and a quarter for the licence, termed *kagli*. On such marriage, the bridegroom must omit in the *mor*, or nuptial coronet, the graceful palmyra leaf, and substitute a small branch of the sacred peepul wreathed in his turban. Many of the forms are according to the common Hindu ritual. The *sat-pheera*, or seven perambulations round the jars filled with grain, piled over each other—the *gat-joora*, or uniting the garments—and the *hatléva*, or junction of hands of bride and bridegroom, are followed by the Mairs. Even the northern clans, who are converts to Islâm, return to their ancient habits on this occasion, and have a Brahmin priest to officiate. I discovered, on inquiring into the habits of the Mairs, that they are not the only race which did not refuse to wed a widow, and that both Brahmins and Rajpoots have from ancient times been accustomed not to consider it derogatory. Of the former, the sacerdotal class, the Nagda Brahmins, established at this town long before the Gehlotes obtained power in Méwar. Of the Rajpoots, they are all of the most ancient tribes, now the allodial vassals or bhomias of Rajpootana, as the Chinanoh, Kharwar, Ootain, Dya, names better known in the mystic page of the chronicle than now, though occasionally met with in the valleys of the Aravulli. But this practice, so little known, gives rise to an opinion, that many of the scrupulous habits regarding women are the inventions of the priests of more modern days. The facilities for separation are equally simple. If tempers do not assimilate, or other causes prompt them to part, the husband tears a shred from his turban, which he gives to his wife, and with this simple bill of divorce, placing two jars filled with water on her head, she takes whatever path she pleases, and the first man who chooses to ease her of her load becomes her future lord. This mode of divorce is practised not only amongst all the Ménas, but by Jâts, Goojurs, Aheers, Mallis, and other Soodra tribes. *Jehûr lé or nikela*, 'took the jar and went forth,' is a common saying amongst the mountaineers of Mairwarra.

Their invocations and imprecations are peculiar. The Cheeta or northern Mair, since he became acquainted with the name of the prophet, swears by "*Allah*," or by his first proselyte ancestor, "*Dooda Dawad Khan*," or the still more ancient head of the races, "*Cheeta, Burrar ca án*." The southern Mairs also use the latter oath: "By my allegiance to Cheeta and Burrar;" and they likewise swear by the sun, "*Sooraj ca Sogun*," and "*Nat'h ca Sogun*"; or their ascetic priest, called the *Nat'h*. The Mahomedan Mair will not now eat hog; the southron refuses nothing, though he respects the cow from the prejudices of those around him, and to please the *Nat'h* or *jogi*, his spiritual guide. The partridge and the *maloli*, or wag-tail, are the chief birds of omen with him, and the former 'clamouring' on the left, when he commences a foray, is a certain presage of success. To conclude; colonies of the Mairs or Méras will be found as far north as the Chumbul, and even in the peninsula of Saurashtra. Mairwarra is now in subjection to the Rana of Méwar, who has erected small forts amidst the most influential communities to overawe them. The whole tract has been assessed; the chiefs of the districts being brought to the Rana's presence presented *nuzzerana*, swore fidelity, and received according to their rank gold bracelets or turbans. It was an era in the annals of Méwar to see the accumulated arms of Mairwarra piled upon the terrace of the palace at the capital; but these measures were subsequent to our sojourn in the glen of Komulmér, from which we have yet to issue to gain Marwar.

October 21.—All hailed the return of daylight with reverence. Captain Waugh and the Doctor uncoiled from the elephant's *jhool*, and I issued from my *palki*, which had proved a welcome retreat against the chills of the night air. By thirst and hunger our appetite for the picturesque was considerably abated, and the contemplation of the spot where we had bivouaced in that philosophical spirit of silence, which all have experienced who have made a long march before breakfast, lost much of its romantic interest. Nevertheless, could I have consulted merely my own wishes, I would have allowed my friends and escort to follow the canteen, and have pursued an intricate path which branched off to the right, to have had the chance of an interview with the outlaw of Goculgurh.

This petty chieftain, who enjoyed the distinctive epithet of outlaw (*barwuttea*), was of the Sonigurra clan (a branch of the Chohans), who for centuries were the lords of Jhalore. He was a vassal of Marwar, now sovereign of Jhalore, and being expelled for his turbulence by his prince, he had taken post in the old ruined castle of Goculgurh, on a cliff of the Aravulli, and had become the terror of the country. By his knowledge of the intricacies of the mountains, he eluded pursuit; and his misdeeds being not only connived at, but his spoils participated by the chief of Deogurh, in whose fief was his haunt, he was under no apprehension of surprise. Inability either to seize the Barwuttea, or drive him from his retreat, formed a legitimate excuse for the resumption of Goculgurh, and the dues of 'blackmail' he derived from its twelve dependent villages. The last act of the Sonigurra was most flagrant; he intercepted in the plains of Godwar a marriage procession, and made captives the bridegroom and bride, whom he conveyed to Goculgurh, where they long languished for want of ransom. A party was formed to lay in wait for him: but he escaped the snare, and his retreat was found empty. Such

was the state of society in these districts. The form of outlawry is singular in this country, where the penal laws are satisfied with banishment, even in cases of treason, instead of the sanguinary law of civilization. The criminal against whom the sentence of exile is pronounced being called into his prince's presence, is clad in black vestments, and placed upon a black steed, his arms and shield all of the same sombre hue of mourning and disgrace ; he is then left to gain the frontier by himself. This custom is very ancient : the Pandu brothers were " Barwutteas " ¹ from the Jumna three thousand years ago. The Jessulmér annals relate the solemnity as practised towards one of their own princes ; and the author, in the domestic dissensions of Kotah, received a letter from the prince, wherein he demands either that his rights should be conceded, or that the government would bestow the " black garment," and leave him to his fate.

Conversing on these and similar subjects with my Marwarri friends, we threaded our way for five miles through the jungles of the pass, which we had nearly cleared, when we encountered the chieftain of Ganora at the head of his retinue, who of his own accord, and from a feeling of respect to his ancient sovereign the Rana, advanced thus far to do me honour. I felt the compliment infinitely the more, as it displayed that spirit of loyalty peculiar to the Rajpoot, though the step was dangerous with his jealous sovereign, and ultimately was prejudicial to him. After dismounting and embracing, we continued to ride to the tents, conversing on the past history of the province, of his prince, and the Rana, after whom he affectionately inquired. Ajeet Sing is a noble-looking man, about thirty years of age, tall, fair, and sat his horse like a brave Rahtore cavalier. Ganora is the chief town of Godwar, with the exception of the commercial Palli, and the garrison-post Daisoori. From this important district the Rana could command four thousand Rahtores holding lands on the tenure of service, of whom the Ganora chief, then one of the sixteen nobles of Méwar, was the head. Notwithstanding the course of events had transferred the province, and consequently his services, from the Rana of Oodipoor to the Raja of Jodpoor, so difficult is it to eradicate old feelings of loyalty and attachment, that the present Thacoor preferred having the sword of investiture bound on him by his ancient and yet nominal suzerain, rather than by his actual sovereign. For this undisguised mark of feeling, Ganora was denuded of its walls, which were levelled to the ground ; a perpetual memento of disgrace and an incentive to vengeance : and whenever the day arrives that the Rana's herald may salute him with the old motto, " Remember Komulmér," he will not be deaf to the call. To defend this post was the peculiar duty of his house, and often have his ancestors bled in maintaining it against the Mogul. Even now, such is the inveteracy with which the Rajpoot clings to his honours, that whenever the Ganora chief, or any of his near kin, attend the Rana's court, he is saluted at the porte, or at the *champ de Mars*, by a silver mace-bearer from the Rana, with the ancient war-cry, " Remember Komulmér," and he still receives on all occasions of rejoicing a *khelat* from that prince. He has to boast of being of the Rana's blood, and is by courtesy called " the nephew of Méwar." The Thacoor politely invited me to visit him ; but I was aware that compliance would have involved him in difficulties with

¹ This term is a compound of *bar* and *wuttana*, literally ' ex patria.'

his jealous prince, and made excuses of fatigue, and the necessity of marching next morning, the motives of which he could not misunderstand.

Our march this morning was but short, and the last two miles were in the plains of Marwar, with merely an occasional rock. Carey joined us, congratulating himself on the ducking which had secured him better fare than we had enjoyed in the pass of Komulmér, and which fastened both on Waugh and myself violent colds. The atmospheric change was most trying: emerging from the cold breezes of the mountains to 96° of Fahrenheit, the effect was most injurious: it was 58° in the morning of our descent into the glen. Alas! for my surviving barometer! Mohés, my amanuensis, who had been entrusted with it, joined us next day, and told me the quicksilver had contrived to escape; so I lost the opportunity of comparing the level of the desert with the plains of Marwar.

October 27.—Halted to collect the scattered baggage, and to give the men rest; the day was nearly over before the whole came up, each party bringing lamentable reports of the disastrous descent. I received a visit from the chief of Roopnagurh, who, like the Thacoor of Ganora, owes a divided allegiance to the courts on each side the mountains. His castle, which gives him rank as one of the most conspicuous of the second grade of the Rana's nobles, was visible from the camp, being placed on the western face of the mountains, and commanding a difficult passage across them. From thence he looks down upon Daisoori and his ancient patrimony, now transferred with Godwar to the Rahtore prince; and often has he measured his lance with the present occupants to retain his ancient *bhóm*, the right derived from the cultivating proprietor of the soil. The chief of Roopnagurh is of the Solanki race, a lineal descendant of the sovereigns of Nehrwalla, and the inheritor of the war-shell of the celebrated monarch Sidraj,¹ one of the most powerful who ever sat on an eastern throne, and who occupied that of Anhulwarra from A.D. 1094, during half a century, celebrated as a patron of literature and the arts. When in the thirteenth century this state was destroyed, the branches found refuge, as already described, in Méwar; for the ancestor of Roopnagurh was brother to the father of "the star of Bednore," and was invested with the estate and lands of Daisoori by the same gallant prince who obtained her hand by the recovery of her father's estates. The anecdote is worthy of relation, as showing that the Rajpoot will stop at nothing "to obtain land." The intestine feuds amongst Rana Raemul's sons, and his constant warfare with the kings of Dehli and Malwa, made his authority very uncertain in Godwar. The Ména and Mair possessed themselves of lands in the plains, and were supported by the Madraicha descendant of the once independent Chohan sovereigns of Nadole, the ancient capital of this region. Sand, the Madraicha, had obtained possession of Daisoori, the garrison-town. To expel him, the prince had recourse to Sadda, the Solanki, whose son was married to the daughter of the Madraicha. The bribe for the reward of this treachery was to be the grant in perpetuity of Daisoori and its lands. Sadda's son readily entered into the scheme; and to afford facilities for its execution he went with his wife to reside at Daisoori. It was long before an opportunity offered; but at length the marriage of the young Madraicha to the daughter of Sugra the Balecho was communicated to the Solanki by his son; who told his father "to

¹ He ruled from A.D. 1094 to 1144.

watch the smoke ascending from the tower of Daisoori," as the signal for the attempt to get possession. Anxiously did Sand watch from his castle of Sodgurh the preconcerted sign, and when the volume of black smoke ascended, he rushed down from the Aravulli at the head of his retainers. The mother-in-law of the young Solanki sent to know why he should make a smoke as if he were burning a corpse, when her son must be returning with his bride. Soon she heard the clash of arms; the Solankis had entered and fired the town, and the bridal party appeared before success was attained. Spears and swords were plied. "'Ware the bull!" (*sandh*), said the Madraicha, as he encountered his foe. "My name is the lion (*singh*) who will devour the bull," replied the Solanki. The contest was fierce, but the Madraichas were slain, and in the morn Pirthi-raj was put in possession of Daisoori. He drew out a grant upon the spot, inserting in it a curse against any of Seesodia blood who might break the bond which had restored the Rahtore authority in Godwar. Although seventeen generations have passed since this event, the feud has continued between the descendants of the lion of Sodgurh and the bull of Daisoori, though the object of dissension is alienated from both.

I could well have dispensed with visits this day, the thermometer being 96°; I was besides devoured with inflammatory cold; but there was no declining another polite visit of the chieftain of Ganora. His retinue afforded a good opportunity of contrasting the Seesodia Rajpoot of fertile Méwar with the Rahtores of Marwar, and which on the whole would have been favourable to the latter, if we confined our view to those of the valley of Oodipoor, or the mountainous region of its southern limit, where climate and situation are decidedly unfavourable. There the Rajpoot may be said not only to deteriorate in muscular form and strength, but in that fairness of complexion which distinguishes him from the lower orders of Hindus. But the danger of generalising on such matters will be apparent, when it is known that there is a cause continually operating to check and diminish the deteriorating principle arising from the climate and situation (or, as the Rajpoot would say, from the *howa pânt*, 'air and water') of these unhealthy tracts; namely, the continual influx of the purest blood from every region in Rajpootana: and the stream which would become corrupt if only flowing from the commingling of the Chondawuts of Saloombra and the Jhalas of Gogoonda (both mountainous districts), is refreshed by that of the Rahtores of Godwar, the Chohans of Haravati, or the Bhatti of the desert. I speak from conviction, the chieftains above mentioned affording proofs of the evil resulting from such repeated intermarriages; for, to use their own adage, "a raven will produce a raven." But though the personal appearance of the chieftain of Gogoonda might exclude him from the table of the sixteen barons of Méwar, his son by a Rahtore mother may be exhibited as a redeeming specimen of the Jhalas, and one in every way favourable of the Rajpoot of Méwar. On such occasion, also, as a formal visit, both chieftain and retainers appear under every advantage of dress and decoration; for even the form of the turban may improve the contour of the face, though the Mairteas of Ganora have nothing so decidedly peculiar in this way as those of other clans.

After some discourse on the history of past days, with which, like every respectable Rajpoot, I found him perfectly conversant, the Ganora

chief took his leave with some courteous and friendly expressions. It is after such a conversation that the mind disposed to reflection will do justice to the intelligence of these people: I do not say this with reference to the baron of Ganora, but taking them generally. If by history we mean the relation of events in succession, with an account of the leading incidents connecting them, then are all the Rajpoots versed in this science; for nothing is more common than to hear them detail their immediate ancestry or that of their prince for many generations, with the events which have marked their societies. It is immaterial whether he derives this knowledge from the chronicle, the chronicler, or both: it not only rescues him from the charge of ignorance, but suggests a comparison between him and those who constitute themselves judges of nationalities by no means unfavourable to the Rajpoot.

October 28.—Marched at daybreak. The Thacoor sent a confidential vassal to accompany me through his domain. We could now look around us, as we receded from the Alpine Aravulli, with nothing to obstruct the vision, over the fertile plains of Godwar. We passed near Ganora, whose isolated portals, without tower or curtain to connect them, have a most humiliating appearance. It is to Raja Bheem, some twenty years ago, that their chieftains owe this degradation, in order to lessen their ability to recover the province for its ancient master the Rana. It was indeed one of the gems of his crown, as it is the only dazzling one in that of Marwar. While we marched over its rich and beautiful plains, well watered, well wooded, and abounding in fine towns, I entered into conversation with the Rana's envoy, who joined me on the march. Kishendas has already been mentioned as one of the few men of integrity and wisdom who had been spared to be useful to his country. He was a mine of ancient lore, and his years, his situation, and his character, gave force to his sentiments of determined independence. He was as quick as touchwood, which propensity occasionally created a wordy war between me and my friend, who knew my respect for him. "Restore us Godwar," was his abrupt salutation as he joined me on the march: to which, being a little vexed, as the point could not be agitated by our government, I said in reply, "Why did you let them take it?—where has the Seesodia sword slept this half century?" Adding, "God Almighty never intended that the region on this side the mountains should belong to Méwar;—nature's own hand has placed the limit between you." The old envoy's blood was roused as he exclaimed, "Even on this principle, Godwar is our's, for nature has marked our limit by stronger features than mountains. Observe, as you advance, and you will find to the further limit of the province every shrub and flower common to Méwar; pass that limit but a few yards, and they are lost:

"Aonla, aonla Méwar:
Bawul, bawul Marwar.

"Wherever the aonla puts forth its yellow blossoms, the land is of right ours; we want nothing more. Let them enjoy their stunted babools,¹ their khureel, and the ák; but give us back our sacred peepul, and the aonla of the border." In truth, the transition is beyond credence marked: cross but a shallow brook, and you leave all that is magnificent in vegeta-

¹ *Mimosa Arabica*.

tion ; the peepul, burr, and that species of the *mimosa* resembling the cypress, peculiar to Godwar, are exchanged for the prickly shrubs, as the wild caper, jowas, and many others, more useful than ornamental, on which the camel browses. The argument was, however, more ingenious than just, and the old envoy was here substituting the effect for the cause ; but he shall explain in his own words why Flora should be permitted to mark the line of demarcation instead of the rock-enthroned (*Doorga*) Cybele. The legend now repeated is historical, and the leading incidents of it have already been touched upon ;¹ I shall therefore condense the Pancholi's description into a summary analysis of the cause why the couplet of the bard should be deemed "confirmation strong" of the bounds of kingdoms. These traditionary couplets, handed down from generation to generation, are the most powerful evidence of the past, and they are accordingly employed to illustrate the *khhâts*, or annals, of Rajpootana. When, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, the founder of the Chondawuts repaid the meditated treachery of Rinmull of Mundore by his death, he took possession of that capital and the entire country of the Rahtores (then but of small extent), which he held for several years. The heir of Mundore became a fugitive, concealing himself in the fastnesses of the Aravulli, with little hope that his name (Joda) would become a patronymic, and that he would be honoured as the second founder of his country : that Mundore itself should be lost in Jodpoor. The recollection of the feud was almost extinct ; the young Rana of Cheetore had passed the years of Rajpoot minority, and Joda continued a fugitive in the wilds of Bhanduc-perao, with but a few horse in his train, indebted to the resources of some independents of the desert for the means of subsistence. He was discovered in this retreat by a Charun or bard, who, without aspiring to prophetic powers, revealed to him that the intercession of the queen-mother of Cheetore had determined the Rana to restore him to Mundore. Whether the sister of Joda, to give éclat to the restoration, wished it to have the appearance of a conquest, or whether Joda, impatient for possession, took advantage of circumstances to make his entrance one of triumph, and thereby redeem the disgrace of a long and humiliating exile, it is difficult to decide ; for while the annals of Méwar make the restoration an act of grace, those of Marwar give it all the colours of a triumph. Were the point worthy of discussion, we should say both accounts were correct. The Rana had transmitted the recall of Chonda from Mundore, but concealed from him the motive, and while Joda even held in his possession the Rana's letter of restoration, a concatenation of circumstances, in which "the omen" was predominant, occurred to make him anticipate his induction by a measure more consonant to the Rajpoot, a brilliant *coup de main*. Joda had left his retreat in the *Roon* ² to make known to Hurba Sankla, Pabooji, and other *rievers* of the desert, the changes which the bard had communicated. While he was there, intelligence was brought that Chonda, in obedience to his sovereign's command, had proceeded to Cheetore. That same night "the bird of omen perched on Joda's lance, and the star which irradiated his birth shone bright upon it." The bard of Mundore revealed the

¹ See p. 224.

² An *alp*, or spot in these mountainous regions, where springs, pasture, and other natural conveniences exist.

secret of heaven to Joda, and the heroes in his train: "Ere that star descends in the west, your pennon will wave on the battlements of Mundore." Unless, however, this "vision of glory" was merely mental, Joda's star must have been visible in daylight; for they could never have marched from the banks of the Looni, where the Sankla resided to Mundore, between its rising and setting. The elder son of Chonda had accompanied his father, and they had proceeded two coss in their journey, when a sudden blaze appeared in Mundore: Chonda pursued his route, while his son Manja returned to Mundore. Joda was already in possession; his *án* had been proclaimed, and the two other sons of Chonda had fallen in its defence. Manja, who fled, was overtaken and slain on the border. These tidings reached Chonda at the pass of the Aravulli; he instantly returned to Mundore, where he was met by Joda, who showed him the letters of surrender for Mundore, and a command that he should fix with him the future boundary of each state. Chonda thought that there was no surer line of demarcation than that chalked out by the hand of nature; and he accordingly fixed that wherever the "yellow blossom" was found, the land should belong to his sovereign, and the bard was not slow in perpetuating the decree. Such is the origin of

"Aonla, aonla Méwar:
Bawul, bawul Marwar."

The brave and loyal founder of the Chondawuts, who thus sacrificed his revenge to his sovereign's commands, had his feelings in some degree propitiated by this arrangement, which secured the entire province of Godwar to his prince: his son Manja fell, as he touched the region of the aonlas, and this cession may have been in '*moondkati*,' the compromise of the price of blood. By such traditional legends, not less true than strange, and to which the rock sculptures taken from Mundore bear evidence, even to the heroes who aided Joda in his enterprise, the *aonla* of the Rajpoots has been immortalised, like the humble *broom* of the French, whose *planta-geneta* has distinguished the loftiest name in chivalry, the proudest race emblazoned on the page of heraldry.

Notwithstanding the crops had been gathered, this tract contrasted favourably with Méwar, although amidst a comparative prosperity we could observe the traces of rapine; and numerous stories were rehearsed of the miseries inflicted on the people by the rapacious followers of Ameer Khan. We crossed numerous small streams flowing from the Aravulli, all proceeding to join the "Salt River," or Looni. The villages were large and more populous; yet was there a dulness, a want of that hilarity which pervaded the peasantry of Méwar, in spite of their misfortunes. The Rajpoots partook of the feeling, the cause of which a little better acquaintance with their headquarters soon revealed. Méwar had passed through the period of reaction, which in Marwar was about to display itself, and was left unfortunately to its own control, or with only the impulse of a long suppressed feeling of revenge in the bosom of its prince, and the wiles of a miscreant minister, who wished to keep him in durance, and the country in degradation.

It creates a refreshing sensation to find the camp pitched in a cool and shaded spot; and at Nadole we had this satisfaction. Here again there was no time for recreation, for there was abundant, nay, overwhelming

matter both for the pen and the pencil ; but my readers must be satisfied with the imperfect delineations of the first. Nadole is still a place of some consequence, though, but for its temples, we should not have supposed it to have been the capital of a province. With its neighbour, Nadolaye, five miles to the westward, it was the abode of a branch of the Chohans of Ajmér, established at a very early period. From Nadole sprung the Deoras of Sirohi, and the Sonigurras of Jhalore. The former still maintain their ground, in spite of all attempts of the Rahtores ; but the Sonigurra, who was immortalised by his struggle against the second Alla, is blotted from the list of independent states ; and this valuable domain, consisting of three hundred and sixty towns, is now incorporated with Jodpoor.

There is no spot in Rajpootana that does not contain some record of the illustrious Chohan ; and though every race has had its career of glory, the sublimity of which, the annals of the Seesodias before the reader sufficiently attest, yet with all my partiality for those with whom I long resided, and with whose history I am best acquainted, my sense of justice compels me to assign the palm of martial intrepidity to the Chohan over all the "royal races" of India. Even the bards, to whatever family they belong, appear to articulate the very name as if imbued with some peculiar energy, and dwell on its terminating nasal with peculiar complacency. Although they had always ranked high in the list of chivalry, yet the seal of the order was stamped on all who have the name of Chohan, since the days of Pirthi-raj, the model of every Rajpoot, and who had a long line of fame to maintain. Of the many names familiar to the bard is Goga of Batinda, who with forty-seven sons "drank of the stream of the sword" on the banks of the Sutledge, in opposing Mahmoud. This conqueror proceeded through the desert to the attack of Ajmér, the chief abode of this race, where his arms were disgraced, the invader wounded, and forced to relinquish his enterprise. In his route to Nehrwalla and Somnath he passed Nadole,¹ whose prince hesitated not to measure his sword even with Mahmoud. I was fortunate enough to obtain an inscription regarding this prince, the celebrated Lakha, said to be the founder of this branch from Ajmér, of which it was a fief—its date S. 1039 (A.D. 983). The fortress attributed to Lakha is on the declivity of a low ridge to the westward of the town, with square towers of ancient form, and built of a very curious conglomerate of granite and gneiss, of which the rock on which it stands is composed. There was a second inscription, dated S. 1024 (A.D. 968), which made him the contemporary of the Rana's ancestor, Sacti Khomar of Aetpoor, a city also destroyed, more probably by the father of Mahmoud. The Chohan bards speak in very lofty terms of Rao Lakha, who "collected transit dues from the further gate of Anhulwarra, and levied tribute from the prince of Chetore."

It is impossible to do full justice to the architectural remains, which are well worthy of the pencil. Here everything shows that the Jain faith was once predominant, and that their arts, like their religion, were of a character quite distinct from those of Síva. The temple of Mahavíra, the last of their twenty-four apostles, is a very fine piece of architecture. Its

¹ Ferishta, or his copyist, by a false arrangement of the points, has lost Nadole in Buzule, using the ب for the ن and the ن for the د.

vaulted roof is a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East; probably invented anterior to the Roman. The principle is no doubt the same as the first substitute of the arch, and is that which marked the genius of Cæsar in his bridge over the Rhone, and which appears over every mountain-torrent of the ancient Helvetii, from whom he may have borrowed it. The principle is that of a horizontal instead of a radiating pressure. At Nadole, the stones are placed by a gradual projection one over the other, the apex being closed by a circular key-stone. The angles of all these projections being rounded off, the spectator looking up, can only describe the vault as a series of gradually diminishing amulets or rings converging to the apex. The effect is very pleasing, though it furnishes a strong argument that the Hindus first became acquainted with the perfect arch through their conquerors. The *forum*, in front of the altar of Mahavira, is exquisitely sculptured, as well as several statues of marble, discovered about one hundred and fifty years ago in the bed of the river, when it changed its course. It is not unlikely that they were buried during Mahmoud's invasion. But the most singular structure of Nadole is a reservoir, called the *chumna ca bowlee*, from the cost of it being paid by the return of a single grain of pulse (*chumna*). The excavation is immense; the descent is by a flight of grey granite steps, and the sides are built up from the same materials by piling blocks upon blocks of enormous magnitude, without the least cement.

My acquisitions here were considerable. Besides copies of inscriptions made by my Sanscrit scribes, I obtained two originals on brass. Of one of these, dated S. 1218, the memorial of Allandéva, I append a translation,¹ which may be considered curious as a formula of endowment of the Jains. I likewise procured several isolated MS. leaves of very great value, relative to the thirty-six royal races, to the ancient geography of India, and to the founding of ancient cities; also a catalogue of longevity of plants and animals, and an extract from a work concerning the descendants of Srenica and Sumpriti, the potent princes of the Jain faith between Mahavira and Vicrama. However meagre these fragments may be, I have incorporated their contents into my mosaic. I also made valuable additions to my collection of medals, for I obtained coins of Mahmoud, Bulbun, and Alla, surnamed *Khooni*, or 'the sanguinary'; and another of a conqueror equally meriting that title, Nadir Shah. But these were of little consequence compared with what one of my envoys brought from Nadolaye—a small bag full of curious hieroglyphical (if I may so use the term) medals of the Chohan princes.² One side represents a warrior on horseback, compounded out of a character to which I have applied the above term; on some there was a bull; while others, retaining the original reverse, have on the obverse the titles of the first Islamite conquerors, in the same manner as the currency of France bears the effigies of Louis xvi. and the emblems of the Republic. Whoever will pay a visit to Nadole, will find his labour amply rewarded; I had only leisure to glean a few of these relics, which yet formed a rich harvest. Nadolaye, Balli, Daisoori, Sadri, all ancient seats of the Jains, will yield medals, MSS., and rare specimens of the architectural art. From Aboo to Mundore, the antiquary might fill many port-

¹ See Appendix, No. VII.

² These will appear more appropriately in a disquisition on Hindu medals found by me in India, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

folios, and collect matter for volumes of the ancient history of this people, for this is the cradle of their faith. That I was enabled to obtain so much during a rapid march through the country, arose partly from previous knowledge, partly from the extent of my means, for I had flying detachments to the right and left of my route, consisting of intelligent natives of each city, accompanied by pundits for deciphering, and others for collecting whatever was the object of research ; who, at the close of each day, brought me the fruits of their inquiries. When any remarkable discovery was made, I followed it up in person, or by sending those in whom I could confide. This is not mentioned from a spirit of egotism, but to incite others to the pursuit by showing the rewards which await such research.

October 29.—Camp at Eendurra, eleven miles. This small town, placed on the north bank of one of the nameless feeders of the ' salt river,' is the boundary of Godwar ; here the reign of the yellow aonla terminates, and here commences *Maroost'hali*, or ' the region of death.' The transition is great. We can look back upon fertility, and forward on aridity, which does not, however, imply sterility : for that cunning artist, nature, compensates the want of verdure and foliage to the inhabitants of the desert, by many spontaneous bounties. An entire race of cucurbitaceous plants is the eleemosynary equivalent for the mango and exotics of the central lands of Rajpootana ; while indigenous poverty sends forth her commercial sons from Osi, Palli, and Pokurna, to bring wealth from the Ganges and the Kistna, to the Looni, or to the still more remote oasis, Jessulmér. From Eendurra everything assumed a new character : the sand, of which we had before scarcely a springling, became occasionally heavy ; the shallow beds of the numerous streams were white with saline incrustations ; and the vegetable creation had been gradually diminishing, from the giant race of the sacred fig-tree with leaf " broad as Amazonian targe," to the dwarfish shrubs of the desert. At once the satiric stanza of the bard of a more favoured region was brought to my mind, and as I repeated it to my old friend the Rana's envoy, he enjoyed the confession, and afresh urged his wish that nature should decide the question of their boundaries :

*Âk ra jhopra,
Phok ra bâr,
Bajra ra rooti,
Mo'h ra dâl,
Dekhho ho Raja, teri Marwar.*

' Huts of the âk,
Barriers of thorns,
Bread of maize,
Lentils of the vetch,
Behold Raja, your Marwar ! '

The villages are of a construction totally distinct from anything we have seen, and more approaching the wigwam of the western world. Every commune is surrounded with a circumvallation of thorns, *kanta ka kote*, and the stacks of *bhoos*, or ' chaff,' which are placed at intervals, give it the appearance of a respectable fortification. These *bhoos* stacks are erected to provide provender for the cattle in scanty rainy seasons, when the parched earth denies grass, or full crops of maize. They are erected to the height of twenty or thirty feet, coated with a cement of earth and cow-dung,

and with a sprinkling of thorns, to prevent the fowls of the air from reposing in them. In this manner, with a little fresh coating, they will exist ten years, being only resorted to on emergencies, when the kine may be said to devour the village walls. Their appearance is a great relief to the monotony of the march through the desert ; which, however, cannot strictly be said to commence till you cross the Looni.

October 30.—A long march of twenty-one miles, in which there was little to record, brought us to Palli, the great commercial mart of western Rajwarra. Like everything else in these regions it bore the marks of rapine ; and as in the civil wars of this state its possession was of great importance to either party, the fortifications were razed at the desire of the inhabitants, who did not admire the noise of war within their gates. From the same feeling, when it was proposed to gird the sister mart, Bhilwara, with walls, the opposition to it was universal. The remnants of the walls lend it an air of desolation. The town is overrated at ten thousand houses. As an emporium its reputation is of ancient date : and, politically, it is connected with the establishment of the reigning family in these regions. A community of Brahmins then held Palli in grant from the princes of Mundore : whence comes a numerous class, termed Palliwal, who follow mercantile pursuits. It was in S. 1212 (A.D. 1156) that Séôji, the founder of the Rahtore dynasty and son to the emperor of Canouj, passed Palli on his return from a pilgrimage from Dwarica to the Ganges. The Brahmins sent a deputation to relieve them from two great enemies to their repose, namely, the Ménas of the Aravulli, and the lions, which had become very numerous. Séôji relieved them from both ; but the opportunity "to acquire land" was too good to be lost, and on the festival of the *Holi* he put the leading Brahmins to death, and took possession of Palli.

Commerce, in these regions, is the basis of liberty : even despotism is compelled to leave it unrestrained. Palli, like Bhilwara, Jhalrapattan, Rinnie, and other marts, enjoys the right of electing its own magistrates, both for its municipal regulations, and the arbitration of all matters connected with commercial pursuits. It was commerce which freed Europe from the bondage of feudality ; and the towns above cited only require the same happy geographical position, to play the part of the Hanse towns of Europe. Like Bhilwara, Palli has its own currency, which, amidst universal deterioration, it has retained undebased. From remote times, Palli has been the connecting link between the sea-coast and northern India. Commercial houses established at Muscat-Mandavi, Surat, and Noanuggur, transmit the products of Persia, Arabia, Africa, and Europe, receiving those of India and Thibet. To enumerate all the articles, it would be necessary to name the various products of each : from the coast, elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' hides, copper, tin, pewter, dates dried and moist,¹ of which there is an immense consumption in these regions ; gum-arabic, borax, coco-nuts, broad-cloths, striped silks, called *putung* ; various dyes, particularly the *kermes* or crimson ; drugs, especially the oxides of arsenic and quicksilver ; spices, sandal-wood, camphor, tea, *mummaye* or mummy,² which is much sought after in medicine, and green

¹ The *kharik* and *pind kujoor*.

² *Mom* in the language of Egypt signifies 'wax,' says some ancient authority : so it is the usual name of that article in Persian. *Mommy* is probably thence

glass (*kanch*). From Bhawulpoor, soda (*saji*), the dyes called *di* and *mumject*, matchlocks, dried fruits, assafoetida, Mooltan chintzes, and wood for household furniture. From Kotah and Malwa, opium and chintzes. From Jeipoor, various cloths and sugars. From Bhooj, swords and horses.

The exports of home production are the two staple articles of salt and woollens ; to which we may add coarse cotton cloths, and paper made in the town of Palli. The *looes*, or blankets, are disseminated throughout India, and may be had at from four to sixty rupees per pair ; scarfs and turbans are made of the same material, but not for exportation. But salt is the chief article of export, and the duties arising therefrom equal half the land revenue of the country. Of the *aggurs*, or 'salt lakes,' Puchbuddra, Filodi, and Deedwana, are the principal, the first being several miles in circuit.

The commercial duties of Palli yielded 75,000 rupees annually, a large sum in a poor country like Marwar.

The Charuns and Bhats, or *bards* and *genealogists*, are the chief carriers of these regions : their sacred character overawes the lawless Rajpoot chief ; and even the savage Koli and Bhil, and the plundering Sahrac of the desert, dread the anathema of these singular races, who conduct the caravans through the wildest and most desolate regions. The traveller avails himself of such convoy who desires to proceed to the coast by Jalore, Beenmahl, Sanchoe, and Radhunpoor, whence he may pursue his route to Surat, or Muscat-Mandavi.

To the east of Palli about ten miles, there is an isolated hill, called *Poonagir*, 'the hill of virtue,' which is crowned with a small temple, said to have been conveyed by a Buddhist magician from Palit'hana in Saurashtra. Wherever this ancient and numerous sect exists, magical skill is always asserted. Here we found our old friend, Gough, who had been rambling to the south-west amongst Sahrac, Kossas, and all the wild beings of these uncivilised tracts, in search of new breeds of horses. Halted to enjoy his society.

Kharira, 30th.

Rohit, 31st.

November 1.—Khankani, on the north bank of the Looni. There was nothing to arrest attention between Palli and the Looni : all is flat and lonely in the thirty miles which intervene. Our halts were at Kharira, which has two small salt lakes, whence its name ; in fact, this superabundant product, *khar*, or salt, gives its name to streams and towns. Both Kharira and Rohit, the intermediate places of halt, are feudal estates, and both chiefs had been involved in the recent civil dissensions : Rohit was under the ban.

Here I had an exemplification of the vulgar adage, "two of a trade," etc. Paimah Naik, the leader of one of the largest *tandas*, or caravans, which frequent the desert for salt, had left his convoy, and with his brethren came to exhibit his wounds and fractures received in a fray with the leaders of another caravan. Both were Bhats ; Paimah was the

derived. I remember playing a trick on old Seeloo, our *khuburdar* at Sindia's camp, who had been solicited to obtain a piece of *mummaye* for a chieftain's wife. As we are supposed to possess everything valuable in the healing art, he would take no refusal ; so I substituted a piece of indiarubber.

head of the Bhamunia Bhats, so called from the place of their abode, and he counted forty thousand beasts of burthen under his control. Shama had no distinctive epithet : he had no home separate from his *tanda*. His little state when not in motion was on the highways ; hence those who dwell entirely with their cattle are styled *ooboh punti*, 'on the road.' Shama had taken advantage of the greater portion of Paimah's caravan being detached, to revenge an ancient feud ; and had shown himself quite an adept in club-law, as the broken heads of his opponents disclosed. To reconcile them was impossible ; and as the case was to be decided, not by the scales of abstract justice but by calculating which contributed most in duties, Paimah by this summary process, more than from sympathy to his wounded honour, gained a victory by the exclusion of his rival. As before observed, these classes take advantage of their sacred character amongst the Rajpoots, to become the general carriers of the country : but the advantage which might result to the state from the respect paid to them is neutralised by their avarice, and constant evasion of the payment of all established duties. A memorable example of this kind occurred during the reign of Umra the First, with the ancestor of this same Paimah. The Rana would not submit to the insolent demands of the Bhats, when they had recourse to one of the most sanguinary sacrifices ever recorded—the threat alone of which is generally sufficient to extort acquiescence and concession. But the firmness of Umra has been recorded : and he braved them. Collecting the elder portion of their community, men, women, and youths of both sexes, they made a sacrifice to the number of eighty souls with their daggers in the court of the palace. The blood of the victims was on the Rana's head. It was a species of excommunication, which would have unsettled a weaker reason ; for the Rajpoot might repose after the murder of a Brahmin, but that of the prophetic *Vates* would rise against him here and hereafter. For once they encountered a mind too strong to be shaken ; Umra banished the whole fraternity of Bhamunia Bhats from his dominions, and the town of Bhamuni reverted to the fisc. The edict remained uncanceled until these days, when amongst the industrious of all classes whom the proclamations¹ brought once more to Méwar, came Paimah and his brethren. Although tradition had preserved the causes of their exile, it had made no alteration in their sentiments and opinions, and the dagger was always at hand, to be sheathed in their own flesh whenever provocation called it from the girdle. Paimah beset the Rana in all his rides, demanding a reduction, or rather abolition of duties for his *tanda* ; and at length he took up a position on the terrace fronting the 'balcony of the sun,' threatening a '*chandi*,' for such is the term applied to this suicidal revenge. The Rana, who had not the nerve of his ancestor, sent to me to beseech my interference : with his messenger, one from me returned to invite the Bhats to a settlement. They came, as fine, robust, intrepid a set as I ever saw. We soon came to issue : I urged that duties must be paid by all who chose to frequent the passes of Méwar, and that they would get nothing by their present silly mode of endeavouring to obtain remission ; that if they would give a written agreement to abide by the scale of duties laid down, they should receive exemption for five hundred out of the forty thousand bullocks of their *tanda*, and be re-inducted into Bhamuni ; if not, there were daggers (showing them some

¹ See p. 383.

on the table), and they might begin as soon as they pleased. I added, that, in addition to Rana Umra's penalty of banishment, I would recommend confiscation of their entire caravan. Paimah was no fool: he accepted Bhamuni, and the *maufi* for five hundred, and that day received his gold bracelets and clothes of investiture for Bhamuni from the Rana.

November 2.—Jhalamund, ten miles. Although within one march of Jodpoor, we were obliged to make an intermediate halt, in order to arrange the ceremonials of reception; a grave matter with all the magnates of the East, who regulate all such affairs by slavish precedent and ancestral wisdom. On such a novel occasion as the reception of an English envoy at this desert court, they were a good deal puzzled how to act. They could very well comprehend how an ambassador direct from majesty should be received, and were not unfamiliar with the formula to be observed towards a vice-regal legation. But the present case was an anomaly: the governor of all India, of course, could appear only as the first servant of a commercial body, which, with whatever privileges invested, never could be made to rank with royalty or its immediate emanation. Accordingly, this always proved a clog to our diplomatic missions, until the diffusion of our power from the Indus to the ocean set speculation at rest on the formalities of reception of the Company's ambassadors. On the other hand, the eternal rotation of military adventurers enjoying ephemeral power, such as the commanders of the myrmidons of Sindia and Holkar, compelled all the Rajpoor princes to forego much of their dignity; and men like Ameer Khan, Jean Baptiste, or Bapoo Sindia, who but a short time ago would have deemed themselves honoured with a seat in the ante-chamber, claimed equality of reception with princes. Each made it a subject for boasting, how far he had honoured himself by the humiliation of the descendant of the emperor of Canouj, or the scion of Rama. At the same time, as the world is always deceived by externals, it was difficult to concede a reception less distinguished than that granted to the leader of a Mahratta horde; and here their darling precedent was available. To what distance did the Raja send the *istikbal* to meet Ameer Khan? what was the rank of the chieftains so deputed? and to what point did the "offspring of the sun" condescend to advance in person to receive this "lord of the period"? All these, and many similar questions, were propounded through the Vakeel, who had long been with me, to his sovereign, to whose presence he proceeded in order that they might be adjusted, while I halted at Jhalamund, only five miles from the capital. However, individually, we may despise these matters, we have no option, as public servants, but to demand the full measure of honour for those we represent. As the present would also regulate future receptions, I was compelled to urge that the Raja would best consult his own dignity by attending to that of the government I represented, and distinctly signified that it could never be tolerated that he should descend to the very foot of his castle to honour Ameer Khan, and wait the English envoy almost on the threshold of his palace. It ended, as such matters generally do in those countries, by a compromise: it was stipulated that the Raja should receive the mission in his *palkee* or litter, at the central barrier of descent.¹ These

¹ Mr. Wilder, the superintendent of Ajmér, was deputed by General Sir D. Ochterlony, in Dec. 1818, to the court of Jodpoor, and was very courteously received by the Raja.

preliminaries being arranged, we left Jhalamund in the afternoon, that we might not derange the habits of slumber of those who were to conduct us to the capital. About half-way we were met by the great feudatory chieftains of Pokurna and Neemaj, then lords of the ascendant, and the joint advisers of their sovereign. We dismounted, embraced, complimented each other in the customary phraseology; then remounted, and rode together until we reached the tents, where, after I had requested them to be the bearers of my homage to their sovereign, we mutually saluted and parted.

Salim Sing¹ was the name of the lord of Pokurna, the most wealthy and the most powerful of all the baronies of Marwar. His castle and estate (wrested from Jessulmér) are in the very heart of the desert; the former is strong both by position and art. It is a family which has often shaken the foundation of the throne of Marwar. During four generations have its bold and turbulent chiefs made the most resolute of these monarchs tremble. Deo Sing, the great grandfather of the present chief, used to sleep in the hall of the royal palace, with five hundred of his Kompawuts, of which clan he is the chief. "The throne of Marwar is within the sheath of my dagger," was the boast, as elsewhere mentioned, of this haughty noble to his sovereign. His son, Subbul Sing, followed his father's steps, and even dethroned the great Beejy Sing: a cannon-shot relieved the prince from this terror of his reign. Sowaé Sing, his son and successor, acted the same part towards Raja Bheem, and was involved in the civil wars which commenced in 1806, when he set up the pretender, Dhonkul Sing. The catastrophe of Nagore, in which Meer Khan acted the assassin of the Kompawut and all his associates, relieved Raja Maun from the evil genius of his house; and the honours this prince heaped on the son of the Kompawut, in giving him the first office in the state, were but a trap to ensnare him. From this he escaped, or his life and the honours of Pokurna would have been lost together. Such is a rapid sketch of the family of the chief who was deputed to meet me. He was about thirty-five years of age; his appearance, though not prepossessing, was dignified and commanding. In person he was tall, but more powerful than athletic; his features were good, but his complexion was darker than in general amongst the chieftains of Marwar.

His companion, and associate in the councils of his prince, was in every point of personal appearance the reverse of this portrait. Soortan Sing was chief of the Oodawuts, a clan which can muster four thousand swords, all residing on the land skirting the Aravulli; and of which his residence Neemaj, Raepoor, and Chundawul, are the principal fiefs. Soortan was a fine specimen of the Rajpoot; his figure tall and graceful; his complexion fair; his deportment manly and mild; in short, he was a thorough gentleman, in appearance, understanding, and manners.

It would be impossible to relate here all the causes which involved him in the catastrophe from which his coadjutor escaped. It was the misfortune of Soortan to have been associated with Salim Sing; but his past services to his prince amply counterbalanced this party bias. It was he

¹ The sibilant is the *Shibboleth* of the Rajpoot of Western India, and will always detect him. The 'lion' (*sing*) of Pokurna, is degraded into 'asafætida' (*hing*); as *Halim Hing*.

who prevented his sovereign from sheathing a dagger in his heart on the disgraceful day at Purbutsir ; and he was one of the four chieftains of all Marwar who adhered to his fortunes when beset by the united force of Rajpootana. He was also one of the same four who redeemed the spoils of their country from the hands of the multitudinous array which assaulted Jodpoor in 1806, and whose fate carried mourning into every house of Rajast'han.¹ The death of Soortan Sing was a prodigal sacrifice, and caused a sensation of universal sorrow, in which I unfeignedly participated. His gallant bearing was the theme of universal admiration ; nor can I give a better or a juster idea of the chivalrous Rajpoot, than by inserting a literal translation of the letter conveying the account of his death, about eight months after my visit to Jodpoor.

“ Jodpoor, 2d Asár, or 28th June 1820.

“ On the last day of Jait (the 26th June), an hour before daybreak, the Raja sent the *Alligoles*,² and all the quotas of the chiefs, to the number of eight thousand men, to attack Soortan Sing. They blockaded his dwelling in the city, upon which for *three watches* they kept up a constant fire of great guns and small arms. Soortan, with his brother Soor Sing, and his kindred and clan, after a gallant defence, at length sallied forth, attacked the foreigners sword in hand, and drove them back. But who can oppose their prince with success ? The odds were too great, and both brothers fell nobly. Nagoji and forty of the bravest of the clan fell with the *Thakoor* brothers, and forty were severely wounded. Eighty, who remained, made good their retreat with their arms to Neemaj.³ Of the Raja's troops, forty were killed on the spot, and one hundred were wounded. Twenty of the town's-folk suffered in the fray.

“ The Pokurna chief, hearing of this, saddled ; but the Mahraja sent Seonat Sing of Kochamun, the chief of Bhadrajoon, and others, to give him confidence, and induce him to stay ; but he is most anxious to get away. My nephew and fifteen of my followers were slain on this occasion. The Neemaj chief fell as became a Rahtore. The world exclaims ‘ applause,’ and both Hindu and Toork say he met his death nobly. Seonat Sing, Buktawar Sing, Roop Sing, and Anar Sing, ‘ performed the funeral rites.’”

Such is the Rajpoot, when the point of honour is at stake ! Not a man of his clan would have surrendered, while their chief lived to claim their lives ; and those who retreated only preserved them for the support of the young lord of the Oodawuts !

¹ See p. 371, for the murder of the princess of Oodipoor, one of its results.

² The mercenary Rohilla battalions, who are like the Walloons and independent companies which formed the first regular armies of Europe.

³ Which they afterwards nobly defended during many months.

⁴ The last, a brave and excellent man, was the writer of this letter. He, who had sacrificed all to save his prince, and, as he told me himself, supported him, when proscribed by his predecessor, by the sale of all his property, even to his wife's jewels, yet became an exile, to save his life from an overwhelming proscription. To the anomalous state of our alliances with these states is to be ascribed many of these mischiefs.

CHAPTER XXVII

Jodpoor: town and castle—Reception by the Raja—Person and character of Raja Maun Sing—Visits to the Raja—Events in his history—Death of Raja Bheem—Deonat'h, the high-priest of Marwar—His assassination—The acts which succeeded it—Intrigues against the Raja—Dhonkul Sing, a pretender to the Gadi—Real or affected derangement of the Raja—Associates his son in the government—Recalled to the direction of affairs—His deep and artful policy—Visit to Mundore, the ancient capital—Cenotaphs of the Rahtores—Cyclopean architecture of Mundore—Nail-headed characters—The walls—Remains of the palace—Torun, or triumphal arch—T'hau of Thana Peer—Glen of Pushcoonda—Statues carved from the rock—Gardens at Mundore—An ascetic—Entertainment at the palace—The Raja visits the envoy—Departure from Jodpoor.

THE sand, since we crossed the Looni, had become gradually heavier, and was quite fatiguing as we approached the capital of "the region of death"; but the Marwarries and the camels appeared to move through it as briskly as our men would on the plains of the Ganges. The fort is erected on a mole projecting from a low range of hills, so as to be almost isolated, while, being higher than the surrounding objects, it is not commanded. This table-ridge (mountain we can scarcely term it, since its most elevated portion is not more than three hundred feet in height) is a curious feature in these regions of uninterrupted aridity. It is about twenty-five miles in length, and, as far as I could determine from a bird's-eye view and from report, between two and three in breadth, the capital being placed on the highest part at the southern extremity, and may be said to be detached from it. The northern point, which is the highest, and on which the palace is built, is less than three hundred feet. Everywhere it is scarped, but especially at this point, against which the batteries of the League were directed in 1806, at least a hundred and twenty feet of perpendicular height. Strong walls and numerous round and square towers encircle the crest of the hill, encompassing a space of great extent, as may be judged from the dimensions of the base, said to be four miles in circuit. Seven barriers are thrown across the circuitous ascent, each having immense portals and their separate guards. There are two small lakes under the walls: the *Ranni Talab*, or 'Queen's Lake,' to the east; and the *Golab Sagur*, or 'Rose-water Sea,' to the south, from which the garrison draws up water in buckets. There is also inside a *coond*, or reservoir, about ninety feet in depth, excavated from the rock, which can be filled from these tanks; and there are likewise wells within, but the water is brackish. Within are many splendid edifices, and the Raja's residence is a succession of palaces, each prince since the founder having left memorials of his architectural taste. The city to the eastward of the citadel is encompassed by a strong wall, three coss, or nearly six miles, in extent, on which a hundred and one bastions or towers are distributed; on the rampart are mounted several *vaiklas* or swivels. There are seven gates to the capital, each bearing the name of the city to which it leads. The streets are very regular, and adorned with many handsome edifices of freestone, of which the ridge is composed. The number of families some years ago was stated to be 20,000, probably 80,000 souls, an estimate far

too great for the present day. The *Golab Sagur* is the favourite lounge of the inhabitants, who recreate amongst its gardens ; and, strange to say, the most incomparable pomegranates (*anar*) are produced in it, far superior even to those of Cabul, which they resemble in the peculiarity of being *be-dānā*, 'without grain' : rather a misnomer for a fruit, the characteristic of which is its granulations ; but this is in contradistinction to those of India, which are all grain and little pulp. The *anars* of the *Kagli-ca-bagh*, or 'Ravens' Garden,' are sent to the most remote parts, as presents. Their beautiful ruby tint affords an abundant resource for metaphor to the Rajpoot bard, who describes it as "sparkling in the ambrosial cup."¹

On the 4th the Raja received us with due form, advancing beyond the second gate of descent ; when, after salutations and greetings, he returned according to etiquette. Giving him time to make his arrangements, we advanced slowly through lines of his clansmen to the upper area, where a display of grandeur met our view for which we were totally unprepared, and far eclipsing the simple and unostentatious state of the Rana. Here everything was imitative of the imperial court of Dehli, where the Rahtore, long pre-eminent, had "the right hand of the king of the world." Lines of gold and silver mace-bearers deafened us with the titles of "*Raj-Raj-Iswara* !" 'the king, the lord of kings !' into whose presence, through mazes of intricate courts filled with his chivalry, all hushed into that mysterious silence which is invariably observed on such occasions, we were at length ushered.

The King of Maroo arose from his throne, and advanced a few paces, when he again courteously received the envoy and suite, who were here introduced. The hall of reception was of great extent : from its numerous square columns, it is styled *shehes stambha*, 'the thousand-columned hall.' They were more massive than elegant ; and being placed in parallel rows, at not more than twelve feet from each other, they gave an air of cumbrous, if not clumsy grandeur to an immense apartment, the ceiling of which was very low. About the centre, in a niche or recess, the royal *gadi* or 'cushion' was placed, over which was raised a richly embroidered canopy, supported by silver-gilt columns. On the Rana's right hand were placed those whom the king honoured, the chieftains of Pokurna and Neemaj, who would have been less at their ease had they known that all the distinctions they then enjoyed were meshes to ensnare them. Several other chieftains and civil officers, whose names would but little interest the reader, were placed around. The vakeel, Bishen Ram, was seated near me, almost in front of the Raja. The conversation was desultory and entirely complimentary ; affording, however, abundant opportunity to the Raja to display his proficiency in that mixed language, the Hindostannee, which he spoke with great fluency and much greater purity than those who resided about the court at Dehli. In person the Raja is above the common height, possessing considerable dignity of manner, though accompanied by the stiffness of habitual restraint. His demeanour was commanding and altogether princely ; but there was an entire absence of that natural majesty and grace which distinguished the prince of Oodipoor, who won without exertion our spontaneous homage. The features of Raja Maun are good : his eye is full of intelligence ; and though the *ensemble* of his countenance

¹ *Amrit ra pealu.*

almost denotes benevolence, yet there is ever and anon a doubtful expression, which, with a peculiarly formed forehead, gave a momentary cast of malignity to it. This might have been owing to that deep dissimulation, which had carried him through a trial of several years' captivity, during which he acted the maniac and the religious enthusiast, until the assumed became in some measure his natural character.

(The biography of Maun Sing would afford a remarkable picture of human patience, fortitude, and constancy, never surpassed in any age or country. But in this school of adversity he also took lessons of cruelty : he learned therein to master or rather disguise his passions ; and though he showed not the ferocity of the tiger, he acquired the still more dangerous attribute of that animal—its cunning. At that very time, not long after he had emerged from his seclusion, while his features were modelled into an expression of complaisant self-content, indicative of a disdain of human greatness, he was weaving his web of destruction for numberless victims who were basking in the sunshine of his favour. The fate of one of them has been already related.¹)

The Rahtore, like many other dynasties not confined to the East, claims celestial descent. Of their Bhat, we may say what Gibbon does of the Belgic genealogist, who traced the illustrious house of Este from Romulus, that "he riots in all the lust of fiction, and spins from his own bowels a lineage of some thousand years." We are certain that there were sovereigns of Canouj in the fifth century, and it is very probable that they ruled there prior to the era of Christianity. But this is accounted nothing by these lovers of antiquity, who never stop short of *Swyambhūva*, and the ark, in which the antediluvian records of the Rahtores may have been preserved with those of the De Coucys. But we will not revert to those "happy times, when a genealogical tree would strike its root into any soil, and the luxuriant plant could flourish and fructify without a seed of truth." Then, the ambition of the Rahtore for a solar pedigree could be gratified without difficulty.

But it requires neither Bhat nor bard to illustrate its nobility : a series of splendid deeds which time cannot obliterate, has emblazoned the Rahtore name on the historical tablet. Where all these races have gained a place in the temple of fame, it is almost invidious to select ; but truth compels me to place the Rahtore with the Chohan, on the very pinnacle. The names of Chonda and Joda are sufficient to connect Sôji, the founder, a scion of Canouj, with his descendant, Raja Maun : the rest

"Were long to tell ; how many battles fought ;
How many kings destroyed, and kingdoms won."

Let us, therefore, put forth our palm to receive the *uttur* from his august hand, and the *pân*, acknowledged by a profound *salaâm*, and bringing the right hand to my cocked hat, which etiquette requires we should "apply to the proper use :—'tis for the head," even in the presence. At all the native courts the head is covered, and the *en bas* left bare. It would be sadly indecorous to walk in soiled boots over their delicate carpets, covered with white linen, the general seat. The slippers are left at the door, and it is neither inconvenient nor degrading to sit in your socks. The Raja presented me with an elephant and horse caparisoned, an aigrette,

¹ See p. 558.

necklace, brocades, and shawls, with a portion according to rank to the gentlemen who accompanied me.

On the 6th I paid the Raja another visit, to discuss the affairs of his government. From a protracted conversation of several hours, at which only a single confidential personal attendant of the prince was present, I received the most convincing proofs of his intelligence, and minute knowledge of the past history, not of his own country alone, but of India in general. He was remarkably well read; and at this and other visits he afforded me much instruction. He had copies made for me of the chief histories of his family, which are now deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. He entered deeply into the events of his personal history, and recounted many of the expedients he was obliged to have recourse to in order to save his life, when, in consequence of the murder of his *Gûrû* (not only his spiritual but his temporal guide, counsellor, and friend), he relinquished the reins of power, and acquiesced in their assumption by his son. The whole transaction is still involved in mystery, which the Raja alone can unravel. We must enter so far into the state secrets of the court, as to disclose the motive for such an act as the destruction of the brave Soortan, and introduce to the reader another high-priest of the Rajpoots as a pendant for the oracle of the Apollo of Nat'hdwara.

The parricidal murder of Raja Ajeet has been the destruction of Marwar, and even "unto the third and fourth generation" Providence would seem to have visited the act with its vengeance. The crown, which in a few years more would have been transmitted by nature's law, was torn from the brow of this brave prince, who has redeemed his lost inheritance from Arungzéb, by the unhallowed arm of his eldest son Abhé Sing; instigated thereto by an imperial bribe of the vice-royalty of Guzzerat. His brother, Bukhta Sing, was made almost independent in Nagore by the concession of Abhé and the *sumnud* and titles of his sovereign; and the contests between their issue have moistened the sands of Marwar with the richest blood of her children. Such is the bane of feudal dominion—the parent of the noblest deeds and the deepest crimes.

Raja Maun, accordingly, came to the throne with all the advantages and disadvantages of such a state of things; and he was actually defending his existence in Jhalore against his cousin and sovereign, when an unexpected event released him from his perils, and placed him on the throne. Bheem Sing had destroyed almost every branch of the blood-royal, which might have served as a nucleus for those intestine wars which desolated the country, and young Maun, the sole intervening obstacle to the full accomplishment of his wishes, was reduced to the last extremity, and on the eve of surrendering himself and Jhalore to this merciless tyrant, when he was relieved from his perilous situation. He attributed his escape to the intercession of the high-priest of Marwar, the spiritual leader of the Rahtores. This hierarch bore the title of divinity, or *Nat'hji*: his prænomen of Deo or Déva, was almost a repetition of his title; and both together, *Deonat'h*, cannot be better rendered than by 'Lord God.' Whether the intercession of this exalted personage was purely of a moral nature, as asserted, or whether Raja Bheem was removed from this vain world to the heaven of Indra by means less miraculous than prayer, is a question on which various opinions are entertained; but all agree that nothing could have been better timed for young Maun, the sole victim

required to fill up the measure of Bheem's sanguinary policy. When suicide was the sole alternative to avoid surrender to the fangs of this Herod of the Desert, the high-priest, assuming the mantle of prophecy, pronounced that no capitulation was inscribed in the book of fate—whose page revealed brighter days for young Maun. Such prophets are dangerous about the persons of princes, who seldom fail to find the means to prevent their oracles from being demented. A dose of poison, it is said, was deemed a necessary adjunct to render efficacious the prayers of the pontiff ; and they conjointly extricated the young prince from a fate which was deemed inevitable, and placed him on the regal cushion of Marwar. The gratitude of Raja Maun had no limits—no honours, no grants, were sufficient to mark his sense of obligation. The royal mantle was hallowed by the tread of this sainted being ; and the throne itself was exalted when Deonat'h condescended to share it with his master, who, while this proud priest muttered forth his mysterious benedictions, with folded hands stood before him to receive the consecrated garland. Lands in every district were conferred upon the Nat'h, until his estates, or rather those of the church of which he was the head, far exceeded in extent those of the proudest nobles of the land ; his income amounting to a tenth of the revenues of the state. During the few years he held the keys of his master's conscience, which were conveniently employed to unlock the treasury, he erected no less than eighty-four *mindurs*, or places of worship, with monasteries adjoining them, for his well-fed lazy *chélās* or disciples, who lived at free quarters on the labour of the industrious. Deonat'h was a striking example of the identity of human nature, under whatever garb and in whatever clime ; whether under the cowl or the coronet, in the cold clime of Europe, or in the deserts of India. This Wolsey of Maroodés exercised his hourly-increasing power to the disgust and alienation of all but his infatuated prince. He leagued with the nominal minister, Induraj, and together they governed the prince and country. Such characters, when exceeding the sphere of their duties, expose religion to contempt. The degradation which the haughty grandees of Marwar experienced, made murder in their eyes a venial offence, provoked as they were by the humiliations they underwent through the influence of this arrogant priest, whose character may be given in the language of Gibbon, merely substituting Deonat'h of Marwar for Paul of Samosata : “ His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious ; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. His council chamber and his throne, the splendour with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved, were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate, than to the humility of a primitive bishop.” But his “ full-blown pride ” at length burst under him. Sequestrations from the estates of the chief barons of Maroo became frequent in order to swell his rent-roll for the support of his establishments ; his retinue on ordinary occasions surpassed that of any chieftain, and not unfrequently he was attended by the whole insignia of the state—the prince attending on such ceremonies. On these occasions, the proud Rajpoot felt that he folded his hands, not to his sovereign, but to his sovereign's sovereign ; to a vindictive and vain-glorious priest, who, amidst the mummeries and artifices of religious rites,

gratified an inordinate vanity, while he mortified their pride and diminished their revenues. The hatred of such men is soon followed by their vengeance; and though they would not dye their own daggers in his blood, they soon found agents in a race who know not mercy, the myrmidons of that villain Meer Khan, under whose steel, and within the precincts of the palace, Deonat'h fell a victim. It has been surmised that Raja Maun was privy to the murder; that if he did not command, or even sanction it, he used no means to prevent it. There are but two in this life who can reveal this mystery—the Raja, and the *bourreau en chef* of Rajast'han, the aforesaid Ameer Khan.

The murder of the high-priest was but a prolongation of the drama, in which we have already represented the treacherous destruction of the chieftain of Pokurna and his kindred; and the immolation of Kishna Komari, the Helen of Rajast'han. The attack on the gallant Soortan, who conducted us from Jhalamund to the capital, sprung from the seed which was planted so many years back; nor was he the last sacrifice: victim after victim followed in quick succession until the Caligula of the Desert, who could "smile and stab," had either slain or exiled all the first chieftains of his state. It would be a tedious tale to unravel all these intrigues; yet some of them must be told, in order to account for the ferocity of this man, now a subordinate ally of the British Government in the East.

It was in A.D. 1804¹ that Raja Maun exchanged the defence of Jhalore for the throne of Jodpoor. His predecessor, Raja Bheem, left a widow pregnant; she concealed the circumstance, and when delivered, contrived to convey the child in a basket to Sowaé Sing of Pokurna. During two years he kept the secret: he at length convened the Marwar chieftains, with whose concurrence he communicated it to Raja Maun, demanding the cession of Nagore and its dependencies as a domain for this infant, named Dhonkul Sing, the heir-apparent of Marwar. The Raja promised compliance if the mother confirmed the truth of the statement. Whether her personal fears overcame her maternal affection, or the whole was an imposture of Pokurna, she disclaimed the child. The chiefs, though not satisfied, were compelled to appear contented with the result of this appeal; and for some years the matter seemed at rest. But this calm was only the presage of a storm, which shook to its base the political edifice of Marwar, and let loose upon her cities a torrent of predatory foes; it dethroned her prince, and, what the planner could not have contemplated, involved his own destruction. The effects of this treachery have for ever destroyed all confidence between the chief and the entire feudal interest. The Pokurna chief, after failing to establish the claims of Dhonkul Sing as pretender to the throne, sent him for safety to the Shekhawut chief of Khetri, one of the independent nobles of the Jeipoor family. Here he left him till an opportunity again arrived to bring him upon the scene, which was afforded by the contest between the princes of Marwar and Jeipoor for the hand of the Rana's daughter. This rivalry, the effects of which are already related, and which brought into conflict all the northern powers of India, was, in fact, only the under-plot of the deep-laid policy of Sowaé. When once the gauntlet was thrown down for the hand of this fair lady, the Pokurna chief stepped in with the pretended son of Raja Bheem, whose cause, from the unpopularity of Raja Maun, soon brought to his standard almost all the feudality of Marwar. The measures which followed, and

¹ The date of his accession is the 5th of the month Megsir, S. 1860.

the catastrophe, the death of Kishna Komari, have already been related.¹ The assassination of the chief of Pokurna was simultaneous with these events ; and it was shortly after that the murder of the pontiff Deonat'h took place.

After being relieved from all external foes by his own strength of mind, and the aid of a few friends whom no reverse could estrange from him, Raja Maun either fell, or affected to fall, into a state of mental despondency bordering on insanity. Suspicious of every one, he would only eat from the hands of his wife, who prepared his food herself ; he became sullen and morose ; he neglected public business ; and finally withdrew entirely from the world. The attempt to rouse him from this real or pretended stupor was fruitless ; he did nothing but lament the death of Deonat'h, and pour forth prayers to the deity. In this state, he was easily induced to associate his son in the government, and he bestowed upon him with his own hand the *teeka* of command. Chuttur Sing was the name of the prince, who was still in his minority ; thoughtless, and of dissolute habits, he soon gave himself up to the guidance of a junta of the chiefs, who proclaimed Akhi Chund, of the mercantile caste, the chief civil minister of the state.

Such was the condition of Marwar from A.D. 1809 to 1817. At this period, the progress of events made the English arbiters of the destinies of Rajast'han. The regent of Marwar sent an ambassador to treat ; but before the treaties were ratified and exchanged the young regent was dead. Various causes were assigned for his death : by some his dissolute habits, occasioning premature decay ; by others, with more probability, the dagger of an indignant Rajpoot, the honour of whose daughter he had clandestinely attempted. Upon this event, and the change of political circumstances, the chiefs had no alternative but to turn to the secluded prince. If but one-half is true that I have heard, and from authority of high credit, the occupations of the years which the Raja passed between the murder of the priest and the death of his son, might be deemed an atonement for the deepest crimes. When messengers announced the fate of his son, and that state necessity recalled him to the helm of affairs, he appeared unable to comprehend them. He had so long acted the maniac, that he had nearly become one : his beard was never touched, and his hair, clotted and foul, gave him an expression of idiocy ; yet throughout these long years he was resolutely tenacious of life. The party who governed the son and the state had their own menials to wait upon him, and many were the attempts to poison him by their means ; in avoiding which, his simulated madness was so perfect, that they deemed he had " a charmed life." But he had one faithful servant, who throughout this dreadful trial never forsook him, and who carried him food in his turban to replace that which was suspected. When by degrees he was led to understand the emergency, and the necessity of leaving his prison, he persevered in his apparent indifference to everything earthly, until he gathered information and the means for a terrible reaction. The treaty with the English put the ball at his foot : he very soon perceived that he might command a force to put down disorder—such was even volunteered ; but with admirable penetration he trusted to the impression of this knowledge amongst his chiefs, as a sufficient auxiliary. By disseminating it, he paralyzed that

¹ P. 366.

spirit which maintained rights in the soil of Marwar nearly concurrent with those of the sovereign. No higher compliment could be paid to British ascendancy, than the sentiments of Raja Maun and his nobles ; and no better illustration is on record of the opinion of our power, than that its name alone served the Raja's purpose in subjugating men, who, scarcely knowing fear, yet reposing partly on our justice, though mainly on the utter hopelessness of resisting us, were deprived of all moral courage.

In refusing the aid of a mere physical force, the Raja availed himself of another weapon ; for by this artifice he threw the chiefs off their guard, who confided in his assumed desire to forget the past. Intrigues for power and patronage seemed to strengthen this confidence ; and Salim Sing of Pokurna, the military *maire du palais* or Bhanjgur'h, and Akhi Chund, retained as civil prime minister, were opposed by Jodraj Singwi, who headed the aspirants to supplant them. The Raja complained of their interested squabbles, but neither party dreamed that they were fostered by him to cloak his deep-laid schemes. Akhi Chund had been minister throughout the son's administration ; the political and pecuniary transactions of the state were known chiefly to him ; to cut him off would have been poor revenge, and Raja Maun was determined not only to extract from him all the knowledge of state-matters transacted during his seclusion, but to make himself master of his coffers, and neither would have been attained by simple murder. Akhi Chund was not blind to the dangers of his position ; he dreaded the *appui* his sovereign derived from the English, and laboured to inspire the Raja with distrust of their motives. It suited his master's views to flatter this opinion ; and the minister and his adherents were lulled into a fatal security.

Such were the schemes concocting when I visited this court, which were revealed by succeeding events. At this time, the Raja appeared in a state of mental depression, involved in difficulties, cautious, fearful of a false step, and surrounded by the satellites of the miscreant Akhi Chund, who, if he could no longer incarcerate his person, endeavoured to seal up the mind of his prince from all communication with those who might stimulate him to exertion. But all his arts only served to entangle him in the web then weaving for his life. The Raja first made him the means of destroying the most powerful of his chieftains, Soortan being the primary sacrifice to his sanguinary proscription ; many others followed, until the best of the feudal chieftains sought refuge from his fury in exile, and found the *sirna* (sanctuary) they sought in the surrounding states, the majority in Méwar. The day of vengeance at length arrived, and the minister and his partisans were transferred from their position at the helm of the state to a dungeon. Deceived with hopes of life, and compelled by the application of some summary methods of torture, Akhi Chund gave in a schedule of forty lakhs of property, of which the Raja realised a large portion, and then dismissed him to the other world. Nagoji, the kelladar,¹ and Mulji Dandul, both favourites and advisers of the Raja's late son, returned on the strength of a general amnesty, and forgot they had been traitors. The wealth which prodigality had heaped upon them, consisting of many of the crown-jewels, being recovered, their worldly accounts were settled by a cup of poison, and their bodies thrown over the battlements. Success, and the taste of blood, whetted rather than appeased the appetite of Raja Maun.

¹ Commandant of the fortress.

He was well seconded by the new minister, Futteh Raj, the deadly opponent of Akhi Chund, and all the clan of Champawuts, whom he deemed the authors of the murder of his brother Induraj, slain at the same time with Deonat'h. Each day announced a numerous list of victims, either devoted to death, or imprisoned and stripped of their wealth. The enormous sum of a crore of rupees has been stated as the amount of the confiscations.

All these atrocities occurred within six months after my visit to this court, and about eighteen from the time it was received into protective alliance with the British Government. The anomalous condition of all our connections with the Rajpoot states has already been described : and if illustration of those remarks be required, it is here in awful characters. We had tied up our own hands : " internal interference " had been renounced, and the sequestration of every merchant's property, who was connected with the Mehta faction, and the exile of the nobles, had no limit but the will of a bloodthirsty and vindictive tyrant. The objects of his persecution made known everywhere the unparalleled hardships of their case, and asserted that nothing but respect for the British Government prevented their doing themselves justice. In no part of the past history of this state could such proscription of the majority of the kin and clan of the prince have taken place. The dread of our intervention, as an umpire favourable to their chief, deprived them of hope ; they knew that if we were exasperated there was no *sirna* to protect them. They had been more than twelve months in this afflicting condition when I left the country ; nor have I heard that anything has been done to relieve them, or to adjust these intestine broils. It is abandoning them to that spirit of revenge which is a powerful ingredient in their nature, and held to be justifiable by any means when no other hope is left them. In all human probability, Raja Maun will end his days by the same expedient which secured him from the tury of his predecessor.

Having lifted the mantle which veiled the future, my reader must forget all that has been said to the disadvantage of Raja Maun, and see only the dignified, the courteous, and the well-instructed gentleman and prince. I cannot think that the Raja had coolly formed to himself the plan of the sanguinary measures he subsequently pursued, and which it would require a much more extended narrative to describe. We discoursed freely on past history, in which he was well read, as also in Persian, and his own native dialects. He presented me with no less than six metrical chronicles of his house ; of two, each containing seven thousand stanzas, I made a rough translation. In return, I had transcribed and sent to him Ferishta's great *History of the Mahomedan Power in India* ; and *Kholasut ul Towarikh*, a valuable epitome of the history of Hindust'hān. I little imagined that I should then have to exhibit him otherwise than his demeanour and instructive discourse made him appear to me. In our graver conversation, I was amused with a discourse on the rules of government, and instructions for the guidance of ambassadors, which my better acquaintance with Chund discovered to be derived from that writer. He carried me, accompanied by a single domestic, to various apartments in the palace, whence he directed my view across the vast plains of the desert, whose monarch I envied not. The low hills in the vicinity alone broke the continuity of this arid region, in which a few isolated *neem* trees were thinly scattered, to remind one of the absence of all that is grand in

vegetation. After a visit of several hours, I descended to my tent, and found my friends, Captain Waugh and Major Gough, just returned from a successful chase of an antelope, which, with the aid of some Rohilla greyhounds, they had run down. I attributed their success to the heavy sands, on which I have witnessed many pulled down by dogs of little speed; but the secret was revealed on this animal being sent to the *cuisinier*. On depriving him of his hide, between it and the flesh the whole carcase was covered with a large, inert, amorphous white maggot. The flesh was buried in the sands, and no venison appeared again on my table while in India.

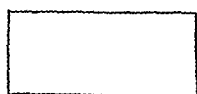
November 8.—I set out early this morning to ramble amidst the ruins of the ancient capital, Mundore, an important link in the chain of archaeological research, before the *panchranga*, or 'five-coloured banner' of Maroo was prostrated to the crescent. Attended by an escort provided by the Raja, I left the perambulator behind; but as the journey occupied an hour and a quarter, and at a very slow pace, the distance must be under five miles. I proceeded through the Sojut gate, to gain the road leading to Nagore; shortly after which I passed the Maha Mindur, or 'Grand Minster'; the funds for the erection of which were provided by Raja Maun, on his escape from ruin at Jhalore. I skirted the range, gradually decreasing in height for three miles, in a N.N.E. direction. We then altered our course to N.N.W., and entered the gorge of the mountains which envelop all that is hallowed of the relics of the princes of this house. The pass is narrow; the cliffs are almost perpendicular, in which are numerous caves, the abodes of ascetics. The remains of fortifications thrown across, to bar the entrance of the foe to the ancient capital of the Puriharas, are still visible: a small stream of pure and sweet water issues from this opening, and had a water-course under an archway. After proceeding a little further, the interval widened, and passing through the village, which does not exceed two hundred houses, our attention was attracted by a line of lofty temples, rising in graduated succession. These proud monuments proved to be the cenotaphs of the Rahtores, erected on the spots where the funeral pyre consumed the crowned heads of Maroo, who seldom burnt alone, but were accompanied by all that made life agreeable or poisoned its enjoyment. The small brook already mentioned flows past the southern extremity of the chief line of monuments, which extend from south to north. At the former point stands that of Rao Maldeo, the gallant opponent of Shere Shah, the brave usurper of the throne of the Moguls. The further point terminates with that of Mahraja Ajeet Sing; while the princes in regular succession, namely, Soor Sing, Oodi Sing, Guj Sing, and Jeswunt Sing, fill up the interval.

These dumb recorders of a nation's history attest the epochs of Marwar's glory, which commenced with Maldeo, and ended with the sons of Ajeet. The temple-monument of Maldeo, which yet throws into shade the still more simple shrines of Chonda, and Joda, contrasted with the magnificent mausoleum of Raja Ajeet, reads us a lesson on the advancement of luxurious pomp in this desert state. The progression is uniform, both in magnitude and elegance, from Maldeo's, who opposed on equal terms the Afghan king (whose memorable words, "I had nearly lost the throne of India for a handful of barley," mark at once the gallantry and the poverty of those whom he encountered), to the last great prince Ajeet.

Even that of Raja Guj is plain, compared to his successor's. These monuments are all erected of a very close-grained freestone, of a dark brown or red tint, with sufficient hardness to allow the sculptor to indulge his fancy. The style of architecture, or rather the composition, is mixed, partaking both of the Sivite and the Budhist ; but the details are decidedly Jain, more especially the columns, which are of the same model as those in Komulmér. I speak more especially of those of Rajas Jeswunt and Ajeet, drawings of which, on a large scale, executed by the Raja's chief architect, I brought to Europe ; but which it would be too expensive to have engraved. They are raised on immense terraces, faced with large blocks of well-polished freestone. That of Jeswunt is somewhat ponderous and massive ; but Ajeet's rises with great elegance and perfect symmetry of proportion.

On ascending the terrace, you enter through a lofty vaulted porch supported by handsome columns to the *sanctum*, which is a pyramidal temple, four stories in height, in the Sivite style, crowned by the *sikra* and *kullus*, elsewhere described. The sculptural ornaments are worthy of admiration, both for their design and effect ; and the numerous columns on the basement, and different stages of ascent, give an air of so much majesty, that one might deem these monuments more fitting sepulture for the Egyptian Cheops, than a shrine—over what ? not even the ashes of the desert king, which were consigned in an urn to the bosom of the Ganges. If the foundations of these necrological monuments have been equally attended to with the superstructure, they bid fair to convey to remote posterity the recollection of as conspicuous a knot of princely characters as ever followed each other in the annals of any age or country. Let us place them in juxtaposition with the worthies of Méwar and the illustrious scions of Timoor, and challenge the thrones of Europe to exhibit such a contemporaneous display of warriors, statesmen, or scholars.

| Méwar. | Marwar. | Dehli. |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| Rana Sanga . | Rao Maldeo . | Baber and Shere Shah. |



| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Rao Soor Sing | Hemayoon. |
|---------------|-----------|

| | | |
|---------------|-------------------|--|
| Rana Pertáp . | Raja Oodi Sing | Akber. |
| Rana Umra I. | } Raja Guj Sing | { Jehangír and Shah Jehán. |
| Rana Kurrun | | |
| Rana Raj . | Raja Jeswunt Sing | Arungzéb. |
| Rana Jey Sing | } Raja Ajeet Sing | { All the competitors for the throne after Ferochsér. |
| Rana Umra II. | | |

From Maldeo to Oodi *le gros* the first *Raja* (hitherto *Raos*) of Marwar, and the friend of Akber, to Jeswunt, the implacable foe of Arungzéb, and Ajeet, who redeemed his country from oppression, all were valiant men and patriotic princes.

"Where were the lions' cubs," I asked of my conductor, "the brave sons of Ajeet, who erected this monument to his manes, and who added provinces to his dominions ?" He pointed to two sheds, where the *kereacarma* was performed ; there was

"No funeral urn
To mark their obsequies" :

but these lowly sheds told, in more forcible, more emphatic language, the cause of this abrupt transition from grandeur to humility, than pen ever wrote ; and furnished the moral epilogue to the eventful drama of the lives of these kings of the desert. Abbé Sing's parricidal hand bereft his father of life ; yet though his career was one splendid tissue of success and honour, leaving his dominions more than doubled, the contentions of his issue with that of his brother Bukhta Sing, alike accessory, it is said, to the crime, have entailed endless misery upon Marwar, and left them not the power, if they had the inclination, to house his ashes. In the same line with the parricide and his brave brother is the humble monument of the great Beejy Sing, whose life till towards its close was a continued tide of action. I could not avoid an exclamation of surprise : " Shame to the country," I said, " that has neglected to enshrine the ashes of a name equal to the proudest ! " His three sons, amongst them Zalim Sing, with the sketch of whom this narrative opened, have their shrines close to his ; and but a few yards removed are those of Raja Bheem, and his elder brother Goomân (who died in his minority), the father of the reigning prince, Raja Maun. The last, which closed the line, pertained to Chuttur Sing, who, in all probability, was saved by death from the murder of his parent. I passed it in disgust, asking who had been so foolish as to entomb his ashes better than those of some of the worthies of his race ? I found that it was the act of maternal fondness.

The *amavus* (the ides) and the *sancrantis* (when the sun enters a new sign of the Zodiac) of every month are sacred to the *Pitriswara*, on which days it is incumbent on the reigning prince to ' give water ' to his ancestors. But the ignorance of my conductor deprived me of much information which I anticipated ; and had I not been pretty well read in the chronicles of the Rahtores, I should have little enjoyed this visit to a " nation's dust." They related one fact, which was sufficient to inspire horror. No less than sixty-four females accompanied the shade of Ajeet to the mansion of the sun. But this is twenty short of the number who became *Satis* when Raja Boodh Sing of Boondí was drowned ! The monuments of this noble family of the Haras are far more explicit than those of the Rahtores, for every such *Sati* is sculptured on a small altar in the centre of the cenotaph : which speaks in distinct language the all-powerful motive, *vanity*, the principal incentive to these tremendous sacrifices. Boodh Sing was a contemporary of Ajeet, and one of the most intrepid generals of Arungzéb ; the period elapsed is about one hundred and twenty years. Mark the difference ! When his descendant, my valued friend, the Rao Raja Bishen Sing, died in 1821, his last commands were that none should give such a proof of their affection. He made me guardian of his infant heir ;—in a few days I was at Boondí, and his commands were religiously obeyed.

In this account are enumerated the monumental relics below the fort. Upon the mountain, and beyond the walls of the fortress of Mundore, are the *dewuls* of Rao Rinmull, Rao Ganga, and Chonda, who conquered Mundore from the Purihars. Within a hundred yards of this trio of worthies of this house, is a spot set apart for the queens who die natural deaths. But this is anticipating ; let me in form conduct my readers step by step from the cemetery of the Rahtores to the Cyclopean city of the Purihars.

Whoever has seen Cortona, Volterra, or others of the ancient Tuscan cities, can form a correct idea of the walls of Mundore, which are precisely of the same ponderous character. It is singular that the ancient races of India, as well as of Europe (and whose name of *Pali* is the synonym of *Galati* or *Keltoe*) should, in equal ignorance of the mechanical arts, have piled up these stupendous monuments, which might well induce their posterity to imagine "there were giants in those days." This western region, in which I include nearly all Rajpootana and Saurashtra, has been the peculiar abode of these "pastor kings," who have left their names, their monuments, their religion and sacred character, as the best records of their supremacy. The *Raj-Pali*, or 'Royal Pastors,' are enumerated as one of the thirty-six royal races of ancient days: the city of Palithana, 'the abode of the Pali,' in Saurashtra (built at the foot of Mount Satrunja, sacred to Budha), and Palli in Godwar, are at once evidences of their political consequence and the religion they brought with them; while the different nail-headed characters are claimed by their descendants, the sectarian Jains of the present day. There is scarcely an ancient city in Rajpootana whence I have not obtained copies of inscriptions from columns and rocks, or medals, gold, silver, and copper, bearing this antique character. All are memorials of these races, likewise termed *Takshac*, the Scythic conquerors of India, ancestors of many of the Rajpoots, whose history the antiquary will one day become better acquainted with. The Purihara, it will be recollected, is one of the four Agnicúlas: races who obtained a footing in India posterior to the Suryas and Indus. I omitted, however, to mention, in the sketch of the Puriharas, that they claim Cashmér as the country whence they migrated into India: the period is not assigned, but it was when the schismatic wars between the Sivites and Budhists were carrying on; and it would appear that the former found proselytes and supporters in many of these Agnicúlas. But of the numerical extent of the followers of this faith we have this powerful evidence, namely, that three-fourths of the mercantile classes of these regions are the descendants of the martial conquerors of India, and that *seven out of the ten and a half* nyâts or tribes, with their innumerable branches, still profess the Jain faith, which, beyond controversy, was for ages paramount in this country.


Let us now ascend the paved causeway to this gigantic ruin, and leave the description of the serpentine *Nagda*, which I threaded to its source in the glen of Pushcoonda, till our return. Half-way up the ascent is a noble *bowlî*, or 'reservoir,' excavated from the solid rock, with a facing of cut stone and a noble flight of steps: on which, however, two enormous *goolurs* or wild fig-trees have taken root, and threaten it with premature destruction. This memorial bears the name of Nahur Rao, the last of the Purihars. As I looked up to the stupendous walls,

"Where time hath leant his hand, but broke his scythe,"

I felt the full force of the sentiment of our heart-stricken Byron:

"there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."

Ages have rolled away since these were raised, and ages will yet roll on,

and find them immovable, unchanged. The immense blocks are piled upon, and closely fitted to, each other without any cement, the characteristic of all the Etruscan cities termed Cyclopean. We might indeed smuggle a section of Mundore into the pages of Micali,¹ amongst those of Todi or Volterra, without fear of detection. The walls, following the direction of the crest of the ridge, are irregular; and having been constructed long before artillery was thought of, the Purihar or Pali engineer was satisfied with placing the palace on the most commanding eminence, about the centre of the fortress. The bastions or towers are singularly massive, and like all the most antique, their form is square. Having both fever and ague upon me, I was incapable of tracing the direction of the walls, so as to form any correct judgment of the space they enclose; but satisfied with gaining the summit, I surveyed the ruin from the site of the palace of the Purihars. The remains, though scanty, are yet visible; but the materials have been used in the construction of the new capital Jodpoor, and in the cenotaphs described. A small range of the domestic temples of the palace, and some of the apartments, are yet distinctly to be traced; the sculptured ornaments of their portals prove them to have been the work of a Takshac or Buddhist architect. Symbolical figures are frequently seen carved on the large blocks of the walls, though probably intended merely as guides to the mason. These were chiefly Buddhist or Jain: as the quatre-feuille, the cross; though the mystic triangle, and triangle within a triangle  (a sign of the Sivites, only, I believe), was also to be seen. The chief memorials of the Purihara are a gateway and magnificent *Torun*, or triumphal arch, placed towards the south-east angle of the castle. It is one mass of sculpture; but the pencil was wanting, and I had not leisure even to bring away a rude resemblance of this memento of some victory of the ancient lords of Mundore. A little distance to the northward of my position is the *T'han*, or 'station' of a Mahomedan saint, a disciple of the celebrated Khwaja Kootub, whose shrine at Ajmér is celebrated. This of Thana Peer, as they call him, was a place of great resort to the unsanctified Kafirs, the mercenary Sindies and Afghans, who long prowled about these regions in quest of prey, or plunder, or both. Nearly in the same direction, beyond the walls, are the cenotaphs of the early Rahtores and the Satis already mentioned; but tradition's voice is mute as to the spot which contains the ashes of the Purihars. To the east and north-east, nature has formed at once a barrier to this antique castle, and a place of recreation for its inhabitants; a lengthened chasm in the whole face, appearing like a dark line, were it not for the superb foliage of goolur, mango, and the sacred burr and peepul, which rise above the cleft, planted about the fountain and perpendicular cliffs of the Nagda, and which must have proved a luxurious retreat to the princes of Mundore from the reverberation of the sun's rays on the rock-built palace; for there is but a scanty brushwood scattered over the surface, which is otherwise destitute of all vegetation.

¹ *L'Italie avant la Domination des Romains.*

² Amongst ancient coins and medals, excavated from the ruins of Oojcin and other ancient cities, I possess a perfect series with all the symbolic emblems of the *twenty-four* Jain apostles. The compound equilateral triangle is amongst them: perhaps there were *Masons* in those days amongst the Pali. It is hardly necessary to state, that this Trinitarian symbol (the double triangle) occurs on our (so-called) Gothic edifices, *e.g.*, the beautiful abbey gate of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, erected about A.D. 1377.

Let us now descend by the same causeway to the glen of Pushcoonda, where there is much to gratify both the lover of the picturesque and the architectural antiquary. At the foot of the causeway, terminated by a reservoir of good water, are two gateways, one conducting to the gardens and their palaces erected by the Rahtores; the other, to the statues of the Paladins of the desert. Leaving both for a moment, I pursued the 'serpentine' rivulet to its fountain, where

"Couched among fallen columns, in the shade
Of ruined walls that had survived the names
Of those who reared them,"

I reposed in meditative indolence, overwhelmed with the recollections such scenes inspire. In a recess or cave is a rude altar sanctified by the name of Nahur Rao, the famed king of Mundore, who met in equal combat the chivalrous Chohan in the pass of the Aravulli.¹ A *nye*, or barber, performs worship to the manes of this illustrious Rajpoot, in whose praise Chund is most eloquent. Whence the choice of a barber as a priest I know not; but as he has the universal care of the material portion of the Rajpoot, being always chosen as the cook, so there may be reasons for his having had an interest in the immaterial part in olden days, the tradition of which may have been lost. There is a piece of sculpture containing nine figures, said to represent Ravana, who came from "th'utmost isle Taprobane,"² to marry the daughter of the sovereign of Mundore. There was a lengthened legend to account for the name of *nagda*, or, 'serpentine,' being applied to the rivulet, but it is too long to relate. We must therefore quit the fountain, where the gallant Pirthi-raj and his fair bride, the cause of strife between the Chohans and Puriharas, may have reposed, and visit the most remarkable relic within the precincts of this singular place.

A short distance from the foot of the causeway, an archway opens into an enclosed court or area, in the retired part of which, and touching the mountain, is an extensive saloon; the roof is supported by a triple row of columns, of that light form peculiar to the Jains. Here are displayed, in all "the pomp and circumstance of war," the statues of the knights-errant of the desert, armed *cap-à-pie*, bestriding steeds whose names are deathless as their riders', all in the costume of the times in which they lived. They are cut out of the rock, but entirely detached from it, and larger than life. Though more conspicuous for strength than symmetry, the grim visages of these worthies, apparently frowning defiance, each attended by his pundoo or squire, have a singularly pleasing effect. Each chieftain is armed with lance, sword, and buckler, with quiver and arrows, and poniard in his girdle. All are painted; but whether in the colours they were attached to, or according to the fancy of the architect, I know not. Before, however, entering this saloon, we pass a huge statue of Ganésa, placed as the guardian of the portal, having on each side the two Bhiroos, sons of the god of war. Then appears the statue of Chamoonda (the goddess of destruction), and that of the terrific mother, Kankali, treading on the black demon Bhynsasoor, in whose flank her tiger-courser has buried his bloodthirsty tongue: in each of her eight arms she holds a

¹ See p. 540.

² *Tapoo Ravana*, 'the isle of Ravana,' wherever that may be.

weapon of destruction. The black Bhiroo (son of time), with a sable flag, bearing *argent* a horse *courant*, marshals the way through the field of blood to his mother. Between her and the heroes whose lives passed "in devotion to the sword," is a statue of the *Nathji*, or 'spiritual guide' of the Rahtores: in one hand he holds his *mala* or 'chaplet'; in the other his *churri*, or 'patriarchal rod,' for the guidance of his flock. Mullinat'h heads the procession, mounted on a white charger, with a lance over his shoulder, to which is attached a flag; his quiver resting on his horse's right flank, and his mistress, Pudmavati, with a platter of food welcoming him from the raid, and who accompanied him when slain to *Suryaloca*, or 'the mansion of the sun.'

Then follows Pabooji, mounted on his famous charger 'Black Cæsar' (*Késar Kālī*), whose exploits are the theme of the itinerant bard and showman, who annually goes his round, exhibiting in pictorial delineations, while he recites in rhyme, the deeds of this warrior to the gossiping villagers of the desert.

Next comes Ramdeo Rahtore, a name famed in Maroodésa, and in whose honour altars are raised in every Rajpoot village in the country.

Then we have the brave Hurba Sankla, to whom Joda was indebted for protection in his exile, and for the redemption of Mundore when seized by the Rana of Cheetore.

Goga, the Chohan, who with his forty-seven sons fell defending the passage of the Sutledge on Mahmoud's invasion. Mewoh Mangulia brings up the rear, a famous chieftain of the Gehlote race. It would be tedious to relate any of the exploits of these worthies.

Another saloon, of similar architecture and still greater dimensions, adjoins that just described; it is termed *tyntees cūla* ¹ *dēvata ra l'hān*, or 'abode of the (tutelary) divinities of the thirty-three races': in short, the Pantheon of the Rajpoots. The statues are of gypsum, or stone covered with that substance; they are of large proportions. First, is the creator, Brimha; then Surya, 'the sun-god,' with his seven-headed steed; then the monkey-faced deity, Hanuman; Rama, and his beloved Sita; Kaniya, in the woods of Vrij, surrounded by the Gopis; and a most grave figure of Mahadeva, with a bull in his hand. These six, with the goddesses of life and death, and of wisdom, constitute the eight chief divinities of the Hindus; whose qualities and attributes, personified, form an assemblage for which St. Peter's and the Vatican to boot would be a confined dwelling.

I now retired to the palace and gardens built by Raja Ajeet; of which, however superb, it is impossible for the pen to give a definite idea. Suites of colonnaded halls, covered with sculpture of easy and even graceful execution, some with screens of lattice-work to secure the ladies from the public gaze, are on the lower range; while staircases lead to smaller apartments intended for repose. The gardens, though not extensive, as may be supposed, being confined within the adamant walls reared by the hand of Nature, must be delightfully cool even in summer. Fountains, reservoirs, and water-courses, are everywhere interspersed; and though the thermometer in the open air was 86°,² the cold within

¹ I imagine the word *cūla*, or 'race,' of which, as often remarked, there are not thirty-three but thirty-six, has given rise to the assertion respecting the thirty-three *creer* or millions of gods of Hindust'an.

² Thermometer 55°, 72°, 86°, 80° at daybreak, ten, two, and at sunset; on

doors (if this be not a solecism, considering that there were no doors) was excessive. Some attention was paid to its culture; besides many indigenous shrubs, it boasted of some exotics. There was the golden *chumpā*, whose aroma is overpowering, and if laid upon the pillow will produce headache; the pomegranate, at once "rich in flower and fruit"; the apple of Sita, or *Sitaphala*, which from similitude of taste, we call the custard-apple; a delicious species of the plantain, whose broad, verdant, glossy leaf alone inspires the mind with the sensation of coolness; the *mogra*; the *chamaili*, or jessamine; and the queen of flowers, the *baramasha*, literally the 'twelve-month,' because it flowers throughout the year. It is a delightful spot, and I felt a peculiar interest in it. Let the reader imagine the picture of a solitary Englishman scribbling amidst the ruins of Mundore: in front a group of venerable mango-trees; a little further an enormous isolated tamarind, "planted by the hand of a juggler in the time of Nahur Rao, the last of the Puriharas, before whom he exhibited this proof of legerdemain," and, as the legend goes, from whose branches the juggler met his death: ¹ amidst its boughs the long-armed tribe, the allies of Rama, were skipping and chattering unmolested; while beneath, two Rahtore Rajpoots were stretched in sleep, their horses dozing beside them, standing as sedately as the statue of 'Black Cæsar': a grenadier Sepoy of my escort parading by a camp-basket, containing the provender of the morning, completes the calm and quiet scene.

On the summit of the rock, across the narrow valley, several *gophas*, or caves, the abode of the hermit Atteet, were in sight. How the brains of these ascetics can stand the heat and confined air is a wonder, though, if they possessed any portion of that which is supposed to be necessary to the guidance of the machine, they would scarcely occupy such a position, nor consequently, the world's attention. *Mais tout est vanité*, a cause which has produced ten times the number of saints that piety has, and ten times of ten these troglodyte philosophers. Having walked out on the terrace or house-top of the palace, to catch a sunbeam and scare away an ague which tormented me, I discovered one of these animals coiled up on a heap of bat's-dung, in a corner of an apartment of the palace. He was dreadfully emaciated, and but for the rolling of a pair of eyes in a visage covered with hair, there was nothing which betokened animation, much less humanity. There was none but the bat to dispute his reign, or "the spider which weaves its web in this palace of the Cæsars." I had no inclination to disturb the process of ratiocination, or to ask to which sect of philosophers belonged this Diogenes of Mundore, who might, if he had utterance, have desired me to walk downstairs, and not intercept the sunbeam for whose warmth we were competitors. The day was now nearly departed, and it was time for me to return to my friends in camp. I finished the evening by another visit to the knights of the desert; and inscribing my name on the foot of 'Black Cæsar,' bade adieu to the ancient Mundore.

November 13.—The Raja having invited us to a dinner at the palace, we sallied forth, belted and padded, to partake of Rajpoot hospitality. He

the 3rd November, the day of our arrival, the variations were 50°, 72°, 80°, and 75° at those hours.

¹ See the autobiography of Jehangîr, translated by that able Oriental scholar, Major Price, for the astonishing feats these jugglers perform in creating not only the tree, but the fruit.

had made a request which will appear somewhat strange—that we would send our *cuisine*, as the fare of the desert might prove unpalatable ; but this I had often seen done at Sindia's camp, when joints of mutton, fowls, and fricassees, would diversify the provender of the Mahratta. I intimated that we had no apprehension that we should not do justice to the gastronomy of Jodpoor ; however, we sent our tables, and some claret to drink long life to the king of Maroodés. Having paid our respects to our host, he dismissed us with the complimentary wish that appetite might wait upon us, and, preceded by a host of gold and silver sticks, we were ushered into a hall, where we found the table literally covered with curries, pillaus, and ragouts of every kind, in which was not forgotten the *hurca moong Mundore ra*, the ' green pulse of Mundore,' the favourite dish, next to *rabri* or maize-porridge, of the simple Rahtore. Here, however, we saw displayed the dishes of both the Hindu and Musulman, and nearly all were served in silver. The curries were excellent, especially those of the vegetable tribes made of the pulses, the *kakris* or cucumbers, and of a miniature melon not larger than an egg, which grows spontaneously in these regions, and is transported by *kasids*, or runners, as presents, for many hundreds of miles around. The hall was an entire new building, and scarcely finished ; it is erected on the northern projection of the rock, where the escarpment is most abrupt, and looks down upon the site of the batteries of the league of 1806. It is called the *Maun mahal*, and, like the hall of audience, its flat roof is supported by numerous massive hewn columns. The view from it to the east is extensive, and we were told that the pinnacle of Komulmér, though eighty miles distant, has been seen, in those clear days of the monsoon when the atmosphere is purified, after heavy showers, from the sand which is held suspended. Great care was taken that our meal should be uninterrupted, and that we should not be the lions to an hour's amusement of the court. There was but one trivial occurrence to interrupt the decorum and attention of all present, and that was so slight that we only knew it after the entertainment was over. One of the menials of the court, either from ignorance or design, was inclined to evince contumely or bad breeding. It will be considered perhaps a singular circumstance, that the Hindu should place before a European the vessels from which he himself eats : but a little fire purifies any metallic vessels from all such contamination ; and on this point the high-blooded Rajpoot is less scrupulous than the bigotted Mahomedan, whom I have seen throw on the ground with contempt a cup from which his officer had drank water on a march. But of earthenware there can be no purification. Now there was a handsome China bowl, for which some old dowager fancier of such articles would have almost become a supplicant, which having been filled with curds to the *Soodra Fringees* could no longer be used by the prince, and it was brought by this menial, perhaps with those words, to my native butler. Kali Khan, or as we familiarly called him, ' *the black lord*,' was of a temper not to be trifled with ; and as the domestic held it in his hand, saying, " Take it, it is no longer of any use to us," he gave it a tap with his hand which sent it over the battlements, and coolly resuming his work, observed, " That is the way in which all useless things should be served " ; a hint, which, if reported to Raja Maun, he seems to have acted on : for not many months after, the minister, Akhi Chund, who dreaded lest European influence should release his master from his faction and thralldom,

was treated by him in the same manner as the china bowl by Kali Khan.

*November 16.*¹—This day had been fixed for the Raja's visits to the envoy. In order to display his grandeur, he sent his own suite of tents, which were erected near mine. They were very extensive, modelled in every way after those of the Emperors of Dehli, and lined throughout with the royal colour, crimson: but this is an innovation, as will appear from the formulas yet preserved of his despatches, "from the foot of the throne, Jodpoor." The tent, in fact, was a palace in miniature, the whole surrounded by walls of cloth, to keep at a distance the profane vulgar. The *gadi*, or royal cushion and canopy, were placed in the central apartment. At three, all was noise and bustle in the castle and town; nakarras were reverberating, trumpets sounding the alarm, that the King of Maroo was about to visit the Fringee Vakeel. As soon as the flags and pennant were observed winding down 'the hill of strife' (*Joda-gir*), I mounted, and with the gentlemen of my suite proceeded through the town to meet the Raja. Having complimented him *en route*, we returned and received him at the tents. The escort drawn up at the entrance of the tent presented arms, the officers saluting; a mark of attention which gratified him, as did the soldier-like appearance of the men. Hitherto, what he had seen of regulars belonging to the native powers was not calculated to give him a favourable impression of foot-soldiers, who are little esteemed by the equestrian order of Rajpootana. His visit continued about an hour, when the shields were brought in, with jewels, brocades, shawls, and other finery, in all nineteen trays, being two less than I presented to the Rana of Oodipoor. I likewise presented him with some arms of English manufacture, a telescope, and smaller things much valued by the Rajpoots. After the final ceremony of perfumes, and *utr-pán* (which are admirable hints when you wish to get rid of a tiresome guest, though not so in this instance), the exterior wall was removed, and showed the caparisoned elephant and horses, which were part of the *khélát*. At the door of the tent we made our salaam, when the Raja gave me his hand, which, by the by, was his first salutation on receiving me. It is an ancient Rajpoot custom, and their bards continually allude to extending the right hand—"dextrá extentá."

*November 17.*²—I went to take leave of the Raja: I had a long and interesting conversation on this our last interview. I left him in the full expectation that his energy of character would surmount the difficulties by which he was surrounded, though not without a struggle, and condign punishment to some of the miscreants, the misleaders of his son, the assassins of his minister and high priest, and consequently the authors of his humiliating and protracted incarceration. Whether the first gratification of vengeance provoked his appetite, or whether the torrent of his rage, once impelled into motion, became too impetuous to be checked, so that his reason was actually disturbed by the sufferings he had undergone, it is certain he grew a demoniac; nor could any one, who had conversed with the bland, the gentlemanly, I might say gentle, Raja Maun, have imagined that he concealed under this exterior a heart so malignant as his subsequent acts evinced. But the day of retribution must arrive; the men who

¹ Thermometer 59°, 82°, 85°, 79°.

² Thermometer 59°, 73°, 89°, 82°; at six, ten, two, and sunset.

wrote that dignified remonstrance, which is given in another place,¹ will not tamely bear their wrongs, and as they dare not levy war against their prince, who reposes under British protection, the dagger will doubtless find a way to reach him even in "the thousand-columned hall" of Jodpoor.

Besides the usual gifts at parting, which are matter of etiquette, and remain untouched by the individual, I accepted as a personal token of his favour, a sword, dagger, and buckler, which had belonged to one of his illustrious ancestors. The weight of the sword, which had often been "the angel of death," would convince any one that it must have been a nervous arm which carried it through a day. With mutual good wishes, and a request for a literary correspondence, which was commenced but soon closed, I bade adieu to Raja Maun and the capital of MARWAR.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Nandla—Beesilpoor—Remains of the ancient city—Puchkullia, or Beechkulla—Inscription—Peepar—Inscription confirming the ancient chronicles of Méwar—Geological details—Legend of Lake Sampoo—Lakha Foolani—Madreo—Bhoroonda—Buddun Sing—His chivalrous fate—Altar to Pertáp—Indawur—Jat cultivators—Stratification of Indawur—Mairta—Memory of Arungzéb—Dhonkul Sing—Jeimul, the hero of the Rahtores—Tributes to his bravery—Description of the city and plain of Mairta—Cenotaphs—Raja Ajeet—His assassination by his sons—The consequences of this deed the seeds of the Civil Wars of Marwar—Family of Ajeet—Curious fact in the law of adoption amongst the Rahtores—Ram Sing—His discourtesy towards his chiefs—Civil War—Defection of the Jarejas from Ram Sing—Battle between Ram Sing and Bukhta Sing—Defeat of the former, and the extirpation of the clan of the Mairteas—The Mairtea vassal of Mehtri—The field of battle described—Ram Sing invites the Mahrattas into his territory—Bukhta Sing becomes Raja of Marwar—His murder by the Prince of Jeipoor—His son, Beejy Sing, succeeds—Jey Appa Sindia and Ram Sing invade Marwar—They are opposed by Beejy Sing, who is defeated—He flies to Nagore, where he is invested—He cuts through the enemy's camp—Solicits succour at Bikanér and Jeipoor—Treachery of the Raja of Jeipoor—Defeated by the chieftain of Reah—Assassination of Appa Sindia.

November 19.—We broke ground for Nandla, distant six miles. The first two miles from the capital was through deep sand; for the remainder of the journey the red sandstone protruded, which gives some relief to the footing of the traveller. About half-way we passed a small sheet of water, called after the mother of the pretender, Dhonkul Sing, the Shekhawut Tallao. This lady has constructed a *dhurmsala*, or 'hall for travellers,' on its bank, where she has erected a statue of Hanuman, and a pillar to commemorate her own good works. Not a shrub of any magnitude occurs, for even the stunted *khyr* is rare in this plain of sand; which does not, however, appear unfavourable to the *mot'h*, a vetch on which they feed the cattle. Near the village we crossed the Jogini, the same stream which we passed between Jhalamund and the capital, and which, joined by the Nagda from Mundore, falls into the Looni. The only supply of water for Nandla is procured from two wells dug on the margin of the stream. The water is abundant, and only four feet from the surface, but brackish. There are a hundred and twenty-five houses in Nandla, which is in the fief of the chieftain of Ahore. A few cenotaphs are on the

¹ See p. 159.

banks of a tank, now dry. I went to look at them, but they contained names "unknown to fame."

Beesilpoor, the next place, is distant six estimated coss of the country, and thirteen miles one furlong by the perambulator: heavy sand the whole way. Nevertheless we saw traces of the last autumnal crop of bajra and joar, two species of millet, which form the chief food of the people of the desert; and the vetch was still in heaps. Beesilpoor is situated on a rising ground; the houses are uniform in height and regularly built, and coated with a compost of mud and chaff, so that its appearance is picturesque. It is protected by a circumvallation of thorns, the *kanta-ka-kote* and the stacks of chaff, as described at Eendurra. They are pleasing to the eye, as is everything in such a place which shows the hand of industry. There was an ancient city here in former days, which was engulfed by an earthquake, though part of a gateway, and the fragment of a wall still mark its site. No inscriptions were observed. The water is obtained from a lake.

November 21.—Puchkullia, or Beechkulla, five coss (11 miles 5 furlongs): crossed and encamped on the Jojurri. The soil improving, of a brown sandy texture. Wheat and barley of excellent quality are grown on the banks of the river. It was a relief to meet once more a babool or a neem tree; even our Godwar cypress reared its head on the margin of the Jojurri. Although now only containing a hundred houses, this was once a place of some importance. I found a defaced inscription, in which "the son of Sonung, S. 1224," was still legible; but the mercenary Pat'hans have ruined the harvest of the antiquary. The village is a grant in fee to a Bhatti chieftain. Water is obtained from wells excavated on the margin of the river.

November 22.—Peepar, four coss (8 miles 2 furlongs). Pursued the course of the river, the most extended arm of the Looni, coming from the hills near Purbatsir, on the frontiers of Jeipoor. Its course is marked by the trees already mentioned. The soil, a mixture of black earth and sand, is termed *dhamuni*. Peepar is a town of 1500 houses, one-third of which are inhabited by the Oswals of the Jain faith, the chief merchants of all their country. There are also about two hundred families of Muhaisries, or merchants of the Saiva caste. Peepar carries on a considerable traffic, and has a chintz manufactory, which employs thirty families. It is in the grant of the feudal chief of Neemaj, whose death has been already related. A cenotaph, dedicated to one of his ancestors, has been half destroyed by the Goths of India. Peepar is celebrated in the traditions of the desert as one of the cities founded by Gundrufsén, the Pramara monarch of Awinti, prior to the Christian era. The only inscription I discovered was in a temple of the sea-goddess Lacshmi. It bore the names of Beejy Sing and Dailunji, Rajpoots of the Gehlote race, with the ancient title of Rawul. It was a happy confirmation of the most ancient chronicle of Méwar, which divides the Gehlotes into twenty-four *sachæ* or branches, of which one is called "Peeparia," doubtless from their having conquered this tract from the Takshac Pramara.

There is an abundance of wells, from sixty to eighty feet in depth. Of one recently excavated, I obtained the following details of the strata, which may be gratifying to the geologist. The first twenty feet are composed entirely of that kind of earth called *dhamuni*, chiefly decomposed sandstone

with a mixture of black earth, in which occurs a stratum of bluish clay mixed with particles of quartz: this earth is called *morur* in Marwar, and *morund* in Jeipoor. It was then necessary to cut through a rock of red granite¹ for thirty feet; then several feet of an almost milk-white steatite, succeeded by stalactitic concretions of sandstone and quartz.

Good water is also obtained from a lake called the Sampoo, which is connected with the tradition of the foundation of Peepar. A Brahmin of the Pali tribe, whose name was Peepa, was in the habit of carrying milk to a deity of the Serpent (Takshac) race, whose retreat was on the banks of this lake, and who deposited two pieces of gold in return for the Palliwal's offering. Being compelled to go to Nagore, he gave instructions to his son to perform his charitable office; but the youth, deeming it a good opportunity to become master of the treasure, took a stick with him, and when the serpent issued forth for his accustomed fare, he struck him violently; but the snake being "scotched, not killed," retreated to his hole. The young Brahmin related his adventure to his mother; when the good woman, dreading the vengeance of the serpentine deity, prepared a servant and bullock to convey her son to his father at Nagore. But what was her horror in the morning, when she went to call the youth, to find, instead of him, the huge serpent coiled up in his bed! Peepa, on his return, was inconsolable; but stifling his revenge, he propitiated the serpent with copious libations of milk. The scaly monster was conciliated, and revealed the stores he guarded to Peepa, commanding him to raise a monument which would transmit a knowledge of the event to future ages. Hence Peepar arose from Peepa the Pali, and the name of the lake *Sampoo*, from his benefactor the 'serpent' (*sampa*). All these allegorical tales regard the *Takshac* races, the followers of the religion of Budha or Jaina, and their feuds with the Brahminical sects. It is evident that Peepa the Pali worshipped both; and the very name induces a belief that the whole Palliwal caste are converts from Buddhism.

There is a coond or fountain, called after Lakha Foolani, who ruled in ancient times at Phoolra, in the farther corner of the desert, but carried his arms even to the ocean. Wherever I have travelled, tradition is loud in praise of Foolani, from the source of the Looni to its embouchure in the Delta of the Indus.²

November 23.—Madreo, five coss (10 miles 2 furlongs). Roads good; soil as yesterday, but the country very desolate; only stunted shrubs since we removed from the margin of the river. This is a moderate-sized village, with a tank of good water.

November 24.—Bhoroonda, four coss, or eight miles. The face of the country now changes materially; our route was over a low undulating

¹ Specimens of all these I brought home.

² The traditional stanzas are invaluable for obtaining a knowledge both of ancient history and geography:

"Kushup-gurh, Soorajpoora,
Basuck-gurh, Takoh,
Oodhani-gurh, Jugropoora,
Jo Phool-gur'h, i Lakho."

In this stanza we have the names of six ancient cities in the desert, which belonged to Lakha, the Takoh, Tāk, or Takshac, *i.e.* of the race figuratively called the 'serpent.'

ridge of sandstone, in which the stunted shrubs of this region find a bed. At one time the elevation was sufficiently great to allow the chasm through which the road passed to be dignified with the name of 'the Gasooria Pass,' in which a party of the Raja's men is posted for defence, and the levy of transit duties. Bhoroonda is in the fief of Gopal Sing, the chief of Kochamun, one of the most conspicuous of the Mairtea clan. It consists of one hundred and fifty houses; the cultivators are Jats, as are those of all the preceding villages.

I paid a visit to the humble cenotaphs of Bhoroonda; one of them bore the name of Buddun Sing, a sub-vassal of Kochamun, who was slain in the heroic charge against De Boigne's brigades, in the patriot field of Mairta. His name claims the admiration of all who esteem loyalty and patriotism, the inherent virtues of the chivalrous Rajpoot. Raja Beejy Sing had resumed Bhoroonda, when the Thacoor retired to the adjacent court of Jeipoor, where he was well received according to the hospitable customs of the Rajpoot, and had risen to favour at the period when the Mahrattas invaded his *bapótá*, 'the land of his fathers.' Resentment was instantly sacrificed at the altar of patriotism; he put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty horse, and flew to his sovereign's and his country's defence. Unhappily, the whole Mahratta army interposed between him and his countrymen. To cut their way through all impediments was the instant resolve of Buddun and his brave companions. They fell sword in hand upon a multitude; and, with the exception of a few, who forced their way (amongst whom was the chief whose monument is referred to), they were cut to pieces. Buddun Sing lived to reach his ancient estate, which was restored to his family in token of his sovereign's gratitude for the gallant deed. It is valued at seven thousand rupees annual rent, and has attached to it, as a condition, the service of defending this post.

There was another small altar erected to the manes of Pertáp, who was killed in the defence of this pass against the army of Arungzéb.

November 25.—Indawur, five coss (10 miles 2 furlongs). This place consists of two hundred houses; the cultivators are Jats. I have said little of these proprietors of the soil, a sturdy, independent, industrious race, who "venerate the plough," and care little about the votaries of Mars or their concerns, so that they do not impose excessive taxes on them. They are a stout, well-built, though rather murky race. The village is assigned to the ex-prince of Sinde, who derives his sole support from the liberality of the princes of Marwar. He is of the tribe called Kalora, and claims descent from the Abbassides of Persia. His family has been supplanted by the Talpooris, a branch of the Noomries (*the foxes*) of Balochistan; who now style themselves Afghans, but who are in fact one of the most numerous of the Gete or Jit colonies from Central Asia. But let us not wander from our subject.

I will beg the reader to descend seventy or eighty feet with me to view the stratification of Indawur. First, three feet of good soil; five feet of red sandy earth, mixed with particles of quartz; six feet of an unctuous indurated clay; ¹—then follows a sand-rock, through which it was necessary to penetrate about sixty feet; this was succeeded by twenty feet of

¹ Mr. Stokes, of the Royal Asiatic Society, pronounces it to be a steatite.

almost loose sand, with particles of pure quartz embedded ; nodules and stalactitic concretions of sandstone, quartz, and mica, agglutinated together by a calcareous cement. The interior of the well throughout this last stratum is faced with masonry : the whole depth is more than sixty-five cubits, or forty yards. At this depth a spring of excellent water broke in upon the excavators, which supplies Indawur.

November 26.—Mairta, four coss (9 miles 1 furlong). The whole march was one extended plain ; the Aravulli towering about twenty-five miles to our right. To the west a wide waste, consisting of plains gently undulating, and covered with grass and underwood. Natural sterility is not the cause of this desert aspect, for the soil is rich ; but the water is far beneath the surface, and they cannot depend upon the heavens. Joar, mot'h, and sesamum, were cultivated to a considerable extent in the immediate vicinity of the villages, but the product had this season been scanty. The appearance of the town is imposing, its site being on a rising ground. The spires of the mosque which was erected on the ruins of a Hindu temple by the tyrant Arungzéb, overtop the more ponderous and unaspiring *mundurs* which surround it. Notwithstanding this monarch was the object of universal execration to the whole Hindu race, more especially to the Rahtores (whose sovereign, the brave Jeswunt, together with his elder son, he put to death by poison, and kept Ajeet twenty long years from his birthright, besides deluging their fields with the richest blood of his nobles) ; still, such is Hindu toleration, that a marble is placed, inscribed both in Hindi and Persian, to protect the mosque from violence. This mark of liberality proceeded from the pretender Dhonkul Sing, as if with a view of catching golden opinions from the demoralised Pat'hans, by whose aid he hoped to regain his rights. But how was he deceived ! His advances were met by the foul assassination, at one fell swoop, of all his party, by the chief of these mercenaries, Meer Khan.

Mairta was founded by Rao Dooda of Mundore, whose son, the celebrated Maldeo, erected the castle, which he called Malkote.¹ Mairta, with its three hundred and sixty townships, became the appanage of his son Jeimul, and gave its name of Mairtea to the bravest of the brave clans of the Rahtores. Jeimul was destined to immortalise his name beyond the limits of Maroo. Distrusted by his father, and likely to be deserving of suspicion, from the very *ruse* to which Shere Shah acknowledged he owed his safety, he was banished from Marwar. He was hospitably received by the Rana, who assigned to the heir of Mundore the rich district of Bednore, equalling his own in extent, and far richer in soil than the plains he had abandoned. How he testified his gratitude for this reception, nobler pens than mine have related. The great Akber claimed the honour of having with his own hand sealed his fate : he immortalised the matchlock with which he effected it, and which was also the theme of Jehangir's praise, who raised a statue in honour of this defender of Cheetore and the rights of its infant prince. Abulfazil, Herbert, the chaplain to Sir T. Roe, Bernier, all honoured the name of Jeimul ; and the chivalrous Lord Hastings, than whom none was better able to appreciate Rajpoot valour,

¹ Rao Dooda had three sons, besides Maldeo ; namely : First, Raemul ; second, Birsing, who founded Amjerra in Malwa, still held by his descendants ; third, Ruttun Sing, father of Meera Baé, the celebrated wife of Koombho Rana.

manifested his respect by his desire to conciliate his descendant, the present brave baron of Bednore.¹

The town of Mairta covers a large space of ground, and is enclosed with a strong wall and bastions, composed of earth to the westward, but of freestone to the east. All, however, are in a state of decay, as well as the town itself, which is said to contain twenty thousand houses. Like most Hindu towns, there is a mixture of magnificence and poverty; a straw or mud hut adjoins a superb house of freestone, which "shames the meanness" of its neighbour. The castle is about a gun-shot to the south-west of the town, and encloses an area of a mile and a half. Some small sheets of water are on the eastern and western faces. There are plenty of wells about the town, but the water has an unpleasant taste, from filtering through a stiff clay. There are but two strata before water is found, which is about twenty-five feet from the surface: the first a black mould, succeeded by the clay, incumbent on a loose sand, filled with quartzose pebbles of all hues, and those stalactitic concretions which mark, throughout the entire line from Jodpoor to Ajmér, the stratum in which the springs find a current. There are many small lakes around the town, as the Doodasir, or 'lake (*sir*) of Dooda'; the Baijpa, the Doorani, the Dungalolia, etc.

The plain of Mairta is one continuous sepulchre, covered with altars to the manes of the warriors who, either in the civil wars which have distracted this state, or in the more patriotic strife with the southron Goths, have drenched it with their blood. It is impossible to pass over this memorable field without a reference to these acts; but they would be unintelligible without going to the very root of dissension, which not only introduced the Mahratta to decide the intestine broils of the Rajpoot states, but has entailed a perpetuity of discord on that of Marwar. I have already succinctly related the parricidal murder of Raja Ajeet, which arose out of the politics of the imperial court, when the Syeds of Barah—the Warwicks of the East—deposed the Emperor Ferochsér, and set up a puppet of their own. With his daughter (whose marriage with the emperor originated, as already recorded, the first grant of land to the East-India Company), he retired to his dominions, leaving his son Abhé Sing at court, and refusing his sanction to the nefarious schemes of the Syeds. They threatened destruction to Marwar, declaring to the son of Ajeet, that the only mode of averting its ruin was his own elevation, and his subservience to their views, which object could only be obtained by his father's deposal and death. Even the reasoning resorted to, as well as the dire purpose of the miscreants, is preserved, and may serve as an illustration of Rajpoot feeling. When Abhé Sing refused or hesitated, he was asked, "*Máh báp ka saca, ya zumín ka saca?*" which, though difficult to render with accuracy, may be translated: "Are you a branch (*sac'ha*) of the land or of your parents?" As before said, land is all in all to the Rajpoot; it is preferred to everything: Abhé's reply may therefore be inferred. Immediate installation was to be the reward of his revenging the Syeds. That nature could produce from the same stock two such monsters as the brothers who effected the deed, is, perhaps, hardly conceivable, and would, probably, not be credited, were not the fact proved beyond doubt. I should desire, for the honour of the Rajpoot race, whose

¹ See p. 387.

advocate and apologist I candidly avow myself, to suppress the atrocious record : but truth is dearer even than Rajpoot character. Of the twelve sons of Ajeet, Abhé Sing and Bukhta Sing were the two elder ; both were by the same mother, a princess of Boondí. To Bukhta Sing, who was with his father, the eldest brother wrote, promising him the independent sovereignty of Nagore (where they then were), with its five hundred and fifty-five townships, as the price of murdering their common sire. Not only was the wretch unstartled by the proposition, but he executed the deed with his own hands, under circumstances of unparalleled atrocity. His mother always dreaded the temperament and disposition of Bukhta, who was bold, haughty, impetuous, with a perpetual thirst for action ; and she cautioned her husband never to admit him into his presence after dusk, or when unattended. But the Raja, whose physical strength was equal to his bravery, ridiculed her fears, observing, "Is he not my child ? Besides, a slap on the face from me would annihilate the stripling." Upon receiving the note from his brother, Bukhta, after taking leave of his father, concealed himself in a chamber adjoining that where his parents reposed. When all was still the murderer stole to the bed in which lay the authors of his existence, and from a pallet, on which were placed the arms of Ajeet, he seized his sword, and coolly proceeded to exhaust those veins which contained the same blood that flowed in his own. In order that nothing might be wanting to complete the deed of horror, the mother was awakened by the blood of her lord moistening her bosom. Her cries awoke the faithful Rajpoots who lay in the adjacent apartments, and who bursting into the chamber, discovered their prince and father dead : " Treason had done its worst." The assassin fled to the roof of the palace, barring the gates behind him, which resisted all attempts to force them until morning, when he threw into the court below the letter of his brother, exclaiming, " This put the Mahraja to death, not I." Abhé Sing was now their sovereign ; and it is the actual occupant of the throne whom the Rajpoot deems entitled to his devotion. Eighty-four Satis took place on this dire occasion, the parent of these unnatural regicidal and parricidal sons leading the funeral procession. So much was Ajeet beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre. Such was the tragical end of the great Ajeet, lamented by his chiefs, and consecrated by the bard, in stanzas in honour of him and in execration of the assassins ; which afford proof of the virtuous independence of the poetic chronicler of Rajast'han.

*Bukhta, bukhta, bacra,
Kyon mara Ajmal¹
Hindwani ca Sewara
Toorkani ca Sdl ?*

" Oh Bukhta, in evil hour
Why slew you Ajmal,
The pillar of the Hindu,
The lance of the Toork ? "

Bukhta Sing obtained Nagore ; and Abhé Sing was rewarded with the vicerealty of Guzzerat, which gift he repaid by aiding in its partition, and annexing the rich districts of Beenmahl, Sanchore, and others, to

¹ The bards give adjuncts to names in order to suit their rhymes : Ajeet is the ' invincible ' ; Aj-mál, a contraction of *Ajya-mdl*, ' wealth invincible.'

Marwar ; on which occasion he added Jhalore to the domain of his brother Bukhta, or as the bard styles him, *bud-bukhta*, 'the unfortunate.' This additional reward of parricide has been the cause of all the civil wars of Marwar.

We may slightly notice the other sons of Ajeet, whose issue affected the political society of Rajpootana. Of these,

Devi Sing was given for adoption to Maha Sing, head of the Champawut clan, he having no heirs. Devi Sing then held Beenmahl, but which he could not retain against the Koli tribes around him, and Pokurna was given in exchange. Subbul Sing, Sowaé Sing, and Salim Sing (whose escape from the fate of the chieftain of Neemaj has been noticed) are the lineal issue of this adoption.

Anund Sing, another son of Ajeet, was in like manner adopted into the independent state of Edur, and his issue are heirs-presumptive to the throne of Marwar.

From these races we derive the knowledge of a curious fact, namely, that the issue of the younger brother maintains a claim, though adopted into a foreign and independent state ; while all such claims are totally extinguished by adoption into a home clan. Under no circumstances could the issue of Devi Sing sit on the *gadi* of Marwar ; when adopted into the Champawut clan, he surrendered all claims derived from his birth, which were merged into his vassal rank. Still the recollection must give weight and influence ; and it is evident from the boast of the haughty Devi Sing, when his head was on the block, that there is danger in these adoptions.

Abhé Sing died, leaving a memorial of his prowess in the splendid additions he made to his territories from the tottering empire of Dehli. He was succeeded by his son Ram Sing, on whose accession his uncle Bukhta sent his aged foster-mother, an important personage in Rajwarra, with the *teeka* and gifts, and other symbols of congratulation. Ram Sing, who had all the impetuosity of his race, received the lady-ambassador with no friendly terms, asking her if his uncle had no better messenger to salute his new sovereign. He refused the gifts, and commanded her to tell his uncle to surrender Jhalore. The offended dame extenuated nothing of the insolence of the message. The reply was, however, courteous, implying that both Jhalore and Nagore were at his disposal. The same sarcastic spirit soon precipitated matters between them in the following manner.

Koosul Sing of Ahwa, the premier noble of Marwar, and of all the clans of Champawut, more brave than courtly, was short in stature, sturdy, boorish, and blunt ; he became the object of his young sovereign's derision, who used to style him the *goorji gunduc*, or 'turnspit dog,' and who had once the audacity to say, "Come, goorji" ; when he received the laconic reproof : "Yes ; the goorji that dare bite the lion."

Brooding over this merited retort, he was guilty of another sarcasm, which closed the breach against all reconciliation. Seated one day in the garden of Mundore, he asked the same chief the name of a tree. "The champa," was the reply, "and the pride of the garden, as I am of your Rajpoots." "Cut it down instantly," said the prince ; "root it out ; nothing which bears the name of champa shall exist in Marwar."

Kunniram of Asope, the chief of the next most powerful clan, the

Kompawut, was alike the object of this prince's ridicule. His countenance, which was not "cast in nature's finest mould," became a butt for his wit, and he would familiarly say to him, '*ao boodha bándur*, "Come along, old monkey." Boiling with rage, the chief observed, "When the monkey begins to dance, you will have some mirth." Leaving the court, with his brother chieftain of Ahwa, they collected their retainers and families, and marched to Nagore. Bukhta Sing was absent, but being advised by his *locum tenens* of his visitors, and of their quarrel with his nephew, he lost no time in joining them. It is said he expostulated with them, and offered himself as mediator; but they swore never again to look in the face of Ram Sing as their sovereign. They offered to place Bukhta Sing on the *gadi* of Joda; and threatened, if he refused, to abandon Marwar. He played the part of our Richard for a short time; but the habitual arrogance of his nephew soon brought matters to a crisis. As soon as he heard that the two leaders of all his vassals were received by his uncle, he addressed him, demanding the instant surrender of Jhalore. Again he had the courtly reply: "He dare not contend against his sovereign; and if he came to visit him, he would meet him with a vessel of water."¹ War, a horrid civil war, was now decided on; the challenge was given and accepted, and the plains of Mairta were fixed upon to determine this mortal strife, in which brother was to meet brother, and all the ties of kin were to be severed by the sword. The Mairtea clans, the bravest, as they are the most loyal and devoted, of all the brave clans of Maroo, united to a man under the sovereign's standard; the chiefs of Reah, Boodsú, Mehtri, Kholur, Bhorawur, Kochamun, Alneawas, Joosuri, Bokri, Bhoroonda, Eerwoh, Chandaroon, collected around them every vassal who could wield a brand. Most of the clans of Joda, attracted by the name of *swámdherma*, 'fidelity to their lord,' united themselves to the Mairteas; though a few, as Ladnú, Neembi, were on the adverse side; but the principal leaders, as Khyrwa, Govindgurh, and Bhadrajoon, were faithful to their salt. Of the services of others, Ram Sing's insolence deprived him. Few remained neuter. But these defections were nothing to the loss of a body of five thousand Jareja auxiliaries, whom his connection with a daughter of the prince of Bhooj brought to his aid. When the tents were moved outside the capital, an incident occurred which, while it illustrates the singular character of the Rajpoot, may be regarded as the real cause of the loss of sovereignty to Ram Sing. An inauspicious raven had perched upon the *kanát*, or wall of the tent in which was the Jareja queen, who, skilled in the art of the *sookuni*² (augur), determined to avert it. Like all Rajpootnis, who can use fire-arms on occasion, she seized a matchlock at hand, and, ere he "thrice croaked," she shot him dead. The impetuous Raja, enraged at this instance of audacity and disrespect, without inquiry, ordered the culprit to be dragged before him; nor was his anger assuaged when the name of the Rani was given. He reviled her in the grossest terms: "Tell the Rani," he said, "to depart my dominions, and to return from whence she came." She entreated and conjured him, by a regard to his own safety, to revoke the decree; but all in vain; and with difficulty could she obtain a short interview, but without effecting

¹ This reply refers to a custom analogous to the Scythic investiture, by offering "water and soil."

² *Sookun fecrna* means to avert the omen of evil.

any change in her obdurate lord. Her last words were, "With my exile from your presence, you will lose the crown of Marwar." She marched that instant, carrying with her the five thousand auxiliaries whose presence must have ensured his victory.

The Oodawut clans, led by their chiefs of Neemaj, Raepoor, and Raus, with all the Kurrunsotes under the Thacoor of Kewnsir, united their retainers with the Champawuts and Kompawuts under the banners of Bukhta Sing.

Ram Sing's array fell far short of his rival's since the defection of the Jarejas ; yet, trusting to the name of sovereign as "a tower of strength," he boldly marched to the encounter, and when he reached the hostile field encamped near the Ajmér gate of Mairta. His rival was not long behind, and marshalled his clans within three miles of the northern portal, called the gate of Nagore. The spot he chose had a sacred character, and was called *mataji ca than*, where there was a shrine of the Hindu Hecate, with a fountain said to have been constructed by the Pandus.

Bukhta Sing commenced the battle. Leaving his camp standing, he advanced against his nephew and sovereign, whom he saluted with a general discharge of his artillery. A vigorous cannonade was continued on both sides throughout the day, without a single man seeking a closer encounter. It is no wonder they paused ere the sword was literally drawn. Here was no foreign foe to attack ; brother met brother, friend encountered friend, and the blood which flowed in the veins of all the combatants was derived from one common fountain. The reluctance proceeded from the *σόφην*, the innate principle of natural affection. Evening advanced amidst peals of cannon, when an incident, which could only occur in an army of Rajpoots, stopped the combat. On the banks of the Baijpa lake, the scene of strife, there is a monastery of Dadoopunti ascetics, built by Raja Soor Sing. It was nearly midway between the rival armies, and the shot fell so thick amidst these recluses that they fled in a body, leaving only the old patriarch. Baba (father) Kishendeo disdained to follow his disciples, and to the repeated remonstrances from either party to withdraw, he replied, that if it was his fate to die by a shot he could not avert it ; if not, the balls were innocuous : but although he feared not for himself, yet his gardens and monastery were not "charmed," and he commanded them to fight no longer on that ground. The approach of night, and the sacred character of the old abbot Dadoopunti, conspired to make both parties obey his commands, and they withdrew to their respective encampments.

The dawn found the armies in battle-array, each animated with a deadly determination. It was Raja Ram's turn to open this day's combat, and he led the van against his uncle. Burning with the recollection of the indignities he had suffered, the chief of Ahwa, determined to show that "the cur could bite," led his Champawuts to the charge against his sovereign. Incited by loyalty and devotion "to the gadi of Marwar," reckless who was its occupant, the brave Mairteas met his onset steel in hand. The ties of kin were forgotten, or if remembered, the sense of the unnatural strife added a kind of frenzy to their valour, and confirmed their resolution to conquer or die. Here the Mairtea, fighting under the eye of this valiant though intemperate prince, had to maintain his ancient fame, as "the first sword of Maroo." There his antagonist, the Champawut,

jealous of this reputation, had the like incentive, besides the obligation to revenge the insults offered to his chief. The conflict was awful: the chieftains of each valiant clan met hand to hand, singling out each other by name. Shere Sing, chief of all the Mairteas, was the first who sealed his devotion by his death. His place was soon filled by his brother, burning for vengeance. Again he cheered on his Mairteas to avenge the death of their lord, as he propelled his steed against the chief of the Champawuts. They were the sons of two sisters of the Jeipoor house, and had hitherto lived in amity and brotherly love, now exchanged for deadly hate. They encountered, when the "cur" bit the dust, and was borne from the field. The loss of their leaders only inflamed the vassals on both sides, and it was long before either yielded a foot of ground. But numbers, and the repeated charges of Bukhta Sing, who led wherever his nephew could be found, at length prevailed; though not until the extinction of the clan of Mairtea, who, despising all odds, fought unto the death. Besides their head of Reah, there fell the sub-vassals of Eerwah, Sewuroh, Joossurie, and Mehtri, with his three gallant sons, and almost all their retainers.

There is nothing more chivalrous in the days of Edward and Cressy than the death of the heir of Mehtri, who, with his father and brothers, sealed his fealty with his blood on this fatal field. He had long engaged the hand of a daughter of a chief of the Nirookas, and was occupied with the marriage rites, when tidings reached him of the approach of the rebels to Mairta. The knot had just been tied, their hands had been joined—but he was a Mairtea—he unlocked his hand from that of the fair Nirooki, to court the Apsara in the field of battle. In the bridal vestments, with the nuptial coronet (*mor*) encircling his forehead, he took his station with his clan in the second day's fight, and "obtained a bride in Indra's abode." The bards of Maroo dwell with delight on the romantic glory of the youthful heir of Mehtri, as they repeat in their Doric verse,

" Kan a mooti bulbulla
Gulla soni a malla
Asi cos kurro ho aya
Konwur Mehtri-walla."

The paraphernalia here enumerated are very foreign to the cavalier of the west: "with pearls shining in his ears, and a golden chaplet round his neck, a space of eighty coss came the heir of Mehtri."

The virgin bride followed her lord from Jeipoor, but instead of being met with the tabor and lute, and other signs of festivity, wail and lamentation awaited her within the lands of Mehtri, where tidings came of the calamity which at once deprived this branch of the Mairteas of all its supporters. Her part was soon taken; she commanded the pyre to be erected; and with the turban and *toorah* which adorned her lord on this fatal day, she followed his shade to the mansions of the sun. I sought out the cenotaph of this son of honour in the blood-stained field; but the only *couronne immortelle* I could wreath on the sandy plain was supplied by the Bardai, whose song is full of martial fire as he recounts the gallantry of "*Konwur Mehtri-walla*."

The Mairteas, and their compeers on the side of the prince, made sad havoc amongst their opponents; and they still maintain that it was owing to the artillery alone that they were defeated. Their brave and

loyal leader, Shere Sing of Reah, had fruitlessly endeavoured to recall his brother-in-law from the path of treason, but ineffectually ; he spoke with sarcasm of his means to supplant Ram Sing by his uncle. The reply of the old baron of Ahwa is characteristic : " At least I will turn the land upside down ; " to which Shere Sing rejoined, angrily, he would do his best to prevent him. Thus they parted ; nor did they meet again till in arms at Mairta.

In surveying this field of slaughter, the eye discerns no *point d'appui*, no village or key of position, to be the object of a struggle ; nothing to obstruct the doubly-gorged falconet, which has no terrors for the uncontrollable valour of the Rahtore ; it perceives but a level plain, extended to the horizon, and now covered with the memorials of this day's strife. Here appears the colonnaded mausoleum, with its airy cupola ; there the humble altar, with its simple record of the name, clan, and *sac'ha* of him whose ashes repose beneath, with the date of the event, inscribed in rude characters. Of these monumental records I had copies made of about a score ; they furnish fresh evidence of the singular character of the Rajpoot.

Ram Sing retired within the walls of the city, which he barricaded ; but it being too extensive to afford the chance of defence against the enemy, he formed the fatal resolution of calling to his aid the Mahrattas, who were then rising into notice. At midnight he fled to the south ; and at Oojein found the Mahratta leader, Jey Appa Sindia, with whom he concerted measures for the invasion of his country. Meantime his uncle being master of the field, repaired, without loss of time, to the capital, where he was formally enthroned ; and his *án* was proclaimed throughout Marwar. As skilful as he was resolute, he determined to meet on his frontier the threatened invasion, and accordingly advanced to Ajmér, in order to interpose between the Mahrattas and Jeipoor, whose prince, Esuri Sing, was father-in-law to his rival. He wrote him a laconic epistle, requiring him either instantly to unite with him in attacking the Mahrattas, or declare himself his foe. The Jeipoor prince had many powerful reasons for not supporting Raja Bukhta, but he at the same time dreaded his enmity. In this extremity, he had recourse to an expedient too common in cases of difficulty. Concerting with his wife, a princess of Eedur (then ruled by one of the sons of Ajeet), the best mode of extrication from his difficulties, he required her aid to revenge the foul murder of Ajeet, and to recover his son's right. " In either case," said he, " the sword must decide, for he leaves me no alternative : against him I have no hopes of success ; and if I march to the aid of an assassin and usurper, I lose the good opinion of mankind." In short, he made it appear that she alone could rescue him from his perils. It was therefore resolved to punish one crime by the commission of another. Esuri Sing signified his assent ; and to lull all suspicion, the Rhatorni was to visit her uncle in his camp on the joint frontier of the three states of Méwar, Marwar, and Ambér. A poisoned robe was the medium of revenge. Raja Bukhta, soon after the arrival of his niece, was declared in a fever ; the physician was summoned : but the man of secrets, the *védya*, declared he was beyond the reach of medicine, and bade him prepare for other scenes. The intrepid Rahtore, yet undismayed, received the tidings even with a jest : " What, Sooja," said he, " no cure ? Why do you take my lands and eat their produce, if you cannot combat my maladies ? What is your art

good for ? ” The *védyā* excavated a small trench in the tent, which he filled with water ; throwing into it some ingredient, the water became gelid. “ This,” said he, “ can be effected by human skill ; but your case is beyond it : haste, perform the offices which religion demands.” With perfect composure he ordered the chiefs to assemble in his tent ; and having recommended to their protection, and received their promise of defending the rights of his son, he summoned the ministers of religion into his presence. The last gifts to the church, and these her organs, were prepared ; but with all his firmness, the anathema of the Satis, as they ascended the funeral pyre on which his hand had stretched his father, came into his mind ; and as he repeated the ejaculation, “ May your corpse be consumed in foreign land ! ” he remembered he was then on the border. The images which crossed his mental vision it is vain to surmise : he expired as he uttered these words ; and over his remains, which were burnt on the spot, a cenotaph was erected, and is still called *Booro Dewul*, the ‘ Shrine of Evil.’

But for that foul stain, Raja Bukhta would have been one of the first princes of his race. It never gave birth to a bolder ; and his wisdom was equal to his valour. Before the commission of that act, he was adored by his Rajpoots. He was chiefly instrumental in the conquests made from Guzzerat ; and afterwards, in conjunction with his brother, in defeating the imperial viceroy, Sirbullund. His elevation could not be called a usurpation, since Ram Sing was totally incapacitated through his ungovernable passions, for sovereign sway ; and the brave barons of Marwar, “ all sons of the same father with their prince,” have always exercised the right of election, when physical incapacity rendered such a measure requisite. It is a right which their own customary laws, as well as the rules of justice, have rendered sacred. According to this principle, nearly all the feudality of Maroo willingly recognised, and swore to maintain, the claims of his successor, Beejy Sing. The Rajas of Bikanér and Kishengurh, both independent branches of this house, gave in their assent. Beejy Sing was accordingly proclaimed and installed at Maroat, and forthwith conducted to Mairta.

The ex-prince, Ram Sing, accompanied Jey Appa to the siege of Kotah, and subsequently through Méwar, levying contributions as they passed to Ajmér. Here a dispute occurred between the brave Rahtore and Sindia, whose rapacious spirit for plunder received a severe reproof : nevertheless they crossed the frontier, and entered Marwar. Beejy Sing, with all the hereditary valour of his race, marched to meet the invaders, at the head of nearly all the chivalry of Maroo, amounting to 200,000 men.

The first day both armies encountered, they limited their hostility to a severe cannonade and partial actions, the inhabitants of Mairta supplying the combatants with food, in which service many were killed ; even the recluse Dadoopuntis ran the risk in this patriotic struggle, and several of the old patriarch’s disciples suffered. The second day passed in the same manner, with many desperate charges of cavalry, in which the Mahrattas invariably suffered, especially from a select body of 5000 select horse, all cased in armour, which nothing could withstand. The superior numerical strength of Ram Sing and his allies compelled Beejy Sing not to neglect the means of retreat. Throughout the first and second days’ combat, the cattle of the train had been kept yoked ; on the third, they had carried

them to a small rivulet in the rear to water. It was at the precise moment of time when the legion of cuirassiers were returning from a charge which had broken to pieces the Mahratta line, as they approached their friends, the word "*dugga*" spread like wildfire; they were mistaken for Ram Sing's adherents, and a murderous shower of grape opened upon the flower of their own army, who were torn to pieces ere the fatal error was discovered. But such was the impression which this band of heroes had just made on the Mahrattas, that they feared to take advantage of this disaster. A feeling of horror pervaded the army of Beejy Sing, as the choice of their chivalry conveyed the slain and the wounded to the camp. A council of war was summoned, and the aid of superstition came to cool that valour which the Mahrattas, in spite of their numbers, could never subdue. The Raja was young—only twenty years of age; and being prudent as well as brave, he allowed experience to guide him. The Raja of Bikanér, of the same kin and clan, took the lead, and advised a retreat. In the accident related, he saw the hand of Providence, which had sent it to serve as a signal to desist. The Raja had a great stake to lose, and doubtless deemed it wise to preserve his auxiliaries for the defence of his own dominions. It was a case which required the energy of Bukhta: but the wavering opinion of the council soon spread throughout the camp, and was not unobserved by the enemy; nor was it till Bikanér marched off with his aid, towards the close of the day, that any advantage was taken of it. Then Ram Sing at the head of a body of Rajpoots and Mahrattas poured down upon them, and "*sauve qui peut*" became the order of the day. To gain Mairta was the main object of the discomfited and panic-struck Rahtores; but many chiefs with their vassals marched direct for their estates. The guns were abandoned to their fate, and became the first proud trophy the Mahrattas gained over the dreaded Rajpoots. The Raja of Kishengurh, also a Rahtore, followed the example of his brother prince of Bikanér, and carried off his bands. Thus deserted by his dispirited and now dispersed barons, the young prince had no alternative but flight, and at midnight he took the route of Nagore. In the darkness he mistook the road, or was misled into that of Rayn, whose chieftain was the companion of his flight. Calling him by name, Lall Sing, he desired him to regain the right path; but the orders of a sovereign at the head of a victorious army, and those of a fugitive prince, are occasionally received, even amongst Rajpoots, with some shades of distinction. The chief begged permission, as he was near home, to visit his family and bring them with him. Too dignified to reply, the young prince remained silent, and the Thacoor of Rayn¹ loitered in the rear. The Raja reached Kujwana, with only five of his cuirassiers (*sillahposh*) as an escort. Here he could not halt with safety; but as he left the opposite barrier, his horse dropped down dead. He mounted another belonging to one of his attendants, and gained Deswal, three miles farther. Here the steeds, which had been labouring throughout the day under the weight of heavy armour, in addition to the usual burden of their riders, were too jaded to proceed; and Nagore was still sixteen miles distant. Leaving his worn-out escort, and concealing his rank, he bargained with a Jat to convey him before break of day to the gate of Nagore for the sum of five rupees. The peasant, after stipulating that the coin should be *beeji-sahis*, "the new currency," which still remains

¹ Or *Rahin* in the map, on the road to Jahil from Mairta.

the standard, the common car of husbandry was brought forth, on which the king of Mároo ascended, and was drawn by a pair of Nagori oxen. The royal fugitive was but little satisfied with their exertions, though their pace was good, and kept continually urging them, with the customary cry of "*hank ! hank !*" The honest Jat, conscious that his cattle did their best, at length lost all temper. Repeating the sounds "*hank ! hank !*" "Who are you," asked he, "that are hurrying on at this rate ? It were more becoming that such a sturdy carl should be in the field with Beejy Sing at Mairta, than posting in this manner to Nagore. One would suppose you had the southrons (*dehkhaniis*) at your heels. Therefore be quiet, for not a jot faster shall I drive." Morning broke, and Nagore was yet two miles distant : the Jat, turning round to view more attentively his impatient traveller, was overwhelmed with consternation when he recognised his prince. He leaped from the vehicle, horror-struck that he should have been sitting "on the same level" with his sovereign, and absolutely refused to sin any longer against etiquette. "I pardon the occasion," said the prince mildly ; "obey." The Jat resumed his seat, nor ceased exclaiming *hank ! hank !* until he reached the gate of Nagore. Here the prince alighted, paid his price of conveyance, and dismissed the Jat of Deswal, with a promise of further recompense hereafter. On that day the enemy invested Nagore, but not before Beejy Sing had despatched the chief of Hursolah to defend the capital, and issued his proclamations to summon the ban of Marwar.

During six months he defended himself gallantly in Nagore, against which the desultory Mahrattas, little accustomed to the operations of a siege, made no impression, while they suffered from the sallies of their alert antagonist. Encouraged by their inactivity, the young prince, imbued with all the native valour of his race, and impelled by that decisive energy of mind which characterised his father, determined upon a step which has immortalised his memory. He resolved to cut his way through the enemy, and solicit succours in person. He had a dromedary corps five hundred strong. Placing on these a devoted band of one thousand Rajpoots, in the dead of night he passed the Mahratta lines unobserved, and made direct for Bikanér. Twenty-four hours sufficed to seat him on the same *gadl* with its prince, and to reveal to him the melancholy fact, that here he had no hopes of succour. Denied by a branch of his own house, he resorted to a daring experiment upon the supporter of his antagonist. The next morning he was on his way, at the head of his dromedary escort, to the capital of the Cutchwahas, Jeipoor. The "ships of the desert" soon conveyed him to that city. He halted under the walls, and sent a messenger to say that in person he had come to solicit his assistance.

Esuri Sing, the son and successor of the great Sowae Jey Sing, had neither the talents of his father, nor even the firmness which was the common inheritance of his race. He dreaded the rival Rahtore ; and the pusillanimity which made him become the assassin of the father, prompted him to a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality (which, with courage, is a virtue almost inseparable from a Rajpoot soul), and make a captive of the son. But the base design was defeated by an instance of devotion and resolution, which will serve to relieve the Rajpoot character from the dark shades which the faithful historian is sometimes forced to throw into the picture. Civil war is the parent of every crime, and severs

all ties, moral and political ; nor must it be expected that Rajpootana should furnish the exception to a rule, which applies to all mankind in similar circumstances. The civil wars of England and France, during the conflicts of the White and Red Roses, and those of the League, will disclose scenes which would suffice to dye with the deepest hues an entire dynasty of the Rajpoots. Let such deeds as the following be placed on the virtuous side of the account, and the crimes on the opposite side be ascribed to the peculiarities of their condition.

The devoted sacrifice of Shere Sing, the chief of the Mairtea clan, has already been recorded. When victory declared against the side he espoused, the victorious Bukhta Sing resumed the estates of Reah from his line, and conferred them on a younger branch of the family. Jowan Sing was the name of the individual, and he was now with the chosen band of the son of his benefactor, soliciting succour from the king of the Cutchwahas. He had married the daughter of the chief of Atchrole, one of the great vassals of Jeipoor, who was deep in the confidence of his sovereign, to whom he imparted his design to seize the person of his guest and suppliant at the interview he had granted. Aware that such a scheme could not be effected without bloodshed, the Atchrole chieftain, desirous to save his son-in-law from danger, under an oath of secrecy revealed the plot, in order that he might secure himself. The Jeipoor prince came to the " Travellers' hall " (*dhermsala*), where the Rahtore had alighted ; they embraced with cordiality, and seated themselves on the same *gaddi* together. While compliments were yet passing, the faithful Mairtea, who, true to his pledge, had not even hinted to his master the danger that threatened him, placed himself immediately behind the Jeipoor prince, sitting, as if accidentally, on the flowing skirt of his robe. The Raja, turning round to the leader of " the first of the swords of Maroo," remarked, " Why, Thacoor, you have taken a seat in the background to-day ? " " The day requires it, Maharaja," was the laconic reply : for the post of the Mairteas was the sovereign's right hand. Turning to his prince, he said, " Arise, depart, or your life or liberty is endangered." Beejy Sing arose, and his treacherous host made an attempt to follow, but felt his design impeded by the position the loyal chief had taken on his garment, whose drawn dagger was already pointed to his heart, where he threatened to sheathe it if any hindrance was offered to the safe departure of his sovereign, to whom he coolly said, as the prince left the astonished assembly, " Send me word when you are mounted." The brave Beejy Sing showed himself worthy of his servant, and soon sent to say, " He now only waited for him " : a message, the import of which was not understood by the treacherous Cutchwaha. The leader of the Mairteas sheathed his dagger—arose—and coming in front of the Raja, made him a respectful obeisance. The Jeipoor prince could not resist the impulse which such devotion was calculated to produce ; he arose, returned the salutation, and giving vent to his feelings, observed aloud to his chiefs, " Behold a picture of fidelity ! It is in vain to hope for success against such men as these."

Foiled in all his endeavours, Beejy Sing had no resource but to regain Nagore, which he effected with the same celerity as he quitted it. Six months more passed away in the attempt to reduce Nagore ; but though the siege was fruitless, not so were the efforts of his rival Ram Sing in other quarters, to whom almost all the country had submitted : Maroot,

Purbutsir, Palli, Sojut, had received his flag ; and besides the capital and the town he held in person, Jhalore, Sewanoh, and Filodi, were the only places which had not been reduced. In this extremity, Beejy Sing listened to an offer to relieve him from these multiplied difficulties, which, in its consequences, alienated for ever the brightest gem in the crown of Marwar.

A Rajpoot and an Afghan, both foot-soldiers on a small monthly pay, offered, if their families were provided for, to sacrifice themselves for his safety by the assassination of the Mahratta commander. Assuming the garb of camp-settlers, they approached the headquarters, feigning a violent quarrel. The simple Mahratta chief was performing his ablutions at the door of his tent, which as they approached, they became more vociferous, and throwing a bundle of statements of account on the ground, begged he would decide between them. In this manner they came nearer and nearer, and as he listened to their story, one plunged his dagger in his side, exclaiming, "This for Nagore!" and "This for Jodpoor!" said his companion, as he repeated the mortal blow. The alarm was given ; the Afghan was slain ; but the Rajpoot called out "Thief!" and mingling with the throng, escaped by a drain into the town of Nagore. Though the crime was rewarded, the Rahtore refused to see the criminal. The siege continued, but in spite of every precaution, reinforcements both of men and provisions continued to be supplied. It ill suited the restless Mahratta to waste his time in these desert regions, which could be employed so much more profitably on richer lands : a compromise ensued, in which the cause of Ram Sing was abandoned, on stipulating for a fixed triennial tribute, and the surrender of the important fortress and district of Ajmér in full sovereignty to the Mahratta, in *moondkati*, or compensation for the blood of Jey Appa. The monsoon was then approaching ; they broke up, and took possession of this important conquest, which, placed in the very heart of these regions, may be called the key of Rajpootana.

The cross of St. George now waves over the battlements of Ajmér, planted, if there is any truth in political declarations, not for the purpose of conquest, or to swell the revenues of British India, but to guard the liberties and the laws of these ancient principalities from rapine and disorder. It is to be hoped that this banner will never be otherwise employed, and that it may never be execrated by the brave Rajpoot.

The deserted Ram Sing continued to assert his rights with the same obstinacy by which he lost them ; and for which he staked his life in no less than eighteen encounters against his uncle and cousin. At length, on the death of Esuri Sing of Jeipoor, having lost his main support, he accepted the Marwar share of the Salt Lake of Sambur, and Jeipoor relinquishing the other half, he resided there until his death.

CHAPTER XXIX

Madaji Sindia succeeds Jey Appa—Union of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, joined by Ismael Beg and Hamdani, against the Mahrattas—Battle of Tonga—Sindia defeated—Ajmer retaken, and tributary engagement annulled—Madaji Sindia recruits his army, with the aid of De Boigne—The Rajpoots meet him on the frontier of Jeipoor—Jealousies of the allies—The Cutchwahas alienated by a scurrilous stanza—Battle of Patun—Effects of the Jeipooreans' treachery, in the defeat of the Rahtores—Stanza of the Cutchwaha bard—Suggestion of Beejy Sing: his chiefs reject it, and the prince prepares for war—Treason of the Rahtore chief of Kishengurh—The Mahrattas invade Marwar—Resolution of the chiefs of Ahwa and Asope to conquer or perish—Rahtores encamp on the plains of Mairta—Golden opportunity lost of destroying the Mahratta army—Fatal compliance of the chiefs with the orders of the civil minister—Rout of the camp—Heroism of the Rahtore clans: their destruction—Treachery of the Singwi faction—The chief minister takes poison—Reflections on the Rajpoot character, with reference, to the protective alliance of the British Government—Resumption of journey—Jhirrow—Cross the field of battle—*See-kote*, or Mirage, compared with the *Sehrab* of Scripture—Desert of Sogdiana—Hissar—At sea—Description of Jhirrow—Cenotaph of Herakurna Das—Aneawas—Reah—The Mountain Mairs—Their descent upon Reah—Slay its chief—Govindgurh—Chase of a hyæna—Lake of Poshkur: geological details—Description of the lake—Its legend—Aja-pál, the founder of Ajmer—Beesildeva, the Chohan king of Ajmer—Places of devotion on the 'Serpent-rock.'—Ajmer—View of Dharool-Khyr—Geological details—City of Ajmer—Its rising prosperity.

MADAJI SINDIA succeeded to the command of the horde led by his relation, Jey Appa. He had the genius to discover that his southron horse would never compete with the Rajpoots, and he set about improving that arm to which the Mahrattas finally owed success. This sagacious chief soon perceived that the political position of the great states of Rajast'han was most favourable to his views of establishing his power in this quarter. They were not only at variance with each other, but, as it has already appeared, were individually distracted with civil dissensions. The interference of the Rana of Oodipoor had obtained for his nephew, Madhú Sing, the *gadi* of Jeipoor; but this advantage was gained only through the introduction of the Mahrattas, and the establishment of a tribute, as in Marwar. This brave people felt the irksomeness of their chains, and wished to shake them off. Madhú Sing's reign was short; he was succeeded by Pertáp, who determined to free himself from this badge of dependence. Accordingly, when Madaji Sindia invaded his country, at the head of a powerful army, he called on the Rahtores for aid. The cause was their own; and they jointly determined to redeem what had been lost. As the bard of the Rahtores observes, they forgot all their just grounds of offence¹ against the Jeipoor court, and sent the flower of their chivalry under the chieftain of Reah, whose fidelity has been so recently recorded. At Tonga (the battle is also termed that of Lalsont), the rival armies encountered.

¹ *Put rekho Pertáp ka
No kote ca Nat'h
Agla goona bukus dā
Abki pukero hat'h.*

"The lord of the nine castles preserved the honour of Pertáp. He forgave former offences, and again took him by the hand."

The celebrated Mogul chiefs, Ismael Beg and Hamdani added their forces to those of the combined Rajpoots, and gained an entire victory, in which the Rahtores had their full share of glory. The noble chief of Reah formed his Rahtore horse into a dense mass, with which he charged and overwhelmed the flower of Sindia's army, composed of the regulars under the celebrated De Boigne.¹ Sindia was driven from the field, and retired to Muttra; for years he did not recover the severity of this day. The Rahtores sent a force under the Dhabaie, which redeemed Ajmér, and annulled their tributary engagement.

The genius of General Comte de Boigne ably seconded the energetic Sindia. A regular force was equipped, far superior to any hitherto known, and was led into Rajpootana to redeem the disgrace of Tonga. The warlike Rahtores determined not to await the attack within their own limits, but marched their whole force to the northern frontier of Jeipoor, and formed a junction with the Cutchwahas at the town of Patun (*Tuarvati*). The words of the war-song, which the inspiring bards repeated as they advanced, are still current in Marwar; but an unlucky stanza, which a juvenile Charun had composed after the battle of Tonga, had completely alienated the Cutchwahas from their supporters, to whom they could not but acknowledge their inferiority:—

Oodul tyn Ambér ra Rekha Rahtordn.
"The Rahtores guarded the petticoats of Ambér."

This stanza was retained in recollection at the battle of Patun; and if aniversal affirmation may be received as proof, it was the cause of its loss, and with it that of Rajpoot independence. National pride was humbled: a private agreement was entered into between the Mahrattas and Jeipooreans, whereby the latter, on condition of keeping aloof during the fight, were to have their country secured from devastation. As usual, the Rahtores charged up to the muzzles of De Boigne's cannon, sweeping all before them: but receiving no support, they were torn piecemeal by showers of grape and compelled to abandon the field. Then, it is recorded, the brave Rahtore showed the difference between fighting on *purbhom*, or 'foreign land,' and on his own native soil. Even the women, it is averred, plundered them of their horses on this disastrous day; so heart-broken had the traitorous conduct of their allies rendered them. The Jeipooreans paid dearly for their revenge, and for the couplet which recorded it:—

*Ghora, joora, pagri,
Mootcha, Kug, Marwar,
Panch rekha mel-lida
Patun myn Rahtore.*

¹ "A la gauche la cavalerie Rhatore, au nombre de dix mille hommes, fondit sur les bataillons de M. de Boigne malgré le feu des batteries placées en avant de la ligne. Les pièces bien servies opéraient avec succès; mais les Rhatores, avec le courage opiniâtre qui les caractérise, s'acharnaient à poursuivre l'action, et venaient tuer les artilleurs jusques sur leurs pièces. Alors, les bataillons s'avancèrent, et les Rhatores, qui avaient perdu beaucoup de monde, commencèrent à s'ébranler. M. de Boigne, les voyant se retirer en désordre, réclama l'aide du centre; mais les prières et les menaces furent également inutiles: les vingt-cinq bataillons Mogols, restés inactifs pendant toute la journée, et simples spectateurs du combat, demeurèrent encore immobiles dans ce moment décisif. Les deux armées se retirèrent après cette action sanglante, qui n'eut aucun résultat."

Verbatim :

"Horse, shoes, turban,
Mustachio, sword [of] Marwar,
Five things surrendered were
At Patun by the Rahtore."

Both these "ribald strains" are still the taunt of either race: by such base agencies are thrones overturned, and heroism rendered abortive!

When the fatal result of the battle of Patun was communicated to Raja Beejy Sing, he called a council of all his nobles, at which the independent branches of his family, the Rajas of Bikanér, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, assisted, for the cause was a common one. The Raja gave it as his own opinion, that it was better to fulfil the terms of the former treaty, on the murder of Jey Appa, acknowledge the cancelled tribute, and restore Ajmér, which they had recovered by a *coup de main*. His valorous chieftains opposed the degrading suggestion, and unanimously recommended that they should again try the chances of war ere they signed their humiliation. Their resolution swayed the prince, who issued his summons to every Rahtore in his dominions to assemble under their Raja's banner, once more planted on the ensanguined plains of Mairta. A fine army was embodied; not a Rahtore who could wield a sword but brought it for service in the cause of his country; and full thirty thousand men assembled on the 10th September 1790, determined to efface the recollections of Patun.

There was one miscreant of Rahtore race, who aided on this occasion to rivet his country's chains, and his name shall be held up to execration—Buhadoor Sing, the chief of Kishengurh. This traitor to his suzerain and race held, jointly with his brother of Roopnagurh, a domain of two hundred and ten townships; not a *fief* emanating from Marwar, but all by grant from the kings; still they received the *teeka*, and acknowledged the supremacy of the head of Jodpoor. The brothers had quarrelled; Buhadoor despoiled his brother of his share, and being deaf to all offers of mediation, Beejy Sing marched and re-inducted the oppressed chief into his capital, Roopnagurh. The fatal day of Patun occurred immediately after; and Buhadoor, burning with revenge, repaired to De Boigne, and conducted him against his native land. Roopnagurh, it may be supposed, was his first object, and it will afford a good proof of the efficiency of the artillery of De Boigne, that he reduced it in twenty-four hours. Thence he proceeded to Ajmér, which he invested: and here the proposal was made by the Raja for its surrender, and for the fulfilment of the former treaty. Madaji in person remained at Ajmér, while his army, led by Lukwa, Jewa-dada, Sudasheo Bhao, and other Mahratta leaders of horse, with the brigades of De Boigne and eighty pieces of cannon, advanced against the Rahtores. The Mahrattas, preceding by one day's march the regulars under De Boigne, encamped at Nitrea. The Rahtore army was drawn out on the plains of Mairta, one flank resting on the village of Dangiwas. Five miles separated the Rahtores from the Mahrattas; De Boigne was yet in the rear, his guns being deep sunk in the sandy bed of the Looni. Here a golden opportunity was lost, which could never be regained, of deciding 'horse to horse' the claims of supremacy; but the evil genius of the Rahtore again intervened: and as he was the victim at

Patun to the jealousy of the Cutchwaha, so here he became the martyr to a meaner cause, the household jealousies of the civil ministers of his prince. It is customary in all the Rajpoot states, when the sovereign does not command in person, to send one of the civil ministers as his representative. Him the feudal chiefs will obey, but not one of their own body, at least without some hazard of dissension. Khoob Chund Singwi, the first minister, was present with the Raja at the capital: Gungaram Bindarri and Bheemraj Singwi were with the army. Eager to efface the disgrace of Patun, the two great Rahtore leaders, Seo Sing of Ahwa, and Maheedas of Asope, who had sworn to free their country or die in the attempt, demanded a general movement against the Mahrattas. This gallant impatience was seconded by all the other nobles, as well as by a successful attack on the foragers of the enemy, in which the Mahrattas lost all their cattle. But it was in vain they urged the raging ardour of their clans, the policy of taking advantage of it, and the absence of De Boigne, owing to whose admirable corps and well-appointed park the day at Patun was lost; Bheemraj silenced their clamour for the combat by producing a paper from the minister Khoob Chund commanding them on their allegiance not to engage until the junction of Ismael Beg, already at Nagore. They fatally yielded obedience. De Boigne extricated his guns from the sands of Alneeawas, and joined the main body. That night the Bikanér contingent, perceiving the state of things, and desirous to husband their resources to defend their own altars, withdrew. About an hour before daybreak, De Boigne led his brigade to the attack, and completely surprised the unguarded Rajpoots. They were awoke by showers of grape-shot, which soon broke their position: all was confusion; the resistance was feeble. It was the camp of the irregular infantry and guns which broke, and endeavoured to gain Mairta; and the civil commanders took to flight. The alarm reached the more distant quarters of the brothers-in-arms, the chiefs of Ahwa and Asope. The latter was famed for the immense quantity of opium he consumed; and with difficulty could his companion awake him, with the appalling tidings, "The camp has fled, and we are left alone!" "Well, brother, let us to horse." Soon the gallant band of both was ready, and twenty-two chiefs of note *drank opium together* for the last time. They were joined by the leaders of other clans; and first and foremost the brave Mairteas of Reah, of Alneeawas, Eerwa, Chanode, Govindgurrh; in all four thousand Rahtores. When mounted and formed in one dense mass, the Ahwa chieftain shortly addressed them: "Where can we fly, brothers? But can there be a Rahtore who has ties stronger than shame (*laq*)? If any one exist who prefers his wife and children to honour, let him retire." Deep silence was the only reply to this heroic appeal; and as the hand of each warrior was raised to his forehead, the Ahwa chief gave the word 'forward.' They soon came up with De Boigne's brigade, well posted, and defended by eighty pieces of cannon. "Remember Patun!" was the cry, as, regardless of showers of grape, this heroic band charged up to the cannon's mouth, driving everything before them, cutting down the line which defended the guns, and passing on to assault the Mahrattas, who were flying in all directions to avoid their impetuous valour. Had there been a reserve at this moment, the day of Mairta would have surpassed that of Tonga. But here the skill of De Boigne, and the discipline of his troops, were an overmatch for

valour unsustained by discipline and discretion. The Rahtore band had no infantry to secure their victory ; the guns were wheeled round, the line was re-formed, and ready to receive them on their return. Fresh showers of shot and grape met their thinned ranks ; scarcely one of the four thousand left the field. The chiefs of Asope, Eerwah, Chanode, Govindgurh, Alneeawas, Mouriro, and others of lesser note, were among the slain ; and upon the heaps of wounded, surrounded by his gallant clan, lay the chief of Ahwa, pierced with seven-and-twenty wounds. He had lain insensible twenty-four hours, when an old servant, during the night, searched for and found him on the field. A heavy shower had fallen, which increased the miseries of the wounded. Blind and faint, the Thacoor was dragged out from the bodies of the slain. A little opiate revived him ; and they were carrying him off, when they were encountered by Lukwa's *hurharas* in search of chiefs of note ; the wounded Thacoor was conveyed to the headquarters at Mairta. Lukwa sent a surgeon to sew up his wounds ; but he disdained the courtesy, and refused all aid, until the meanest of his wounded vassals was attended to. This brave man, when sufficiently recovered, refused all solicitation from his sympathising foes that the usual rejoicing might be permitted, and that he would shave and perform the ablutions after sickness, till he could see his sovereign. The Raja advanced from his capital to meet him, and lavished encomiums on his conduct. He now took the bath, preparatory to putting on the honorary dress ; but in bathing his wounds opened afresh, and he expired.

Bheemraj Singwi received at Nagore, whither he had fled, a letter of accusation from his sovereign, on which he swallowed poison ; but although he was indirectly the cause of the defeat, by his supineness, and subsequent disgraceful flight, it was the minister at the capital whose treason prevented the destruction of the Mahrattas : Khoob Chund was jealous of Bheemraj ; he dreaded being supplanted by him if he returned from Mairta crowned with success ; and he therefore penned the despatch which paralysed their energies, enjoining them to await the junction of Ismael Beg.

Thus, owing to a scurrilous couplet of a bard, and to the jealousy of a contemptible court-faction, did the valiant Rahtores lose their independence—if it can be called lost—since each of these brave men still deems himself a host, when "his hour should come" to play the hero. Their spirit is not one jot diminished since the days of Tonga and Mairta.¹

¹ Three years ago I passed two delightful days with the conqueror of the Rajpoots, in his native vale of Chambéry. It was against the *croix blanche* of Savoy, not the *orange flag* of the Southron, that four thousand Rajpoots fell martyrs to liberty ; and although I wish the Comte long life, I may regret he had lived to bring his talents and his courage to their subjugation. He did them ample justice, and when I talked of the field of Mairta, the remembrance of past days flitted before him, as he said "all appeared as a dream." Distinguished by his prince, beloved by a numerous and amiable family, and honoured by his fellow-citizens, the years of the veteran, now numbering more than fourscore, glide in agreeable tranquillity in his native city, which, with oriental magnificence, he is beautifying by an entire new street and a handsome dwelling for himself. By a singular coincidence, just as I am writing this portion of my narrative I am put in possession of a *Mémoire* of his life, lately published, written under the eye of his son, the Comte Charles de Boigne. From this I extract his account of the battle of Mairta. It is not to be supposed that he could then have been acquainted

By a careful investigation of the circumstances which placed those brave races in their present political position, the paramount protecting power may be enabled to appreciate them, either as allies or as foes ; and it will demonstrate more effectually than mere opinions, from whatever source, how admirably qualified they are, if divested of control, to harmonise, in a very important respect, with the British system of government in the East. We have nothing to dread from them, individually or collectively ; and we may engage their very hearts' blood in our cause against whatever foes may threaten us, foreign or domestic, if we only exert our interference when mediation will be of advantage to them, without offence to their prejudices. Nor is there any difficulty in the task ; all honour the peacemaker, and they would court even arbitration if once assured that we had no ulterior views. But our strides have been rapid from Calcutta to Rajpootana, and it were well if they credit what the old Nestor of India (Zalim Sing of Kotah) would not, who, in reply to all my asseverations that we wished for no more territory, said, " I believe you think so ; but the time will come when there will be but one *sicca* throughout India. You stepped in, Mahraj, at a lucky time, the *p'foot*¹ was ripe and ready to be eaten, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power, so much as our disunion, which made you sovereigns, and will keep you so." His reasoning is not unworthy of attention, though I trust his prophecy may never be fulfilled.

November 28.—Camp at Jhirrow, five coss (11 miles). On leaving Mairta, we passed over the ground sacred to " the four thousand," whose with the secret intrigues which were arrayed in favour of the " white cross " on this fatal day.

" Les forces des Rajepoutes se composaient de trente-mille cavaliers, de vingt-mille hommes d'infanterie régulière, et de vingt-cinq pièces de canon. Les Marhattes avaient une cavalerie égale en nombre à celle de l'ennemi, mais leur infanterie se bornait aux bataillons de M. de Boigne, soutenus, il est vrai, par quatre-vingt pièces d'artillerie. Le Général examina la position de l'ennemi, il étudia le terrain et arrêta son plan de bataille.

Le dix, avant le jour, la brigade reçut l'ordre de marcher en avant, et elle surprit les Rajepoutes pendant qu'ils faisoient leurs ablutions du matin. Les premiers bataillons, avec cinquante pièces de canon tirant à mitraille, enfoncèrent les lignes de l'ennemi et enlevèrent ses positions. Rohan, qui commandait l'aile droite, à la vue de ce premier avantage, sans avoir reçu aucun ordre, eut l'imprudence de s'avancer hors de la ligne du combat, à la tête de trois bataillons. La cavalerie Rahtore profitant de cette faute, fondit à l'instant sur lui et faillit lui couper sa retraite sur le gros de l'armée, qu'il ne parvint à rejoindre qu'avec les plus grandes difficultés. Toute la cavalerie ennemie se mit alors en mouvement, et se jetant avec impétuosité sur la brigade, l'attaqua sur tous les côtés à la fois. Elle eût été infailliblement exterminée sans la présence d'esprit de son chef. M. de Boigne s'étant aperçu de l'erreur commise par son aile droite et prévoyant les suites qu'elle pouvait entraîner avait disposé sur le champ son infanterie en carré vide (hollow square) ; et par cette disposition, présentant partout un front à l'ennemi, elle opposa une résistance invincible aux charges furieuses des Rahtores, qui furent enfin forcés de lâcher prise. Aussitôt l'infanterie reprit ses positions, et s'avancant avec son artillerie, elle fit une attaque générale sur toute la ligne des Rajepoutes. Déjà sur les neuf heures, l'ennemi était complètement battu ; une heure après, les Marhattes prirent possession de son camp avec tous ses canons et bagages ; et pour couronner cette journée, à trois heures après midi la ville de Mirtah fut prise d'assaut.—*Mémoire sur la Carrière Militaire et Politique de M. le Général Comte De Boigne, Chambéry, 1829.*

¹ *P'foot* is a species of pumpkin, or melon, which bursts and flies into pieces when ripe. It also means *disunion* ; and Zalim Sing, who always spoke in parables, compared the states of India to this fruit.

heroic deeds, demonstrating at once the Rajpoot's love of freedom and his claim to it, we have just related. We this day altered our course from the N.N.E., which would have carried us, had we pursued it, to the Imperial city, for a direction to the southward of east, in order to cross our own Aravulli and gain Ajmér. The road was excellent, the soil very fair; but though there were symptoms of cultivation near the villages, the wastes were frightfully predominant; yet they are not void of vegetation: there is no want of herbage or stunted shrubs. The Aravulli towered majestically in the distant horizon, fading from our view towards the south-east, and intercepted by rising grounds.

We had a magnificent *mirage* this morning: nor do I ever recollect observing this singularly grand phenomenon on a more extensive scale, or with greater variety of form. The morning was desperately cold; the thermometer, as I mounted my horse, a little after sunrise, stood at 32°, the freezing-point, with a sharp biting wind from the north-east. The ground was blanched with frost, and the water-skins, or *behishtis masheks*, were covered with ice at the mouth. The slender shrubs, especially the milky *ak*, were completely burnt up; and as the weather had been hitherto mild, the transition was severely felt, by things animate and inanimate.

It is only in the cold season that the *mirage* is visible; the sojourners of Maroo call it the *see-kote*, or 'castles in the air.'¹ In the deep desert to the westward, the herdsmen and travellers through these regions style it *chittrám*, 'the picture'; while about the plains of the Chumbul and Jumna they term it *dessasúr*, 'the omen of the quarter.' This optical deception has been noticed from the remotest times. The prophet Isaiah alludes to it when he says, "and the parched ground shall become a pool";² which the critic has justly rendered, "and the *sehráb*³ shall become real water." Quintus Curtius, describing the *mirage* in the Sogdian desert, says that "for the space of four hundred furlongs not a drop of water is to be found, and the sun's heat, being very vehement in summer, kindles such a fire in the sands, that everything is burnt up. There also arises such an exhalation, that the plains wear the appearance of a vast and deep sea;" which is an exact description of the *chittrám* of the Indian desert. But the *sehráb* and *chittrám*, the true *mirage* of Isaiah, differ from that illusion called the *see-kote*; and though the traveller will hasten to it, in order to obtain a night's lodging, I do not think he would expect to slake his thirst there.

When we witnessed this phenomenon at first, the eye was attracted by a lofty opaque wall of lurid smoke, which seemed to be bounded by, or to rise from, the very verge of the horizon. By slow degrees the dense mass became more transparent, and assumed a reflecting or refracting power: shrubs were magnified into trees; the dwarf *khyre* appeared ten

¹ Literally, 'the cold-weather castles.'

² Isaiah, chap. xxxv. 7.

³ *Sehara* is 'desert'; *Sehráb*, 'the water of the desert,' a term which the inhabitants of the Arabian and Persian deserts apply to this optical phenomenon. The 18th v. chap. xli. of Isaiah is closer to the critic's version: "I will make the wilderness (*Séhra*) a pool of water." Doubtless the translators of Holy Writ, ignorant that this phenomenon was called *Sehráb*, 'water of the waste,' deemed it a tautological error; for translated literally, "and the water of the desert shall become real water," would be nonsense: they therefore lopped off the *áb*, water, and read *Séhra* instead of *Sehráb*, whereby the whole force and beauty of the prophecy is not merely diminished, but lost.

times larger than the gigantic *amlī* of the forest. A ray of light suddenly broke the line of continuity of this yet smoky barrier ; and, as if touched by the enchanter's wand, castles, towers, and trees, were seen in an aggregated cluster, partly obscured by magnificent foliage. Every accession of light produced a change in the *chitrām*, which from the dense wall that it first exhibited, had now faded into a thin transparent film, broken into a thousand masses, each mass being a huge lens ; until at length the too vivid power of the sun dissolved the vision : castles, towers, and foliage, melted, like the enchantment of Prospero, into " thin air."

I had long imagined that the nature of the soil had some effect in producing this illusory phenomenon ; especially as the *chitrām* of the desert is seen chiefly on those extensive plains productive of the *saji*, or alkaline plant, whence by incineration the natives produce soda,¹ and whose base is now known to be metallic. But I have since observed it on every kind of soil. That these lands, covered with saline incrustations, tend to increase the effect of the illusion, may be concluded. But the difference between the *sehrāb* or *chitrām*, and the *see-kote* or *dessasūr*, is, that the latter is never visible but in the cold season, when the gross vapours cannot rise ; and that the rarefaction, which gives existence to the other, destroys this, whenever the sun has attained 20° of elevation. A high wind is alike adverse to the phenomenon, and it will mostly be observed that it covets shelter, and its general appearance is a long line which is sure to be sustained by some height, such as a grove or village, as if it required support. The first time I observed it was in the Jeipoor country ; none of the party had ever witnessed it in the British provinces. It appeared like an immense walled town with bastions, nor could we give credit to our guides, when they talked of the *see-kote*, and assured us that the objects were merely " castles in the air." I have since seen, though but once, this panoramic scene in motion, and nothing can be imagined more beautiful.

It was at Kotah, just as the sun rose, whilst walking on the terraced roof of the garden-house, my residence. As I looked towards the low range which bounds the sight to the south-east, the hills appeared in motion, sweeping with an undulating or rotatory movement along the horizon. Trees and buildings were magnified, and all seemed a kind of enchantment. Some minutes elapsed before I could account for this wonder ; until I determined that it must be the masses of a floating *mirage*, which had attained its most attenuated form, and being carried by a gentle current of air past the tops and sides of the hills, while it was itself imperceptible, made them appear in motion.

But although this was novel and pleasing, it wanted the splendour of the scene of this morning, which I never saw equalled but once. This occurred at Hissar, where I went to visit a beloved friend—gone, alas ! to a better world,—whose ardent and honourable mind urged me to the task I have undertaken. It was on the terrace of James Lumsdaine's house, built amidst the ruins of the castle of Feroz, in the centre of one extended waste, where the lion was the sole inhabitant, that I saw the most perfect specimen of this phenomenon : it was really sublime. Let the reader fancy himself in the midst of a desert plain, with nothing to impede the wide scope of vision, his horizon bounded by a lofty black

Properly a carbonate of soda.

infinitely grander and more imposing than a sunrise upon the alpine Helvetia, which alone may compete with the *chittrām* of the desert.

Jhirrow is a thriving village appertaining to a sub-vassal of the Mairtea chief of Reah. There was a small sheet of water within a musket-shot to the left of the village, on whose margin, peeping through a few neems and the evergreen jhal, was erected an elegant, though small *chetri*, or cenotaph, of an ancestor of the possessor. The Thacoor is sculptured on his charger, armed at all points ; and close beside him, with folded hands, upon the same stone, his faithful partner, who accompanied the warrior to Indra's abode. It bore the following epitaph : " On the 2d Megsir, S. 1689 (A.D. 1633), Maharaja Jeswunt Sing attacked the enemy's (Arungzéb's) army, in which battle Thacoor Hernkurna Das, of the Mairtea clan, was slain. To him was erected this shrine, in the month of Megsir, S. 1697."

Water from wells is about thirty-five cubits from the surface ; the strata as follows : four cubits of mixed sand and black earth ; five of kunkur, or calcareous concretions ; twenty of stiff clay and sand ; six of indurated clay, with particles of quartz and mica.

November 29.—Alneecawas, five coss. Half-way, passed the town of Reah, so often mentioned as the abode of the chief of the Mairtea clan. It is large and populous, and surrounded by a well-constructed wall of the calcareous concrete already described, here called *morur*, and which resists the action of the monsoon. The works have a most judicious slope. The Thacoor's name is Buddun Sing, one of the eight great barons of Maroo. The town still bears the name of *Sheer Sing ca Reah*, who so gallantly defended to the death the rights of his young sovereign Ram Sing, against his uncle. A beautiful landscape is seen from the high ground on which the town stands, in the direction of the mountains ; the intermediate space being filled with large villages, relieved by foliage, so unusual in these regions. Here I had a proof of the audacity of the mountaineers of the Aravulli, in an inscription on a cenotaph, which I copied : " On Monday the 3d Magh, S. 1835 (A.D. 1779), Thacoor Bhopal Sing fell at the foot of his walls, defending them against the Mairs, having first, with his own hand, in order to save her honour, put his wife to death." ¹ Such were the Mairs half a century ago, and they had been increasing in boldness ever since. There was scarcely a family on either side the range, whose estates lay at its foot, whose cenotaphs do not bear similar inscriptions, recording the desperate raids of these mountaineers ; and it may be asserted, that one of the greatest benefits we conferred on Rajpootana was the conversion of this numerous banditti, occupying some hundred towns, into peaceful, tax-paying subjects. We can say, with the great Chohan king, Beesildeva, whose monument still stands in Feroz's palace at Dehli, that we made them " carry water in the streets of Ajmér " ; and, still more, deposit their arms on the Rana's terrace at Oodipoor. We have, moreover, metamorphosed a corps of them from breakers, into keepers, of the public peace.

Between Reah and Alneecawas we crossed a stream, to which the name of the Looni ² is also given, as well as to that we passed

¹ A second inscription recorded a similar end of Sewah, the Baôrie, who fell in another inroad of the Mairs, in S. 1831.

² I must deprecate criticism in respect to many of my geographical details.

sand ; three of sand and soil mixed ; fifteen to twenty of yellow clayish sand ; four of morur, and fifteen of steatite and calcareous concretions, with loose sand, mixed with particles of quartz.

December 1.—Lake of Poshkur, four coss : the thermometer stood at the freezing-point this morning :—heavy sands the whole way. Crossed the Sarasvati near Naund ; its banks were covered with bulrushes, at least ten feet in height—many vehicles were lading with them for the interior, to be used for the purposes of thatching—elephants make a feast among them. We again crossed the Sarasvati, at the entrance of the valley of Poshkur, which comes from Old (*boora*) Poshkur, four miles east of the present lake, which was excavated by the last of the Puriharas of Mundore. The sand drifted from the plains by the currents of air has formed a complete bar at the mouth of the valley, which is about one mile in breadth ; occasionally the *teebas*, or sand-hills, are of considerable elevation. The summits of the mountains to the left were sparkling with a deep rose-coloured quartz, amidst which, on the peak of Naund, arose a shrine to 'the Mother.' The hills preserve the same character : bold pinnacles, abrupt sides, and surface thinly covered. The stratification inclines to the west ; the dip of the strata is about twenty degrees. There is, however, a considerable difference in the colour of the mountains : those on the left have a rose tint ; those on the right are of greyish granite, with masses of white quartz about their summits.

Poshkur is the most sacred lake in India ; that of Mansurwar in Thibet may alone compete with it in this respect. It is placed in the centre of the valley, which here becomes wider, and affords abundant space for the numerous shrines and cenotaphs with which the hopes and fears of the virtuous and the wicked amongst the magnates of India have studded its margin. It is surrounded by sand-hills of considerable magnitude, excepting on the east, where a swamp extends to the very base of the mountains. The form of the lake may be called an irregular ellipse. Around its margin, except towards the marshy outlet, is a display of varied architecture. Every Hindu family of rank has its niche here, for the purposes of devotional pursuits when they could abstract themselves from mundane affairs. The most conspicuous are those erected by Raja Maun of Jeipoor, Ahelya Baé, the Holkar queen, Jowahir Mull of Bhurt-poor, and Beejy Sing of Marwar. The cenotaphs are also numerous. The ashes of Jey Appa, who was assassinated at Nagore, are superbly covered ; as are those of his brother Suntaji, who was killed during the siege of that place.

By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Brimha, erected, about four years ago, by a private individual, if we may so designate Gocul Pauk, the minister of Sindia ; it cost the sum of 130,000 rupees (about £15,000), though all the materials were at hand, and labour could be had for almost nothing. This is the sole tabernacle dedicated to the ONE GOD which I ever saw or have heard of in India. The statue is quadrigons ; and what struck me as not a little curious was that the *sikra*, or pinnacle of the temple, is surmounted by a cross. Tradition was here again at work. Before creation began, Brimha assembled all the celestials on this very spot, and performed the *Yuga* ; around the hallowed spot walls were raised, and sentinels placed to guard it from the

intrusion of the evil spirits. In testimony of the fact, the natives point out the four isolated mountains, placed towards the cardinal points, beyond the lake, on which, they assert, rested the *kanats*, or cloth-walls of inclosure. That to the south is called *Rutnagir*, or 'the hill of gems,' on the summit of which is the shrine of Sawuntri. That to the north is *Nilagir*, or 'the blue mountain.' East, and guarding the valley, is the *Kutchactar Gir*; and to the west, *Sonachooru*, or 'the golden.' Nanda, the bull-steed of Mahadeva, was placed at the mouth of the valley, to keep away the spirits of the desert; while Kaniya himself performed this office to the north. The sacred fire was kindled; but Sawuntri, the wife of Brimha, was nowhere to be found, and as without a female the rites could not proceed, a young Goojari took the place of Sawuntri; who, on her return, was so enraged at the indignity, that she retired to the mountain of gems, where she disappeared. On this spot a fountain gushed up, still called by her name; close to which is her shrine, not the least attractive in the precincts of Poshkur. During these rites, Mahadeva, or, as he is called, *Bhola Nath*, represented always in a state of stupefaction from the use of intoxicating herbs, omitted to put out the sacred fire, which spread, and was likely to involve the world in combustion; when Brimha extinguished it with the sand, and hence the *teebas* of the valley. Such is the origin of the sanctity of Poshkur. In after ages, one of the sovereigns of Mundore, in the eagerness of the chase, was led to the spot, and washing his hands in the fountain, was cured of some disorder. That he might know the place again, he tore his turban into shreds, and suspended the fragments to the trees, to serve him as guides to the spot—there he made the excavation. The Brahmins pretend to have a copper-plate grant from the Purihara prince of the lands about Poshkur; but I was able to obtain only a Persian translation of it, which I was heretical enough to disbelieve. I had many grants brought me, written by various princes and chiefs, making provision for the prayers of these recluses at their shrines.

The name of Beesildeva, the famed Chohan king of Ajmér, is the most conspicuous here; and they still point out the residence of his great ancestor, Aja Pal, on the *Nag-pahar*, or 'serpent-rock' directly south of the lake, where the remains of the fortress of the Pali or Shepherd-king are yet visible. Aja Pal was, as his name implies, a *goatherd*, whose piety, in supplying one of the saints of Poshkur with daily libations of goats' milk, procured him a territory. Satisfied, however, with the scene of his early days, he commenced his castle on the serpent-mount; but his evil genius knocking down in the night what he erected in the day, he sought out another site on the opposite side of the range: hence arose the far-famed Aja-mér. Manika-Rae is the most conspicuous connecting link of the Chohan Pali kings, from the goatherd founder to the famed Beesildeva.¹ Manika was slain in the first century of the Hijra, when "the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges"; and Beesildeva headed a confederacy of the Hindu kings, and chased the descendants of Mahmood from Hindust'han, the origin of the recording column at Dehli. Beesildeva, it appears from inscriptions, was the contemporary of Rawul Tejji, the monarch of Cheetore, and grandfather of the Ulysses of Rajast'han, the brave Samarsi, who fell with 13,000 of his kindred in aid of the last

¹ Classically, Visaladeva.

Chohan Pirthi-raj, who, according to the genealogies of this race, is the fourth in descent from Beesildeva. If this is not sufficient proof of the era of this king, be it known that Udyā Dī, the prince of the Pramaras (the period of whose death, or A.D. 1096, has now become a datum),¹ is enumerated amongst the sovereigns who serve under the banners of the Chohan of Ajmēr.

The 'serpent-rock' is also famed as being one of the places where the wandering Bhīrtraharī, prince of Oojein, lived for years in penitential devotion; and the slab which served as a seat to this royal saint, has become one of the objects of veneration. If all the places assigned to this brother of Vicrama were really visited by him, he must have been one of the greatest tourists of antiquity, and must have lived to an antediluvian old age. Witness his castle at Schwan, on the Indus; his cave at Alwūr; his '*t'hans*' at Aboo, and at Benares. We must, in fact, give credit to the couplet of the bards, "the world is the Pramara's." There are many beautiful spots about the serpent-mount, which, as it abounds in springs, has from the earliest times been the resort of the Hindu sages, whose caves and hermitages are yet pointed out, now embellished with gardens and fountains. One of the latter issuing from a fissure in the rock, is sacred to the Mooni Agast, who performed the very credible exploit of drinking up the ocean.

St. George's banner waved on a sand-hill in front of the cross on Brīmha's temple, from which my camp was separated by the lake; but though there was no defect of legendary lore to amuse us, we longed to quit "the region of death," and hie back to our own lakes, our cutter, and our gardens.

December 2.—Ajmer, three coss. Proceeded up the valley, where lofty barriers on either side, covered with the milky toor (*cactus*), and the "yellow aonla of the border," showed they were but the prolongation of our own Aravalli. Granite appeared of every hue, but of a stratification so irregular as to bid defiance to the geologist. The higher we ascended the valley, the loftier became the sand-hills, which appeared to aspire to the altitude of their granitic neighbours. A small rill poured down the valley; there came also a cold blast from the north, which made our fingers tingle. Suddenly we changed our direction from north to east, and ascending the mountain, surveyed through a gap in the range the far-famed Dhar-ool-Khyr. The view which thus suddenly burst upon us was magnificent. A noble plain, *with trees*, and the expansive lake of Beesildeva, lay at our feet, while 'the fortress of the goatherd' crowned the crest of a majestic isolated hill. The point of descent affords a fine field for the mineralogist; on each side, high over the pass, rise peaks of reddish granite, which are discovered half-way down the descent to be reposing on a blue micaceous slate, whose inclination is westward, at an angle of about 25° with the horizon. The formation is the same to the southward, but the slate there is more compact, and freer from mica and quartz. I picked up a fragment of black marble; its crystals were large and brilliant.

Passed through the city of Ajmēr, which, though long a regal abode, does not display that magnificence we might have expected, and, like all other towns of India, exhibits poverty and ease in juxtaposition. It was

¹ See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

gratifying to find that the finest part was rising, under the auspices of the British Government and, the superintendent of the province, Mr. Wilder. The main street, when finished, will well answer the purpose intended—a place of traffic for the sons of commerce of Rajast'han, who, in a body, did me the honour of a visit: they were contented and happy at the protection they enjoyed in their commercial pursuits. With the prosperity of Bhilwara, that of Ajmér is materially connected; and having no interests which can clash, each town views the welfare of the other as its own: a sentiment which we do not fail to encourage.

Breakfasted with Mr. Wilder, and consulted how we could best promote our favourite objects—the prosperity of Ajmér and Bhilwara.

CHAPTER XXX

Ajmér—Ancient Jain Temple—Its architecture analysed—Resemblances between it and the Gothic and Saracenic—Fortress of Ajmér—Its lakes—Source of the Looni River—Relics of the Chohan kings—Quit Ajmér—Bunai: its castle—Deorah—Dabla—Bunéra—Raja Bheem—Sketch of his family—His estate—Visit to the castle—Bhilwara—Visit of the merchants—Prosperity of the town—Mandel—Its lake—Arjah, Poor'h—Mines of Dureeba—Canton of the Poorawuts—Antiquity of Poor'h—The Babas, or infants of Méwar—Rasmi—Reception by the peasantry of Méwar—The Suhailea and Kullus—Trout of the Bunas River—Mairta—Visit to the source of the Bérís—The Oodi Sagur—Enter the valley—Appearance of the capital—Site of the ancient Ahar—Cenotaphs of the Rana's ancestry—Traditions regarding Ahar—Destroyed by volcanic eruption—Remains of antiquity—Oilman's Caravanserai—Oilman's Bridge—Meeting with the Rana—Return to Oodipoor.

AJMÉR has been too long the haunt of Moguls and Pat'hans, the Goths and Vandals of Rajast'han, to afford much scope to the researches of the antiquary. Whatever time had spared of the hallowed relics of old, bigotry has destroyed, or raised to herself altars of materials, whose sculptured fragments serve now as disjointed memorials of two distinct and distant eras: that of the independent Hindu, and that of the conquering Mahomedan, whose eedgas and mosques, mausoleums and country-seats, constructed from the wrecks of aboriginal art, are fast mouldering to decay. The associations they call forth afford the only motive to wish their preservation; except one "relic of nobler days and noblest arts," which, though impressed with this double character, every spectator must desire to rescue from the sweeping sentence—an ancient Jain temple, a visit to which excited these reflections. Let us rather bless than execrate the hand, though it be that of a Turk, which has spared, from whatever motive, one of the most perfect, as well as the most ancient, monuments of Hindu architecture. It is built on the western declivity of the fortress, and called *Urai dîn ca jhōpra*, or, 'the shed of two and a half days,' from its having occupied (as tradition tells) its magical builders only this short period. The skill of the Pali or Takshac architect, the three sacred mounts of these countries abundantly attest: nor had he occasion for any mysterious arts, besides those of masonry, to accomplish them. In discussing the cosmogony of the Hindus, we have had occasion to convert their years into days; here we must reverse the method, and understand (as in inter-

pretending the sacred prophecies of Scripture) their days as meaning years. Had it, indeed, been of more humble pretensions, we might have supposed the monotheistic Jain had borrowed from the Athenian legislator Cecrops, who ordained that no tomb should consist of more work than ten men could finish in *three days*; to which Demetrius, the Phalerian, sanctioned the addition of a little vessel to contain the ghost's victuals.¹

The temple is surrounded by a superb screen of Saracenic architecture, having the main front and gateway to the north. From its simplicity, as well as its appearance of antiquity, I am inclined to assign the screen to the first dynasty, the Ghorian sultans, who evidently made use of native architects. The entrance arch is of that wavy kind, characteristic of what is termed the Saracenic, whether the term be applied to the Alhambra of Spain, or the mosques of Dehli; and I am disposed, on close examination, to pronounce it Hindu. The entire façade of this noble entrance, which I regret I cannot have engraved, is covered with Arabic inscriptions. But, unless my eyes much deceived me, the small frieze over the apex of the arch contained an inscription in Sanscrit, with which Arabic has been commingled, both being unintelligible. The remains of a minaret still maintain their position on the right flank of the gate, with a door and steps leading to it for the *muezzim* to call the faithful to prayers. A line of smaller arches of similar form composes the front of the screen. The design is chaste and beautiful, and the material, which is a compact limestone of a yellow colour, admitting almost of as high a polish as the *jaune antique*, gave abundant scope to the sculptor. After confessing and admiring the taste of the Vandal architect, we passed under the arch to examine the more noble production of the Hindu. Its plan is simple, and consonant with all the more ancient temples of the Jains. It is an extensive saloon, the ceiling supported by a quadruple range of columns, those of the centre being surmounted by a range of vaulted coverings; while the lateral portion, which is flat, is divided into compartments of the most elaborate sculpture. But the columns are most worthy of attention; they are unique in design, and with the exception of the cave-temples, probably amongst the oldest now existing in India. On examining them, ideas entirely novel, even in Hindu art, are developed. Like all these portions of Hindu architecture, their ornaments are very complex, and the observer will not fail to be struck with their dissimilarity; it was evidently a rule in the art, to make the ornaments of every part unlike the other, and which I have seen carried to great extent. There may be forty columns but no two are alike. The ornaments of the base are peculiar, both as to form and execution; the lozenges, with the rich tracery surmounting them, might be transferred, not inappropriately, to the Gothic cathedrals of Europe. The projections from various parts of the shaft (which on a small scale may be compared to the corresponding projections of the columns in the *Duomo* at Milan), with the small niches still containing the statues, though occasionally mutilated, of the Pontiffs of the Jains, give them a character which strengthens the comparison, and which would be yet more apparent, if we could afford to engrave the details. The elegant *Câmacûmpa*, the emblem of the Hindu Ceres, with its pendant palmyrabranches, is here lost, as are many emblematical ornaments, curious in design and elegant in their execution. Here and there occurs a richly

¹ See Archbishop Potter's *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 192.

carved corbeille, which still further sustains the analogy between the two systems of architecture ; and the capitals are at once strong and delicate. The central vault, which is the largest, is constructed after the same fashion as that described at Nadole ; but the concentric annulets, which in that are plain, in this are one blaze of ornaments, which with the whole of the ceiling is too elaborate and complicated for description. Under the most retired of the compartments, and nearly about the centre, is raised the *mumba*, or pulpit, whence the Moollah enunciates the dogma of Mahomed, "there is but one God" : and for which he dispossessed the Jain, whose creed was like his own, the unity of the Godhead. But this is in unison with the feeling which dictated the external metamorphosis. The whole is of the same materials as already described, from the quarries of the Aravulli close at hand, which are rich in every mineral as well as metallic production :—

"I ask'd of *Time* for whom *those* temples rose,
That prostrate by his hand in silence lie ;
His lips disdain'd the myst'ry to disclose,
And borne on swifter wing, he hurried by !
The broken columns *whose* ? I ask'd of *Fame* :
(Her kindling breath gives life to works sublime ;)
With downcast looks of mingled grief and shame,
She heaved the uncertain sigh, and follow'd *Time*.
Wrapt in amazement o'er the mouldering pile,
I saw *Oblivion* pass with giant stride ;
And while his visage wore *Pride's* scornful smile,
Haply *thou know'st*, then tell me, *whose* I cried,
Whose these vast domes that ev'n in ruin shine ?
I *reck not whose*, he said : they *now are mine*."

Shall we abandon them to cold "oblivion" ; or restore them to a name already mentioned, Sumprithi, or Swámpriithi, the *Shah Jéhán*¹ of a period two centuries before the Christian era, and to whom the shrine in Komulmér is ascribed. Of one thing there is no doubt, which is, that both are Jain, and of the most ancient models : and thus advertised, the antiquary will be able to discriminate between the architectural systems of the Saivas and the Jains, which are as distinct as their religions.

Having alluded to the analogy between the details in the columns and those in our Gothic buildings (as they are called), and surmised that the Saracenic arch is of Hindu origin ; I may further, with this temple and screen before us, speculate on the possibility of its having furnished some hints to the architects of Europe. It is well known that the Saracenic arch has crept into many of those structures called Gothic, erected in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when a more florid style succeeded to the severity of the Saxon or Romans ; but I believe it has been doubted whence the Saracens obtained their model ; certainly it was neither from Egypt nor Persia. The early caliphs of Bagdad, who were as enlightened as they were powerful, kept alive the light of science when Europe was in darkness ; and the most accomplished noble who accompanied our Cœur de Lion, though "brave as his sword," was a clown compared to the infidel Saladin, in mind as well as manners. The influence of these polished foes on European society it would be superfluous to descant upon. The lieu-

¹ Both epithets imply 'Lord of the Universe,' and of which the name of 'Pirithi-raj,' that of the last Chohan emperor, is another version.

tenants of these caliphs, who penetrated from the Delta of the Indus to the Ganges from four to five centuries prior to this event, when Walid's arms triumphed simultaneously on the Indus and the Ebro, produced no trifling results to the arts. This very spot, Ajmér, according to traditional couplets and the poetic legends of its ancient princes, the Chohans, was visited by the first hostile force which Islam sent across the Indus, and to which Manika Rae fell a sacrifice. What ideas might not this Jain temple have afforded to "*the Light of Ali!*" for Roshun Ali is the name preserved of him who, "in ships landing at Anjar," marched through the very heart of India, and took "*Gurh Beetli*," the citadel of Ajmér, by assault. The period is one of total darkness in the history of India, save for the scattered and flickering rays which emanate from the chronicles of the Chohans and Gehlotes. But let us leave the temple, and slightly describe the castle of Manika Rae, on whose battlements an infidel's arrow of Roshun's army reached the heir of the Chohan; since which "*Lot*," for such was his name, has been adopted amongst the lares and penates of this celebrated race. This was the first Rajpoot blood which the arms of conversion shed, and the impression must have been strong to be thus handed down to posterity.

The mind, after all, retires dissatisfied: with me it might be from association. Even the gateway, however elegant, is unsuitable to the genius of the place. Separately considered, they are each magnificent; together, it is as if a modern sculptor were (like our actors of the last age) to adorn the head of Cato with a peruke. I left this precious relic, with a malediction upon all the spoilers of art—whether the Thane who pillaged Minerva's portico at Athens, or the Toork who dilapidated the Jain temple at Ajmér.

I did not see very much of this far-famed fortress: for there was nothing to induce me to climb the steep, where the only temple visible was a modern-looking whitewashed mosque, lifting its dazzling minarets over the dingy antique towers of the Chohan: "he who seven times captured the sultan, and seven times released him." The hill rises majestically from its base to the height of about eight hundred feet; it crest encircled by the ancient wall and towers raised by Ajipál—

There was a day when they were young and proud,
Banners on high, and battles passed below;
But they who fought are in a bloody shroud,
And those which waved are shredless dust ere now,
And the bleak battlements shall bear no future blow;¹

unless the Cossack should follow the track of Roshun Ali or Mahmood, and try to tear the British flag from the *hangras* of Ajmér. On the north side, a party of the superintendent's were unlocking the latent treasures in the bowels of the mountain. The vein is of lead; a sulphuret, or galena.

I have already mentioned the lake, called after the excavator, the *Beesil Táláb*. It is about eight miles in circumference, and besides the beauty it adds to the vale of Ajmér, it has a source of interest in being the

¹ *Childe Harold*, Canto iii.

fountain of the Looni, which pursues its silent course until it unites with the eastern arm of the Delta of the Indus : the point of outlet is at the northern angle of the *Doulut Bag'h*, 'the gardens of wealth,' built by Jehangir for his residence when he undertook to conquer the Rajpoots. The water is not unwholesome, and there are three outlets at this fountain-head for the escape of the water fitting its periodical altitudes. The stream at its parent source is thence called the Sagur-Mati. It takes a sweep northward by Bhowtah and Pisangun, and close to where we crossed it, at Govindgurh, it is joined by the Sarasvati from Poshkur ; when the united waters (at whose *sangum*, or confluence, there is a small temple to the *manes*) are called the Looni.

The gardens erected on the embankment of the lake must have been a pleasant abode for "the king of the world," while his lieutenants were carrying on the war against the Rana : but the imperial residence of marble, in which he received the submissions of that prince, through his grandson, and the first ambassador sent by England to the Mogul, are now going fast to decay. The walks on which his majesty last paraded, in the state-coach sent by our James the First, are now overgrown with shrubs.

The stratification of the rock, at the point of outlet, would interest the geologist, especially an extensive vein of mica, adjoining another of almost transparent quartz.

Eastward of this lake about a mile, is another named the *Anah-sagur*, after the grandson of Beesildeo, who has left the reputation of great liberality, and a contrast with Visala. The vestiges of an island are yet seen in the lake, and upon its margin ; but the materials have been carried away by the Goths. There are two small buildings on the adjacent heights, called "the annulets of Khwaja Kootub," and some other saint.

Such are the wonders in the environs of Dhar-ool-Khyr, "celebrated in the history of the Moguls, as well as of the Hindus." But my search for inscriptions to corroborate the legends of the Chohans proved fruitless. I was, however, fortunate enough to add to my numismatic treasures some of the currency of these ancient kings, which give interest to a series of the same description, all appertaining to the Budhists or Jains. The inscription occupying one side is in a most antique character, the knowledge of which is still a desideratum : the reverse bears the effigies of a horse, the object of worship to the Indo-Scythic Rajpoot. It is not improbable that the Agnicula Chohan may have brought these letters with him from higher Asia. Researches in these countries for such monuments may yet discover how far this conjecture is correct. At Poshkur I also found some very ancient coins. Had the antiquary travelled these regions prior to the reign of Arungzeb he would have had a noble field to explore : many coins were destroyed by this bigot, but many were buried underground, which time or accident may disclose. He was the great foe of Rajpoot fame ; and well might the bard, in the words of the Cambrian minstrel, bid

"Ruin seize the ruthless king."

They did repay his cruelties by the destruction of his race. In one short century from this tyrant, who grasped each shore of the peninsula, the Mogul power was extinct ; while the oppressed Rajpoots are again on the ascendant. But the illiterate and mercenary Afghan, "the descendant of

the lost tribes of Israel,"¹ if we credit their traditions, may share the iniquity with Arungzéb: for they fulfilled literally a duty which their supposed forefathers pertinaciously refused, and made war against every graven image. Had they even spared us a few of the monsters, the joint conceptions of the poet and the sculptor, I might have presented some specimens of griffins (*gráfs*) and demons almost of a classical taste: but the love of mischief was too strong even to let these escape: the shoe was applied to the prominent features of everything which represented animation.

By a medium of several meridian observations, I made the latitude of Ajmér 26° 19' north; its longitude, by time and measurement from my fixed meridian, Oodipoor, 74° 40', nearly the position assigned to it by the father of Indian geography, the justly-celebrated Rennell.

December 5.—At daybreak we left the towers of Manika Rae, enveloped in mist, and turned our horses' heads to the southward, on our return to Oodipoor. While at Ajmér, I received accounts of the death of the prince of Kotah, and did intend to proceed direct to that capital, by Shapoorá and Boondí; but my presence was desired by the Rana to repair the dilapidations which only two months' absence had occasioned in the political fabric which I had helped to reconstruct. Other interesting objects intervened: one, a visit to the new castle of Bheemgurh, erecting in Mairwarra to overawe the Mairs; the other to compose the feuds which raged between the sectarian merchants of the new mart, Bhilwara, and which threatened to destroy all my labour. We made two marches to Bunai, in which there was nothing to record. Bunai is the residence of a Rahtore chieftain, whose position is rather peculiar. Being placed within the district of Ajmér, and paying an annual quit-rent to the British, he may consider the Company as his sovereign; but although this position precludes all political subordination to the chief of the race, the tie would be felt and acknowledged, on a lapse, in the anxiety for the usual *teeka* of recognition to his successor, from the Raja of Marwar. I argue on knowledge of character and customs; though it is possible this individual case might be against me.

The castle of Bunai is a picturesque object in these level plains; it is covered with the *cactus*, or prickly pear, so abundant on the east side of the Aravulli. This was anciently the residence of a branch of the Purihara princes of Mundore, when held as a *fief* of the Chohans of Ajmér; and from it originated a numerous mixed class, called the Purihara Ménas, a mixture of Rajpoot and aboriginal blood.

December 6.—Deorah, near the northern bank of the Khari, the present boundary of Ajmér and Méwar. From Ajmér to Deorah, the direction of the road is S.S.E., and the distance forty miles. This important district in the political geography of Rajpootana, which, with the posts of Neemuch and Mhow, is the connecting link between the British dominions on the Jumna and in the Dekhan, was obtained by cession from Sindia in 1818. A glance at the map is sufficient to show its importance in our existing connection with Rajpootana. The greatest breadth of the district is between the Aravulli west, and the Bunas east, and measures about eight miles. The greatest length is between the city of Ajmér and Jhák, a post in Mairwarra, measuring about forty miles. The narrowest portion is that

¹ They claim Ishmael as their common ancestor.

where we now are, Deorah, whence the Kishengurh frontier can be seen over a neck of land of about twelve miles in extent. Within these bounds, a great portion of the land is held by feudal chieftains paying a quit-rent, which I believe is fixed. I had to settle a frontier dispute at Deorah, regarding the right of cultivating in the bed of the Khari, which produces very good melons. The soil of Ajmér cannot be called rich, and is better adapted for the lighter than the richer grains. Marks of war and rapine were visible throughout.

December 7.—Dabla.—This town was a sub-fee of Bunéra ; but the vassal, a Rahtore, had learned habits of insubordination during Mahratta influence, which he could not or would not throw aside. In these he was further encouraged by his connection by marriage with the old ruler of Kotah, who had exemplified his hostility to the Dabla vassal's liege lord by besieging his castle of Bunéra. Having so long disobeyed him, his Rajpoot blood refused to change with the times ; and though he condescended, at the head of his twenty retainers, to perform homage on stated days, and take his allotted position in the Bunéra durbar, he refused to pay the quit-rent, to which numerous deeds proved his suzerain had a right. Months passed away in ineffectual remonstrances ; it was even proposed that he should hold the inferior dependencies free of quit-rent, but pay those of Dabla. All being in vain, the demand was increased to the complete surrender of Dabla ; which elicited a truly Rajpoot reply : "His head and Dabla were together." This obstinacy could not be tolerated ; and he was told that though one would suffice, if longer withheld both might be required. Like a brave Rahtore, he had defended it for months against a large Mahratta force, and hence Dabla was vauntingly called "the little Bhurtpoor." Too late he saw his error, but there was no receding ; and though he at length offered a nuzzerana, through the mediation of the Kotah vakeel, of 20,000 rupees, to obtain the Rana's investiture, it was refused and a surrender was insisted on. Being an important frontier-post, it was retained by the Rana, and compensation was made to Bunéra. Every interest was made for him through the Nestor of Kotah, but in vain ; his obstinacy offered an example too pernicious to admit of the least retrocession, and Dabla was forthwith incorporated with the appanage of the heir-apparent, Jowan Sing.

Almost the whole of this, the Bednore division, of 360 townships, is occupied by Rahtores, the descendants of those who accompanied Jeimul to Méwar : the proportion of feudal to fiscal land therein is as three to one. It is a rich and fertile tract, and it is to be hoped will maintain in ease and independence the brave men who inhabit it, and who have a long time been the sport of rapine.

I received a visit from the chief vassal of the Bednore chief, then at the capital ; and as I found it impossible to visit Mairwarra, I subsequently deputed Captain Waugh who was hospitably received and entertained at Bednore. He hunted, and played the *holi* with the old baron, who shows at all times the frankness of his race : but it being the period of the Saturnalia, he was especially unreserved ; though he was the greatest stickler for etiquette amongst my many friends, and was always expatiating on the necessity of attending to the gradations of rank.

December 8.—Bunéra.—The castle of Bunéra is one of the most imposing feudal edifices of Méwar, and its lord one of the greatest of its chieftains.

He not only bears the title of *Raja*, but has all the state-insignia attached thereto. His name happens to be the same as that of his sovereign—his being Raja Bheem, the prince's Rana Bheem,—to whom he is nearly related, and but for blind chance might have been lord of all the Seesodias. It may be recollected that the chivalrous antagonist of Arungzéb, the heroic Rana Raj, had two sons, twins, if we may so term sons simultaneously born, though by different mothers. The incident which decided the preference of Jey Sing to Bheem has been related ;¹ the circumstance of the latter's abandoning his country to court fortune under the Imperial standard—his leading his Rajpoot contingent amongst the mountains of Candahar—and his death by dislocation of the spine, through urging his horse at speed amongst the boughs of a tree. The present incumbent of Bunéra is the descendant of that Raja Bheem, who was succeeded in the honours of his family by his son Sooraj, killed whilst heading his contingent at the storm of Beejapoor. The infant son of Sooraj had four districts assigned to him, all taken from his suzerain, the Rana. In such esteem did the emperor hold the family, that the son of Sooraj was baptized Sultan. He was succeeded by Sirdar Sing, who, on the breaking up of the empire, came under the allegiance of his rightful sovereign the Rana. Raé Sing and Hamir Sing complete the chain to my friend Raja Bheem, who did me the honour to advance two miles from Bunéra to welcome and conduct me to his castle. Here I had a good opportunity of observing the feudal state and manners of these chiefs within their own domains, during a visit of three hours at Bunéra. I was, moreover, much attached to Raja Bheem, who was a perfectly well-bred and courteous gentleman, and who was quite unreserved with me. From his propinquity to the reigning family, and from his honours and insignia being the gift of the king's, he had been an object of jealousy to the court, which tended much to retard the restoration of his authority over his sub-vassals of Bunéra ; the chief of Dabla is one instance of this. I found little difficulty in banishing the discord between him and his sovereign, who chiefly complained of the Bunéra kettle-drums beating, not only as he entered the city, but as far as the *Porte*—the sacred *Tripolia* ; and the use of *Chamur* in his presence. It was arranged that these emblems of honour, emanating from the great foes of Méwar, should never be obtruded on the eye or ear of the Rana ; though within his own domain the Bunéra chieftain might do as he pleased. This was just ; and Raja Bheem had too much good sense not to conciliate his "brother and cousin," Rana Bheem, by such a concession, which otherwise might have been insisted upon. The estate of Bunéra is in value 80,000 rupees of annual rent, one-half of which is in sub-infeudations, his vassals being chiefly Rahtores. The only service performed by Raja Bheem is the contributing a quota for the commercial mart of Bhilwara, with the usual marks of subordination, personal duty and homage to the Rana. His estate is much impoverished from its lying in the very track of the freebooters ; but the soil is excellent, and time will bring hands to cultivate it, if we exercise a long and patient indulgence.

The "velvet cushion" was spread in a balcony projecting from the main hall of Bunéra ; here the Raja's vassals were mustered, and he placed me by his side on the *gadî*. There was not a point of his rural or

¹ See p. 312.

domestic economy upon which he did not descant, and ask my advice, as his "adopted brother." I was also made umpire between him and my old friend the baron of Bednore, regarding a marriage-settlement, the granddaughter of the latter being married to the heir of Bunéra. I had, besides, to wade through old grants and deeds to settle the claims between the Raja and several of his sub-vassals; a long course of disorder having separated them so much from each other as to obliterate their respective rights. All these arbitrations were made without reference to my official situation, but were forced upon me merely by the claims of friendship; but it was a matter of exultation to be enabled to make use of my influence for the adjustment of such disputes, and for restoring individual as well as general prosperity. My friend prepared his gifts at parting; I went through the forms of receiving, but waived accepting them: which may be done without any offence to delicacy. I have been highly gratified to read the kind reception he gave to the respected Bishop Heber, in his tour through Méwar. I wonder, however, that this discerning and elegant-minded man did not notice the peculiar circumstance of the Raja's teeth being fixed in with gold wire, which produces rather an unpleasant articulation.

Bunéra adjoins the estates of the Rahtores, and is no great distance from those of the Sangawuts and Jugawuts, which lie at the base of the Aravulli. All require a long period of toleration and unmolested tranquillity to emerge from their impoverished condition. My friend accompanied me to my tents, when I presented to him a pair of pistols, and a telescope with which he might view his neighbours on the mountains: we parted with mutual satisfaction, and I believe, mutual regret.

December 9.—Bhilwara.—I encamped about half a mile from our good town of Bhilwara, which was making rapid strides to prosperity, notwithstanding drawbacks from sectarian feuds; with which, however, I was so dissatisfied, that I refused every request to visit the town until such causes of retardation were removed. I received a deputation from both parties at my tents, and read them a lecture for their benefit, in which I lamented the privation of the pleasure of witnessing their unalloyed prosperity. Although I reconciled them to each other, I would not confide in their promises until months of improvement should elapse. They abided by their promise, and I fulfilled mine when the death of the Boondí prince afforded an opportunity, *en route* to that capital, to visit them. My reception was far too flattering to describe, even if this were the proper place. The sentiments they entertained for me had suffered no diminution when Bishop Heber visited the town. But his informant (one of the merchants), when he said it ought to have been called *Tod-gunj*, meant that it was so intended, and actually received this appellation: but it was changed, at my request, and on pain of withdrawing my entire support from it. The Rana, who used to call it himself in conversation "*Tod Sahib ca bustee*," would have been gratified; but it would have been wrong to avail myself of his partiality. In all I was enabled to do, from my friendship, not from my official character, I always feared the dangers to his independence from such precedent for interference.¹

December 10.—Mandel.—I deviated from the direct course *homewards* (to Oodipoor) to visit this beautiful spot, formerly the head of a flourishing

¹ See p. 383.

district ; but all was dilapidated. The first revenue derived from Mandel was expended on the repairs of the dam of its lake, which irrigates a great extent of rice-land. The Goths had felled most of the fine trees which had ornamented its dam and margin ; and several garden-houses, as well as that on the island in the lake, were in ruins. Not many years ago, a column of victory, said to have been raised by Beesildeva of Ajmér, in consequence of a victory over the Gehlotes, graced this little isle. Mandel is now rising from its ruins, and one of the exiles was so fortunate as to find a vessel containing several pieces of gold and ornaments, in excavating the ruins of his ancient abode, though not buried by him. It involved the question of manorial rights, of which the Rana waived the enforcement, though he asserted them. To-day I passed between Pansil and Arjah, the former still held by a Suktawut, the latter now united to the fisc. I have already related the feud between the Suktawuts and the Poorawuts in the struggle for Arjah, which is one of the most compact castles in Méwar, with a domain of 52,000 bigas, or 12,000 acres, attached to it, rendering it well worth a contest ; but the Suktawut had no right there, say the Poorawuts ; and in fact it is in the very heart of their lands.

December 11.—Poor'h.—This is one of the oldest towns of Méwar, and if we credit tradition, anterior in date to Vicrama. We crossed the Kotaserri to and from Mandel, passing by the tin and copper mines of Dureeba, and the Poorawut estate of Peetawas. *Poor'h* means *par éminence*, 'the city,' and anciently the title was admissible ; even now it is one of the chief fiscal towns. It is in the very heart of the canton, inhabited by the *Babas*, or 'infants' of Méwar, embracing a circle of about twenty-five miles diameter. The broken chain of mountains, having Bunéra on the northern point and Goorla to the south, passes transversely through this domain, leaving the estate of Bagore, the residence of Sheodan Sing, west, and extending to the S.E. to Mungrope, across the Bérís. The policy which dictated the establishment of an isolated portion of the blood-royal of Méwar in the very centre of the country was wise ; for the Babas rarely or ever mix with the politics of the feudatory chieftains, home or foreign. They are accordingly entrusted with the command of all garrisons, and head the feudal quotas as the representative of their sovereign. They have a particular seat at court, the *Baba ca Ole* being distinct from the chieftains', and in front. Though they inhabit the lands about Poor'h, it is not from these they derive their name, but as descendants from Pooru, one of the twenty-five sons of Rana Oodi Sing, that blot in the scutcheon of Méwar.

About a mile east of Poor'h there is an isolated hill of blue slate, in which I found garnets imbedded. I have no doubt persevering adventurers would be rewarded ; but though I tried them with the hammer, I obtained none of any value. They are also to be obtained on the southern frontier of Kishengurh and Ajmér, about Serwar. I received the visits of the 'infants' of Goorlah and Gadermala, both most respectable men, and enjoying good estates, with strong castles, which I passed the next day.

December 12.—Rasmi, on the Bunas river.—We had a long march through the most fertile lands of Méwar, all belonging to the Rana's personal domain. The progress towards prosperity is great ; of which Rasmi, the head of a tuppa or subdivision of a district, affords evidence, as well as every village. On our way, we were continually met by peasants

with songs of joy, and our entrance into each village was one of triumph. The patéls and other rustic officers, surrounded by the ryots, came out of the villages; while the females collected in groups, with brass vessels filled with water gracefully resting on their heads, stood at the entrance, their scarfs half covering their faces, chaunting the *suhailea*; a very ancient custom of the Hindu cultivator on receiving the superior, and tantamount to an acknowledgment of supremacy. Whether vanity was flattered, or whether a better sentiment was awakened, on receiving such tokens of gratitude, it is not for me to determine: the sight was pleasing, and the custom was general while I travelled in Méwar. The females bearing the *kullus* on their heads, were everywhere met with. These were chiefly the wives and daughters of the cultivators, though not unfrequently those of the Rajpoot sub-vassals. The former were seldom very fair, though they had generally fine eyes and good persons. We met many fragments of antiquity at Rasmi. Captain Waugh and the doctor were gratified with angling in the Bunas for trout; but as the fish would not rise to the fly, I set the net, and obtained several dozens: the largest measured seventeen inches, and weighed seventy rupees, or nearly two pounds.

December 16.—Mairta.—After an absence of two months, we terminated our circuitous journey, and encamped on the ground whence we started, all rejoiced at the prospect of again entering “the happy valley.” We made four marches across the *do-áb*, watered by the Bérís and Bunas rivers; the land naturally rich, and formerly boasting some large towns, but as yet only disclosing the germs of prosperity. There is not a more fertile tract in India than this, which would alone defray the expenses of the court if its resources were properly husbanded. But years must first roll on, and the peasant must meet with encouragement, and a reduction of taxation to the lowest rate; and the lord-paramount must alike be indulgent in the exaction of his tribute. Our camels were the greatest sufferers in the march through the desert, and one-half were rendered useless. I received a deputation conveying the Rana’s congratulation on my return “home,” with a letter full of friendship and importunities to see me: but the register of the heavens—an oracle consulted by the Rajpoot as faithfully as Moore’s Almanack by the British yeoman—showed an unlucky aspect, and I must needs halt at Mairta, or in the valley, until the signs were more favourable to a re-entry into Oodipoor. Here we amused ourselves in chalking out the site of our projected residence on the heights of Toos, and in fishing at the source of the Bérís. If the reader allows his imagination to ascend the dam which confines the waters of the lake, he may view the *Oodi-sagur*, with its islets; and directing his eye across its expanse, he may gain a bird’s-eye view of the palace of the Késâr of the Seesodias. The dam thrown across a gorge of the mountains is of enormous magnitude and strength, as is necessary, indeed, to shut in a volume of water twelve miles in circumference. At its base, the point of outlet, is a small hunting-seat of the Rana’s, going to decay for want of funds to repair it, like all those on the Tiger Mount and in the valley. Nor is there any hope that the revenues, burthened as they are with the payment of a clear fourth in tribute, can supply the means of preventing further dilapidation.

December 19.—Tired of two days’ idleness, we passed through the portals

of Dobarri on our way to Ar, to which place the Rana signified his intention of advancing in person, to receive and conduct me "home": an honour as unlooked-for and unsolicited as it was gratifying. Oodipoor presents a most imposing appearance when approached from the east. The palace of the Rana, and that of the heir-apparent, the great temple, and the houses of the nobles, with their turrets and cupolas rising in airy elegance, afford a pleasing contrast with the heavy wall and pierced battlements of the city beneath. This wall is more extensive than solid. To remedy this want of strength, a chain of fortresses has been constructed, about gunshot from it, commanding every road leading thereto, which adds greatly to the effect of the landscape. These castellated heights contain places of recreation, one of which belongs to Saloombra; but all wear the same aspect of decay.

Ar, or Ahar, near which we encamped, is sacred to the manes of the princes of Oodipoor, and contains the cenotaphs of all her kings since the valley became their residence; but as they do not disdain association, either in life or death, with their vassals, Ar presents the appearance of a thickly-crowded cemetery, in which the mausoleums of the Ranas stand pre-eminent in "the place of great faith." The renowned Umra Sing's is the most conspicuous; but the cenotaphs of all the princes, down to the father of Rana Bheem, are very elegant, and exactly what such structures ought to be; namely, vaulted roofs, supported by handsome columns raised on lofty terraces, the architraves of enormous single blocks, all of white marble, from the quarries of Kankerowli. There are some smaller tombs of a singularly elaborate character, and of an antiquity which decides the claims of Ar to be considered as the remains of a very ancient city. The ground is strewn with the wrecks of monuments and old temples, which have been used in erecting the sepulchres of the Ranas. The great city was the residence of their ancestors, and is said to have been founded by Asa-ditya upon the site of the still more ancient capital of Tamba-nagari, where dwelt the Tuar ancestors of Vicramaditya, before he obtained Awintî, or Oojein. From Tamba-nagari its name was changed to Anundpoor, 'the happy city,' and at length to Ahar, which gave the patronymic to the Gehlote race, namely, Aharya. The vestiges of immense mounds still remain to the eastward, called the *Dhool-kote*, or 'fort,' destroyed by 'ashes' (*dhool*) of a volcanic eruption. Whether the lakes of the valley owe their origin to the same cause which is said to have destroyed the ancient Ahar, a more skilful geologist must determine. The chief road from the city is cut through this mound; and as I had observed fragments of sculpture and pottery on the excavated sides, I commenced a regular opening of the mound in search of medals, and obtained a few with the effigies of an animal, which I fancied to be a lion, but others the *gadha*, or ass, attributed to Gundrupsén, the brother of Vicrama, who placed this impress on his coins, the reason of which is given in a long legend. My impious intentions were soon checked by some designing knaves about the Rana, and I would not offend superstition. But the most superficial observer will pronounce Ar to have been an ancient and extensive city, the walls which enclose this sepulchral abode being evidently built with the sculptured fragments of temples. Some shrines, chiefly Jain, are still standing, though in the last stage of dilapidation, and they have been erected from the ruins of shrines still older, as appears from the motley decorations, where statues and images are inserted with their

heads reversed, and Mahavira and Mahadeva come into actual contact ; all are in white marble. Two inscriptions were obtained ; one very long and complete, in the nail-headed character of the Jains ; but their interpretation is yet a desideratum. A topographical map of this curious valley would prove interesting, and for this I have sufficient materials. The *Taili-ca-Serai* would not be omitted in such a map, as adding another to the many instances I have met with, among this industrious class, to benefit their fellow-citizens. The 'Oilman's Caravanserai' is not conspicuous for magnitude ; but it is remarkable, not merely for its utility, but even for its elegance of design. It is equi-distant from each of the lakes. The *Taili-ca-Pool*, or "Oilman's Bridge," at Noorabad, is, however, a magnificent memorial of the trade, and deserves preservation ; and as I shall not be able now to describe the region (Gwalior) where it stands, across the Asin, I will substitute it for the Serai, of which I have no memorial. These *Tailis* (oilmen) perambulate the country with skins of oil on a bullock, and from hard-earned pence erect the structures which bear their name. India owes much to individual munificence.

The planets were adverse to my happy conjunction with the Sun of the Hindus : and it was determined that I should pass another day amongst the tombs of Ahar ; but I invoked upon my own devoted head all the evil consequences, as in this case I was the only person who was threatened. To render this opposition to the decree less noxious, it was agreed that I should make my *entrée* by the southern, not by the eastern porte, that of the sun. The Rana came, attended by his son, his chiefs, his ministers, and, in fact, all the capital in his train. The most hearty welcomes were lavished upon us all. "*Rama ! Rama ! Tod Sahib !*" (the Hindu greeting) resounded from a thousand throats, while I addressed each chief by name. It was not a meeting of formality, but of well-cemented friendship. My companions, Capt. Waugh and Dr. Duncan, were busy interchanging smiles and cordial greetings, when the Rana, requesting our presence at the palace next day, bade us adieu. He took the direct road to his palace, while we, to avoid evil spirits, made a detour by the southern portal, to gain our residence, the garden of Rampëari.

APPENDIX

Translations of Inscriptions, chiefly in the Nail-headed character of the Takshac Races and Jains, fixing eras in Rajpoot history.

No. I.

Memorial of a Gete or Jit prince of the fifth century, discovered 1820, in a temple at Kunswa, near the Chumbul river, south of Kotah.

May the Jit'ha be thy protector ! What does this Jit'h resemble ? which is the vessel of conveyance across the waters of life, which is partly white, partly red ? Again, what does it resemble, where the hissing-angered serpents dwell ? What may this Jit'ha be compared to, from

whose root the roaring flood descends? Such is the Jit'h; by it may thou be preserved (1).

The fame of RAJA JIT I now shall tell, by whose valour the lands of SÁLPOORA (2) are preserved. The fortunes of Raja Jit are as flames of fire devouring his foe. The mighty warrior JIT SÁLINDRA (2) is beautiful in person, and from the strength of his arm esteemed the first amongst the tribes of the mighty; make resplendent, as does the moon the earth, the dominions of SALPOORI. The whole world praises the JIT prince, who enlarges the renown of his race, sitting in the midst of haughty warriors, like the lotos in the waters, the moon of the sons of men. The foreheads of the princes of the earth worship the toe of his foot. Beams of light irradiate his countenance, issuing from the gems of his arms of strength. Radiant is his array; his riches abundant; his mind generous and profound as the ocean. Such is he of SÁRYA (3) race, a tribe renowned amongst the tribes of the mighty, whose princes were ever foes to treachery, to whom the earth surrendered her fruits, and who added the lands of their foes to their own. By sacrifice, the mind of this lord of men has been purified; fair are his territories, and fair is the Fortress of TAK'HYA (4). The string of whose bow is dreaded, whose wrath is the reaper of the field of combat; but to his dependents he is as the pearl on the neck; who makes no account of the battle, though streams of blood run through the field. As does the silver lotos bend its head before the fierce rays of the sun, so does his foe stoop to him, while the cowards abandon the field.

From this lord of men (*Narpati*) SALINDRA sprung DEVANGLI, whose deeds are known even at *this remote period*.

From him was born SUMBOOKA, and from him DEGALI, who married two wives of YADU race (5), and by one a son named VÍRA NARÍNDRA, pure as a flower from the fountain.

Amidst groves of *amba*, on whose clustering blossoms hang myriads of bees, that the wearied traveller might repose, was this edifice erected. May it, and the fame of its founder, continue while ocean rolls, or while the moon, the sun, and hills endure. Samvat 597.—On the extremity of MALWA, this minster (MINDRA) was erected, on the banks of the river TAVÉLI, by SÁLICHANDRA (6), son of VÍRACHANDRA.

Whoever will commit this writing to memory, his sins will be obliterated. Carved by the sculptor SÉVANARVA, son of DWÁRASIVA, and composed by BÚTÉNA, chief of the bards.

(Note 1).—In the prologue to this valuable relic, which superficially viewed would appear a string of puerilities, we have conveyed in mystic allegory the mythological origin of the Jit or Gete race. From the members of the chief of the gods ISWARA or Mahadeva, *the god of battle*, many races claim birth: the warrior from his arms; the Charun from his spine; the prophetic Bhat (*Vates*) from his tongue; and the Gete or Jit, derive theirs from his tiara, which, formed of his own hair, is called *Jit'ha*. In this tiara, serpents, emblematic of TIME (*kal*) and DESTRUCTION, are wreathed; also implicative that the *Jits*, who are of *Takshac*, or the serpent race, are thereby protected. The "roaring flood" which descends from this *Jit'ha* is the river goddess, Ganga, daughter of Méra, wife of Iswara. The mixed colour of his hair, which is partly white, partly of reddish (*pandúringa*) hue, arises from his character of ARD'HNARÍ, or Hermaphroditus. All these characteristics of the god of war must have been brought by the Scythic Gete from the Jaxartes, where they worshipped him as the Sun (*Bádnat'h*) and as XAMOLSCIS (*Yama*, vulg. *Jama*) the infernal divinity.

The 12th chapter of the Edda, in describing BALDER the second son of Odin, particularly dwells on the beauty of his hair, whence "the whitest

of all vegetables is called the eyebrow of Balder, on the columns of whose temples there are verses engraved, capable of recalling the dead to life."

How perfectly in unison is all this of the Jits of Jutland and the Jits of Rajast'han. In each case the hair is the chief object of admiration ; of Balnath as Balder, and the magical effect of the Runes is not more powerful than that attached by the chief of the Scalds of our Gete prince at the end of this inscription, fresh evidences in support of my hypothesis, that many of the Rajpoot races and Scandinavians have a common origin—that origin, Central Asia.

(Note 2).—Salpoora is the name of the capital of this Jit prince, and his epithet of Sal-indrá is merely titular, as the Indra, or lord of Sál-poori, 'the city of Sál,' which the fortunate discovery of an inscription raised by Komarpal, king of Anhulwarra (*Nehrwalla* of D'Anville), dated S. 1207, has enabled me to place "at the base of the Sewaluk Mountains." In order to elucidate this point, and to give the full value to this record of the Jit princes of the Punjâb, I append (No. V.) a translation of the Nehrwalla conqueror's inscription, which will prove beyond a doubt that these Jit princes of SALPOORI in the *Punjâb*, were the leaders of that very colony of the Yuti from the Jaxartes, who in the fifth century, as recorded by De Guignes, crossed the Indus and possessed themselves of the Punjâb ; and strange to say, have again risen to power, for the Sikhs (*disciples*) of Nanuk are almost all of Jit origin.

(Note 3).—Here this Jit is called of SÁRYÁ SAC'HA, *branch* or *ramification* of the *Saryas* : a very ancient race which is noticed by the genealogists synonymously with the SARIASPA, one of the thirty-six royal races, and very probably the same as the SARWYA of the Komarpal Charitra, with the distinguished epithet "the flower of the martial races" (*Sarwya c'shatrya tyn Sar*).

(Note 4).—"The fortress of Takshac." Whether this TAKSHAC-NAGARI, or castle of the Tâk, is the stronghold of SALPOORI, or the name given to a conquest in the environs of the place, whence this inscription, we can only surmise, and refer the reader to what has been said of Takitpoora. As I have repeatedly said, the Tâks and Jits are one race.

(Note 5).—As the Jits intermarried with the Yadus at this early period, it is evident they had forced their way amongst the thirty-six royal races, though they have again lost this rank. No Rajpoot would give a daughter to a Jit, or take one from them to wife.

(Note 6).—Sálíchandra is the sixth in descent from the first-named prince, Jit SALINDRA, allowing twenty-two years to each descent=132—S. 597, date of ins.=S. 465—56=A.D. 409 ; the period of the colonisation of the Punjâb by the Getes, Yuti, or Jits, from the Jaxartes.

No. II.

Translation of an inscription in the Nail-headed character relative to the Jit race, discovered at Ram Chundrapoora, six miles east of Boondee, in digging a well. It was thence conveyed, and deposited by me in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

To my foe, salutation ! This foe of the race of Jit, CATHIDA (1), how shall I describe, who is resplendent by the favour of the round bosom of ROODRANI (2), and whose ancestor, the warrior TUKHYA (3), formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva. Better than this foe on the earth's surface, there is none ; therefore to him I offer salutation. The sparkling gems on the coronets of kings irradiate the nail of his foot.

Of the race of BOTÉNA (4) RAJA T'HOT was born ; his fame expanded through the universe.

Pure in mind, strong in arm, and beloved by mankind, such was CHANDRASÉN (5). How shall he be described, who broke the strength of his foe, on whom when his sword swims in fight, he appears like a magician. With his subjects he interchanged the merchandise of liberality, of which he reaped the fruits. From him whose history is fair, was born KRITIKA, the deeds of whose arm were buds of renown, forming a necklace of praise in the eyes of mankind. His queen was dear to him as his own existence—how can she be described? As the flame is inseparable from the fire, so was she from her lord—she was the light issuing from the sun—her name GOON-NEWÁSA (6), and her actions corresponded with her name. By her he had two sons, like gems set in bracelets, born to please mankind. The eldest was named SOOKUNDA, the younger DERUKA. Their fortunes consumed their foes: but their dependents enjoyed happiness. As the flowers of Calp-vriesha are beloved by the gods, so are these brothers by their subjects, granting their requests, and increasing the glory of the race, whence they sprung.—[A useless descriptive stanza left out (7).]

DERUKA had a son, KUHLA, and his was DHUNIKA, whose deeds ascended high—who could fathom the intentions of mankind—whose mind was deep as the ocean—whose ever-hungry faulchion expelled from their mountains and forests the MEENA tribes, leaving them no refuge in the three wolds, levelling their retreats to the ground. His quiver was filled with crescent-formed arrows—his sword the climber (*vêla*) (8), of which pearls are the fruit. With his younger brother Dewaka he reverences gods and Brahmins—and with his own wealth perfumed a sacrifice to the sun.

For the much-beloved's (his wife) pleasure this was undertaken. Now the river of ease, life and death, is crossed over, for this abode will devour the body of the foe, into which the west wind wafts the fragrant perfume from the sandal-covered bosom of Lacshmi (9); while from innumerable lotos the gale from the east comes laden with aroma, the hum of the bees as they hang clustering on the flowers of the *padhul* is pleasing to the ear.

So long as Soomeru stands on its base of golden sands, so long may this dwelling endure. So long as the wind blows on the *koonjeris* (10), supporters of the globe, while the firmament endures, or while Lacshmi (11) causes the palm to be extended, so long may his praise and this edifice be stable.

KUHLA (12) formed this abode of virtue, and east thereof a temple to Iswara. By ACHIL, son of the mighty prince YASOOVERMA (13), has its renown been composed in various forms of speech.

(Note 1).—*Qu.* if this Jit is from (*da*, the mark of the genitive case) Cathay? the land of the *Cat'hæ* foes of Alexander, and probably of the Cathi of the Saurashtra peninsula, alike Scythic as the Jit, and probably the same race originally?

(Note 2).—Roodrani, an epithet of the martial spouse of Harar-Siva, the god of war, whom the Jit in the preceding inscription invokes.

(Note 3).—Here we have another proof of the Jit being of Takshac race; this at the same time has a mythological reference to the serpent (*takhya*), which forms the garland of the warlike divinities.

(Note 4).—Of this race I have no other notice, unless it should mean the race (*cûla*) was from *Bûltân*.

(Note 5).—Chandrasén is celebrated in the history of the Pramaras as the founder of several cities, from two of which, *Chandrabhaga*, at the foot of the central plateau of India, in Northern Malwa, and CHANDRAVATI, the ruins of which I discovered at the foot of the Aravulli near Aboo, I possess several valuable memoria, which will, ere long, confirm the opinions I have given of the *Takshac* architect.

(Note 6).—The habitation of virtues.

(Note 7).—This shows these foresters always had the same character.

(Note 8).—Véla is the climber or ivy, sacred to Mahadeva.

(Note 9).—Lacshmi, the *apsara* or sea-nymph, is feigned residing amongst the waters of the lotos-covered lake. In the hot weather the Rajpoot ladies dip their corsets into an infusion of sandal-wood, hence the metaphor.

(Note 10).—Koonjiris are the elephants who support the eight corners of the globe.

(Note 11).—Lacshmi is also dame Fortune, or the goddess of riches, whence this image.

(Note 12).—Kuhl is the fifth in descent from the *opponent* of the Jit.

(Note 13).—Without this name this inscription would have been but of half its value. Fortunately various inscriptions on stone and copper, procured by me from Oojein, settled the era of the death of this prince in S. 1191, which will alike answer for Achil, his son, who was most likely one of the chieftains of KUHLA, who appears to have been of the elder branch of the Pramaras, the foe of the Jit invaders.

No. III.

Inscription in the Nail-headed character of the Mori Princes of Cheetore, taken from a column on the banks of the lake Mānsurwur, near that city.

By the lord of waters may thou be protected! What is there which resembles the ocean? on whose margin the red buds of honey-yielding trees are eclipsed by swarms of bees, whose beauty expands with the junction of numerous streams. What is like the ocean, inhaling the perfume of the Paryata (1), who was compelled to yield as tribute, wine, wealth, and ambrosia (2)? Such is the ocean!—may he protect thee.

Of a mighty gift, this is the memorial. This lake enslaves the minds of beholders, over whose expanse the varied feathered tribe skim with delight, and whose banks are studded with every kind of tree. Falling from the lofty-peaked mountain, enhancing the beauty of the scene, the torrent rushes to the lake. The mighty sea-serpent (3), o'erspent with toil in the churning of the ocean, repaired to this lake for repose.

On this earth's surface was Mahéswara (4), a mighty prince, during whose sway the name of foe was never heard; whose fortune was known to the eight quarters (5); on whose arm victory reclined for support. He was the light of the land. The praises of the race of TWAST'HA (6) were determined by Brahma's own mouth.

Fair, filled with pride, sporting amidst the shoals of the lotos, is the swan fed by his hand, from whose countenance issue rays of glory: such was RAJA BHEEM (7), a skilful swimmer in the ocean of battle, even to where the Ganges pours in her flood (8) did he go, whose abode is *Avanti* (9). With faces resplendent as the moon, on whose lips yet marked with the wound of their husband's teeth, the captive wives of his foes, even in their hearts does Raja Bheem dwell. By his arm he removed the apprehensions of his enemies; he considered them as errors to be expunged. He appeared as if created of fire. He could instruct even the navigator (10) of the ocean.

From him was descended Raja BHOJ (11). How shall he be described; he, who in the field of battle divided with his sword the elephant's head, the pearl from whose brain (12) now adorns his breast; who devours his foe as does RAHOO (13) the sun or moon, who to the verge of space erected edifices in token of victory?

From him was a son whose name was MAUN, who was surcharged with good qualities, and with whom fortune took up her abode. One day he

met an aged man : his appearance made him reflect that his frame was as a shadow, evanescent ; that the spirit which did inhabit it was like the seed of the scented *Kadama* (14) ; that the riches of royalty were brittle as a blade of grass ; and that man was like a lamp exposed in the light of day. Thus ruminating, for the sake of his race who had gone before him, and for the sake of good works, he made this lake, whose waters are expansive and depth unfathomable. When I look on this ocean-like lake, I ask myself, if it may not be this which is destined to cause the final doom (15).

The warriors and chiefs of RAJA MAUN (16) are men of skill and valour—pure in their lives and faithful. RAJA MAUN is a heap of virtues—the chief who enjoys his favour may court all the gifts of fortune. When the head is inclined on his lotos foot, the grain of sand which adheres becomes an ornament thereto. Such is the lake, shaded with trees, frequented by birds, which the man of fortune, SRIMAN RAJA MAUN, with great labour formed. By the name of its lord (*Maun*), that of the lake (*surwur*) is known to the world. By him versed in the *alankara*, PUSHHA, the son of NAGA BHUT, these stanzas have been framed. *Seventy had elapsed beyond seven hundred years (Samvatisir)*, when the lord of men, the KING OF MALWA (17) formed this lake. By SEVADIT, grandson of KHETRI KARUG, were these lines cut.

(Note 1).—The Paryat is also called the Har-singár, or ‘ornament of the neck,’ its flowers being made into collars and bracelets. Its aroma is very delicate, and the blossom dies in a few hours.

(Note 2).—*Imrita*, the food of the immortals, obtained at the churning of the ocean. The contest for this amongst the gods and demons is well known. *Vrishpati*, or Sookra, regent of the planet Venus, on this occasion lost an eye ; and hence this Polyphemus has left the nickname of *Sookracharya* to all who have but one eye.

(Note 3).—His name *Matolaé*.

(Note 4).—A celebrated name in the genealogies of the TAKSHAC *Pramara*, of which the *Mori* is a conspicuous *Sac’ha* or branch. He was the founder of the city of *Maheswar*, on the southern bank of the Nehr-budda, which commands the ford leading from *Awinti* and *Dhar* (the chief cities of the *Mori Pramaras*) to the Dekhan.

(Note 5).—The ancient Hindu divided his planisphere into eight quarters, on which he placed the Koonjerries or elephants, for its support.

(Note 6).—TWASTHA, or Takshac, is the celebrated *Nágvasa* of antiquity. All are *Agnicúlas*. Chectore, if erected by the Takshac artist, has a right to the appellation Herbert has so singularly assigned it, namely, *Tacsila*, built by the Tâk ; it would be the *Tâk-sillâ-nagar*, the ‘stone fort of the Takshac,’ alluded to in No. I.

(Note 7).—Raja Bheem, the lord of *Avanti* or Oojein, the king of Malwa, is especially celebrated in the Jain annals. A son of his led a numerous colony into Marwar, and founded many cities between the Looni river and the Aravulli mountains. *All became proselytes to the Jain faith*, and their descendants, who are amongst the wealthiest and most numerous of these mercantile sectarians, are proud of their Rajpoot descent ; and it tells when they are called to responsible offices, when they handle the sword as well as the pen.

(Note 8).—*Ganga-Sagur*, or the Island at the mouth of the Ganges, is specified by name as the limit of Bheem’s conquests. His memoria may yet exist even there.

(Note 9).—*Avanti-Nat’h*, Lord of Avanti or Oojein.

(Note 10).—*Paryatata*, a navigator.

(Note 11).—Raja BHOJ. There is no more celebrated name than this in the annals and literature of the Rajpoots ; but there were three princes

of the Pramara race who bore it. The period of the last Raja Bhoj, father of Udyadit, is now fixed, by various inscriptions discovered by me, A.D. 1035, and the dates of the two others I had from a leaf of a very ancient Jain MS., obtained at the temple of Nadole, namely, S. 631 and 721, or A.D. 575 and 665. Abulfazil gives the period of the first Bhoj as S. 545; but, as we find that valuable MS. of the period of the last Bhoj confirmed by the date of this inscription of his son MAUN, namely, S. 770, we may put perfect confidence in it, and now consider the periods of the three, namely, S. 631, 721, and 1091—A.D. 567, 665, and 1035—as fixed points in Rajpoot chronology.

(Note 12).—In the head of that class of elephants called Bhadra, the Hindoo says, there is always a large pearl.

(Note 13).—The monster Rahoo of the Rajpoot, who swallows the sun and moon, *causing eclipses*, is *Fenris*, the wolf of the Scandinavians. The *Asi* carried the same ideas West, which they taught within the Indus.

(Note 14).—Kadama is a very delicate flower, that decays almost instantaneously.

(Note 15).—*Māhā-prādyā!*

(Note 16).—The MS. annals of the Rana's family state that their founder, Bappa, conquered Cheetore from MAUN MORI. This inscription is therefore invaluable as establishing the era of the conquest of Cheetore by the Gehlotes, and which was immediately following the first irruption of the arms of Islam, as rendered in the annals of Méwar.

(Note 17).—As RAJA MAUN is called *King of Malwa*, it is evident that Cheetore had superseded both Dhar and Awinti as the seat of power. A palace of *Maun Mori* is still shown as one of the antiquities in Cheetore.

No. IV.

Inscription in the Devanagari character, discovered in January 1822 in Puttun Somnat'h, on the coast of the Saurashtra peninsula, fixing the era of the sovereigns of BALABHI, the '*Balhara kings of Nehrwalla*.'

Adoration to the Lord of all, to *the light of the universe* (1). Adoration to the form indescribable; Him! at whose feet all kneel.

In the year of Mohummud 662, and in that of Vicrama 1320, and that of Srimad Balabhi 945, and the Siva-Singa Samvat 151, Sunday, the 13th (*badi*) of the month Asár.

The chiefs of Anhulpoor Patun obeyed by numerous princes (here a string of titles), Bhataric Srimad Arjuna Déva (3), of Chauluc race his minister Sri Máldéva, with all the officers of government, together with *Hormuz of Belacool*, of the government of *Ameer Rookn-oo-Dín*, and of *Khwaja Ibrahim of Hormuz*, son of the Admiral (*Nakhoda*) *Noor-oo-Dín Feeroz*, together with the CHAURA chieftains Palookdeva, Ranik Sri Someswadéva, Ramdéva, Bheemsing, and all the Chauras and other tribes of rank being assembled;

NANSI RAJA, of the Chaura race, inhabiting *Deo Puttun* (5), assembling all the merchants, established ordinances for the repairs and the support of the temples, in order that flowers, oil, and water, should be regularly supplied to *Rutna-iswara* (6), *Choul-iswara* (7), and the shrine of *Pilinda Devi* (8), and the rest, and for the purpose of erecting a wall round the temple of Somnat'h, with a gateway to the north. Keelndeo, son of Modula, and Loonsi, son of Johan, both of the Chaura race, together with the two merchants, Balji and Kurna, bestowed the weekly profits of the market for this purpose. While sun and moon endure, let it not be resumed. Feeroz is commanded to see this order obeyed, and that the customary offerings on festivals are continued, and that all surplus offerings

and gifts be placed in the treasury for the purposes afore-named. The Chaura chiefs present, and the Admiral Noor-oo-Dín, are commanded to see these orders executed on all classes. Heaven will be the lot of the obedient; hell to the breaker of this ordinance.

(Note 1).—The invocation, which was long, has been omitted by me. But this is sufficient to show that BAL-NAT'H, the deity worshipped in PUTTUN SOMNAT'H, 'the city of the lord of the Moon,' was the sun-god *Bál*. Hence the title of the dynasties which ruled this region, BAL-CA-RAÉ, 'the princes of Bál,' and hence the capital BALICAPOOR, 'the city of the sun,' familiarly written *Balabhi*, whose ruins, as well as this inscription, rewarded a long journey. The Rana's ancestors, the *Súryas*, or 'sun-worshippers,' gave their name to the peninsula Saurashtra, or Syria, and the dynasties of CHAURA, and CHAULUC, or SOLANKI, who succeeded them on their expulsion by the Parthians, retained the title of BALICARAÉS, corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian travellers into BALHARA.

(Note 2).—The importance of the discovery of these *new eras* has already been descanted on in the annals, S. 1320—945, the date of this inscription = 375 of Vicrama for the first of the Balabhi era; and 1320—151 gives S. 1169 for the establishment of the *Sevasinga* era—established by the Gohils of the island of Deo, of whom I have another memorial, dated 927 Balabhi Samvat. The Gohils, Chauras, and Gehlotes are all of one stock.

(Note 3).—Arjuna-Déva, *Chaluc*, was prince of Anhulpoor or Anhulwarra, founded by Vanraj Chaura in S. 802—henceforth the capital of the Balica-raes after the destruction of Balabhi.

(Note 4).—This evinces that Anhulwarra was still the emporium of commerce which the travellers of Renaudot and Edrisi describe.

(Note 5).—From this it is evident that the Islandic Deo was a dependent fief of Anhulwarra.

(Note 6).—The great temple of Somnath.

(Note 7).—The tutelary divinity of the Chauluc race.

(Note 8).—The goddess of the Bhil tribes.

No. V.

Inscription from the ruins of Aitpoor.

In Samvatsir 1034, the 16th of the month Bysák, was erected this dwelling¹ of Nanukswami.

From Anundpoor came he of Brahmin² race (may he flourish), Muhee Deva Srl Goha Dit; from whom became famous on the earth the Gohil, tribe:

2. Bhoj.
3. Mahindra.
4. Naga.
5. Sycela.
6. Aprajit.
7. Mahindra, no equal as a warrior did then exist on the earth's surface.
8. Kalbhoj was resplendent as the sun.³
9. Khoman, an unequalled warrior; from him
10. Bhirtipad, the Tiluk of the three worlds; and from whom was
11. Singji; whose Rancee Maha Lakmee, of the warlike race of Rashtra (Rahtore), and from her was born:
12. Sri Ullut. To him who subdued the earth and became its lord,

¹ Aitun.

² Vipra cúla.

³ Ark.

was born Haria Devi: her praise was known in Hurspoora; and from her was born a mighty warrior in whose arm victory reposed; the Khetri of the field of battle, who broke the confederacy of his foes, and from the tree of whose fortune riches were the fruit: an altar of learning; from him was

13. Nirvahana. By the daughter of Sri Jaijah, of Chauhana race, was born

14. Salvahana.

Such were their (the princes whose names are given) fortunes which I have related. From him was born

15. Secti Koomar. How can he be described?—He who conquered and made his own the three qualifications (*sacti*);¹ whose fortunes equalled those of Bhirtpad. In the abode of wealth Sri Aitpoor, which he had made his dwelling, surrounded by a crowd of princes; the *kulpdroom* to his people; whose foot-soldiers are many; with vaults of treasure—whose fortunes have ascended to heaven—whose city derives its beauty from the intercourse of merchants; and in which there is but one single evil, the killing darts from the bright eyes of beauty, carrying destruction to the vassals of the prince.

No. VI.

Inscription of Kumar Pal Solanki, in the Mindra of Brimha, in Cheetore, recording his conquest of Salpoori, in the Punjâb.

To him who takes delight in the abode of waters; from whose braided locks ambrosial drops continually descend; even this Mahadeva, may he protect thee!

He of Chaulac tribe, having innumerable gems of ancestry, flowing from a sea of splendour, was Moolraj, sovereign of the earth.

What did he resemble, whose renown was bright as a fair sparkling gem, diffusing happiness and ease to the sons of the earth? Many mighty princes there were of his line; but none before had made the great sacrifice.

Generations after him, in the lapse of many years, was Sid Raj, a name known to the world; whose frame was encased in the riches of victory, and whose deeds were sounded over the curtain of the earth; and who, by the fire of his own frame and fortune, heaped up unconsumable wealth.

After him was Kumar Pal Deo. What was he like, who by the strength of his invincible mind crushed all his foes; whose commands the other sovereigns of the earth placed on their foreheads; who compelled the lord of Sacambhari to bow at his feet: who in person carried his arms to Sewaluk, making the mountain lords to bow before him, even in the city of Salpoori?

On the mountain Chutterkote . . . ar, the lord of men, in sport placed this [writing] amidst the abode of the gods: even on its pinnacle did he place it. Why? That it might be beyond the reach of the hands of fools!

As Nissa-Nath, the lord who rules the night, looking on the faces of the fair Kamunis below, feels envious of their fairness, and ashamed of the dark spots on his own countenance, even so does Chutterkote blush at seeing this (Prasishta) on her pinnacle.

Samvat 1207 (month and day broken off).

¹ 1. Pribhoo. }
2. Ootchha. } Three Sactis.
3. Muntri. }

No. VII.

Inscriptions on copper-plates found at Nadole relative to the Chohan princes.

The treasury of knowledge of the Almighty (JINA) cuts the knots and intentions of mankind. Pride, conceit, desire, anger, avarice. It is a partition to the three¹ worlds. Such is MAHAVIRA:² may he grant thee happiness!

In ancient times the exalted race of Chohan had sovereignty to the bounds of ocean; and in NADOLE swayed Lacshman, Raja. He had a son named LOHIA; and his BULRAJ, his VIGRAHA PAL; from him sprung MAHINDRA DÉVA; his son was SRI ANHULA, the chief amongst the princes of his time, whose fortunes were known to all. His son was SRI BAL PRESÁD; but having no issue, his younger brother, JAIR RAJ, succeeded. His son was PRITHWI PAL, endued with strength and fiery qualities; but he having no issue, was succeeded by his younger brother JUL; he by his brother MAUN RAJA, the abode of fortune. His son was ALAN-DÉVA.³ When he mounted the throne, he reflected this world was a fable: that this frame, composed of unclean elements, of flesh, blood, and dust, was brought to existence in pain. Versed in the books of faith, he reflected on the evanescence of youth, resembling the scintillation of the fire-fly; ⁴ that riches were as the dew-drop on the lotos-leaf, for a moment resembling the pearl, but soon to disappear. Thus meditating, he commanded his servants, and sent them forth to his chieftains, to desire them to bestow happiness on others, and to walk in the paths of faith.

In Samvat 1218, in the month of Sawun the 29th,⁵ performing the sacrifice to fire, and pouring forth libations to the dispeller of darkness, he bathed the image of the omniscient, the lord of things which move and are immovable, Sudasíva, with the *panch-amrit*,⁶ and made the gifts of gold, grain, and clothes to his spiritual teacher, preceptor, and the Brahmins to their hearts' desire. Taking *tíl* in his hand, with rings on his finger of the *cusa* (grass), holding water and rice in the palm of his hand, he made a gift of five *moodras* monthly in perpetuity to the *Sandera Gatcha*⁷ for saffron, sandal-wood, and ghee for the service of the temple of MAHAVIRA in the white market (*mandra*) of the town. Hence this copper-plate. This charity which I have bestowed will continue as long as the SANDERA GATCHA exist to receive, and my issue to grant it.

To whoever may rule hereafter I touch their hands, that it may be perpetual. Whoever bestows charity will live sixty thousand years in heaven; whoever resumes it, the like in hell!

Of Pragvavansā,⁸ his name Dhurnidhur, his son Kurmchund being minister, and the *sastri* Munorut Ram, with his sons Visala and Sridhara, by writing this inscription made his name resplendent. By SRI ALAN'S own hand was this copper-plate bestowed. Samvat 1218.

¹ Tribhawun-loca; or Pátála, Mirtha, Swerga.

² *Mahavira*, to whom the temple was thus endowed by the Chohan prince, follower of Síva, was the last of the twenty-four *Jinas*, or apostles of the Jains.

³ The prince being the twelfth from Lacshman, allowing twenty-two years to a reign, 264—1218; date of inscription, S. 954, or A.D. 898, the period of Lacshman.

⁴ *Kudheata*.

⁵ *Súdi choudus*.

⁶ Milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, butter, and sugar.

⁷ One of eighty-four divisions of Jain tribes.

⁸ Poorvál, a branch of the Oswal race of Jain laity.

TREATY between the Honourable the English East-India Company and Maharana Bheem Sing, Rana of Oudeepoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, and by Thakoor Ajeet Sing on the part of the Maharana, in virtue of full powers conferred by the Maharana aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the two states, from generation to generation, and the friends and enemies of one shall be the friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Oudeepoor.

Third Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connection with other chiefs or states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor will not commit aggressions upon any one; and if by accident a dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—One-fourth of the revenue of the actual territory of Oudeepoor shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years; and after that term three-eighths in perpetuity. The Maharana will not have connection with any other power on account of tribute, and if any one advance claims of that nature, the British Government engages to reply to them.

Seventh Article.—Whereas the Maharana represents that portions of the dominions of Oudeepoor have fallen, by improper means, into the possession of others, and solicits the restitution of those places: the British Government from a want of accurate information is not able to enter into any positive engagement on this subject; but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Oudeepoor, and after ascertaining the nature of each case, will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of the object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Oudeepoor by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The troops of the state of Oudeepoor shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

Ninth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor shall always be absolute ruler of his own country, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—The present treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Thakoor Ajeet Sing Buhadoor, the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maharana Bheem Sing, shall be mutually delivered within a month from this date.

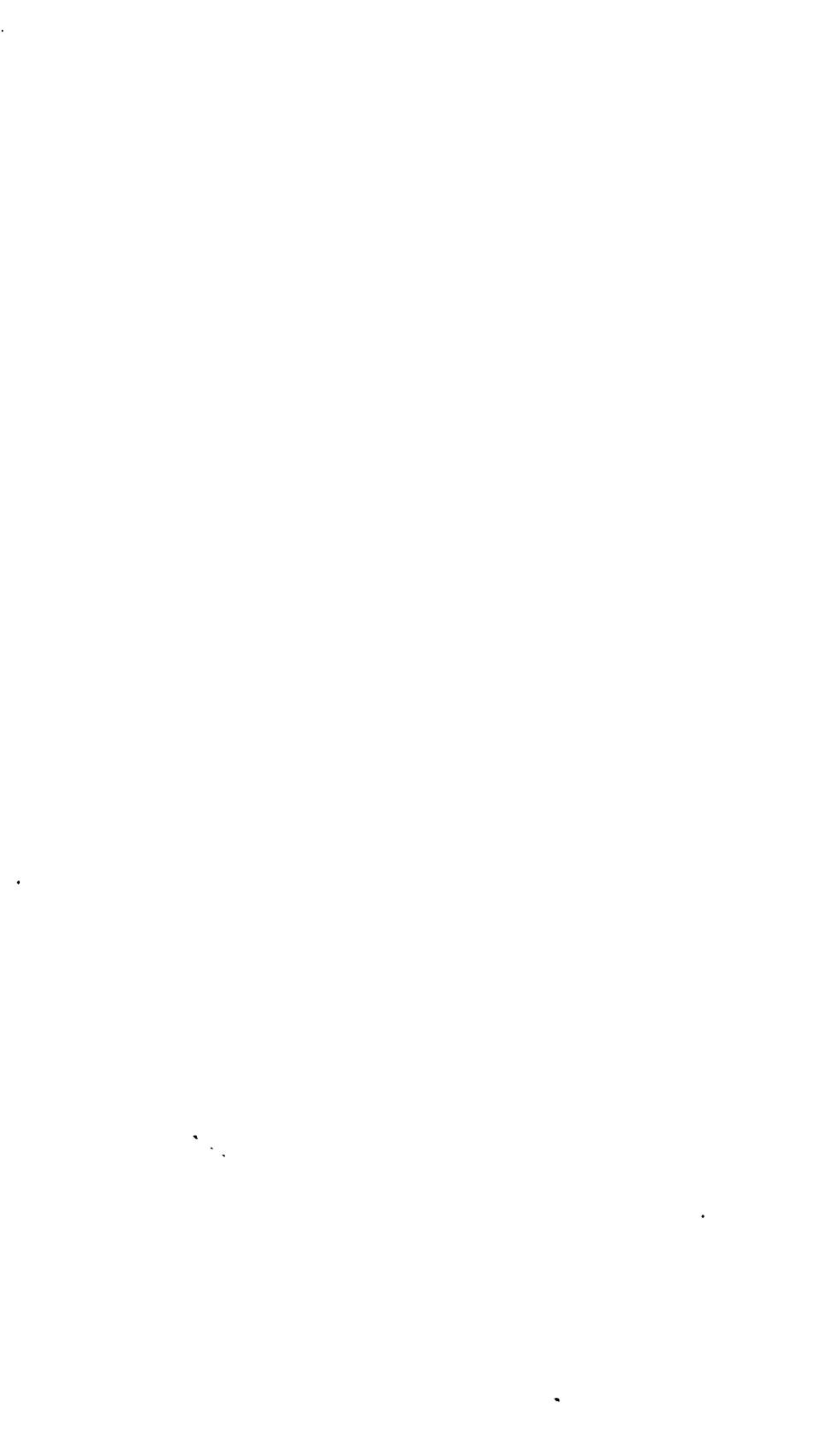
Done at Dihlee, this thirteenth day of January, A.D. 1818.

(Signed)

C. T. METCALFE (L.S.).

THAKOOR AJEET SING (L.S.).

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES
OF RAJAST'HAN



ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
RAJAST'HAN

OR, THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN
RAJPOOT STATES OF INDIA

BY

LIEUT.-COL. JAMES TOD

LATE POLITICAL AGENT TO THE WESTERN RAJPOOT STATES

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE
WITH A PREFACE BY DOUGLAS SLADEN

II



LONDON
ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL LTD
BROADWAY HOUSE: 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.4

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
LUND HUMPHRIES
LONDON • BRADFORD

TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
WILLIAM THE FOURTH

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY has graciously sanctioned the presentation of the Second Volume of the ANNALS OF RAJPOOTANA to the Public under the auspices of Your Majesty's name.

In completing this work, it has been my endeavour to draw a faithful picture of States, the ruling principle of which is the paternity of the Sovereign. That this patriarchal form is the best suited to the genius of the people, may be presumed from its durability, which war, famine, and anarchy have failed to destroy. The throne has always been the watch-word and rallying-point of the Rajpoots. My prayer is, that it may continue so, and that neither the love of conquest, nor false views of policy, may tempt us to subvert the independence of these States, some of which have braved the storms of more than ten centuries.

It will not, I trust, be deemed presumptuous in the Annalist of these gallant and long-oppressed races thus to solicit for them a full measure of Your Majesty's gracious patronage; in return for which, the Rajpoots, making Your Majesty's enemies their own, would glory in assuming the 'saffron robe,' emblematic of death or victory, under the banner of that chivalry of which Your Majesty is the head.

That Your Majesty's throne may ever be surrounded by chiefs who will act up to the principles of fealty maintained at all hazards by the Rajpoot, is the heartfelt aspiration of,

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Devoted subject and servant,

JAMES TOD.

INTRODUCTION

IN placing before the public the concluding volume of the *Annals of Rajpootana* I have fulfilled what I considered to be a sacred obligation to the races amongst whom I have passed the better portion of my life ; and although no man can more highly appreciate public approbation, I am far less eager to court that approbation, than to awaken a sympathy for the objects of my work, the interesting people of Rajpootana.

I need add nothing to what was urged in the Introduction to the First Volume on the subject of Indian History ; and trust that, however slight the analogy between the chronicles of the Hindus and those of Europe, as historical works, they will serve to banish the reproach, which India has so long laboured under, of possessing no records of past events : my only fear now is, that they may be thought redundant.

I think I may confidently affirm, that whoever, without being alarmed at their bulk, has the patience attentively to peruse these Annals, cannot fail to become well acquainted with all the peculiar features of Hindu society, and will be enabled to trace the foundation and progress of each state in Rajpootana, as well as to form a just notion of the character of a people, upon whom, at a future period, our existence in India may depend.

Whatever novelty the enquirer into the origin of nations may find in these pages, I am ambitious to claim for them a higher title than a mass of mere archæological *data*. To see humanity under every aspect, and to observe the influence of different creeds upon man in his social capacity, must ever be one of the highest sources of mental enjoyment ; and I may hope that the personal qualities herein delineated, will allow the labourer in this vast field of philosophy to enlarge his sphere of acquaintance with human varieties. In the present circumstances of our alliance with these states, every trait of national character, and even every traditional incident, which, by leading us to understand and respect their peculiarities, may enable us to secure their friendship and esteem, become of infinite importance. The more we study their history, the better shall we comprehend the causes of their international quarrels, the origin of their tributary engagements, the secret principles of their mutual repulsion, and the sources of their strength and their weakness as an aggregate body : without which knowledge it is impossible we can arbitrate with justice in their national disputes ; and, as respects ourselves, we may convert a means of defence into a source of bitter hostility.

It has been my aim to diversify as much as possible the details of this volume. In the *Annals of Marwar*, I have traced the conquest and peopling of an immense region by a handful of strangers ; and have dwelt, perhaps, with tedious minuteness on the long reign of Raja Ajit Sing and the thirty years' war, to show what the energy of one of these petty states,

impelled by a sense of oppression, effected against the colossal power of its enemies. It is a portion of their history which should be deeply studied by those who have succeeded to the paramount power; for Arungzéb had less reason to distrust the stability of his dominion than we have: yet what is now the house of Timour? The resources of Marwar were reduced to as low an ebb at the close of Arungzéb's reign, as they are at the present time: yet did that state surmount all its difficulties, and bring armies into the field that annihilated the forces of the empire. Let us not, then, mistake the supineness engendered by long oppression, for want of feeling, nor mete out to these high-spirited people the same measure of contumely, with which we have treated the subjects of our earlier conquests.

The Annals of the Bhattis may be considered as the link connecting the tribes of India Proper with the ancient races west of the Indus, or Indo-Scythia; and although they will but slightly interest the general reader, the antiquary may find in them many new topics for investigation, as well as in the Sketch of the Desert, which has preserved the relics of names that once promised immortality.

The patriarchal simplicity of the Jit communities, upon whose ruins the state of Bikanér was founded, affords a picture, however imperfect, of petty republics—a form of government little known to eastern despotism, and proving the tenacity of the ancient Gete's attachment to liberty.

Ambér, and its scion Shekhavati, possess a still greater interest from their contiguity to our frontier. A multitude of singular privileges is attached to the Shekhavati federation, which it behoves the paramount power thoroughly to understand, lest it should be led by false views to pursue a policy detrimental to them as well as to ourselves. To this extensive community belong the Larkhanís, so utterly unknown to us, that a recent internal tumult of that tribe was at first mistaken for an irruption of our old enemies, the Pindarries.

Harouti may claim our regard from the high bearing of its gallant race, the Haras; and the singular character of the individual with whose biography its history closes, and which cannot fail to impart juster notions of the genius of Asiatics.

So much for the matter of this volume—with regard to the manner, as the Rajpoots abhor all pleas *ad misericordiam*, so likewise does their annalist, who begs to repeat, in order to deprecate a standard of criticism inapplicable to this performance, that it professes *not* to be constructed on exact historical principles: *Non historia, sed particulae historiæ*.

In conclusion, I adopt the peroration of the ingenuous, pious, and liberal Abulfazil, when completing his History of the Provinces of India: "Praise be unto God, that by the assistance of his Divine Grace, I have completed the History of the Rajpoots. The account cost me a great deal of trouble in collecting, and I found such difficulty in ascertaining dates, and in reconciling the contradictions in the several histories of the Princes of Rajpootana, that I had nearly resolved to relinquish the task altogether: but who can resist the decrees of Fate? I trust that those, who have been able to obtain better information, will not dwell upon my errors; but that upon the whole I may meet with approbation."

YORK PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE,
10th March 1832.

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ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJAST'HAN

ANNALS OF MARWAR

CHAPTER I

The various etymons of Marwar—Authorities for its early history—Yati genealogical roll—The Rahtore race, who inhabit it, descended from the Yavan kings of Parlipoor—Second roll—Nayn Pál—His date—Conquers Canouj—Utility of Rajpoot genealogies—The *Surya Prakas*, or poetic chronicle of the bard Kurnidhan—The Raj Roopac Akhéât, or chronicle of Ajít Sing's minority and reign—The Beejy Vulas—The Khéât, a biographical treatise—Other sources—The Yavanas and Aswas, or Indo-Scythic tribes—The thirteen Rahtore families, bearing the epithet Camd'huj—Raja Jeichund, king of Canouj—The extent and splendour of that state before the Mahomedan conquest of India—His immense array—Title of Mandalica—Divine honours paid to him—Rite of Soenair undertaken by Jeichund—Its failure and consequences—State of India at that period—The four great Hindu monarchies—Dehli—Canouj—Méwar—Anhulwarra—Shabudín, king of Gor, invades India—Overcomes the Chohan king of Dehli—Attacks Canouj—Destruction of that monarchy after seven centuries' duration—Death of Jeichund—Date of this event.

MARWAR is a corruption of *Maroo-wár*, classically *Maroost'hali* or *Maroost'han*, 'the region of death.' It is also called *Maroo-désa*, whence the unintelligible *Mardés* of the early Mahomedan writers. The bards frequently style it *Mord'hur*, which is synonymous with *Maroo-désa*, or, when it suits their rhyme, simply *Maroo*. Though now restricted to the country subject to the Rahtore race, its ancient and appropriate application comprehended the entire 'desert,' from the Sutlej to the ocean.

A concise genealogical sketch of the Rahtore rulers of Marwar has already been given; ¹ we shall therefore briefly pass over those times 'when a genealogical tree would strike root in any soil'; when the ambition of the Rahtores, whose branches (*sac'hæ*) spread rapidly over 'the region of death,' was easily gratified with a solar pedigree. As it is desirable, however, to record their own opinions regarding their origin, we shall make extracts from the chronicles (hereafter enumerated), instead of fusing the whole into one mass, as in the Annals of Méwar. The reader will occasionally be presented with simple translations of whatever is most interesting in the Rahtore records.

¹ See vol. i. p. 74.

Let us begin with a statement of the author's authorities ; first, a genealogical roll of the Rahtores, furnished by a Yati, or Jain priest, from the temple of Nadolaye.¹ This roll is about fifty feet in length, commencing, as usual, with a theogony, followed by the production of the 'first Rahtore from the spine (*raht*) of Indra,' the nominal father being "Yavanaswa, prince of Parlipoor." Of the topography of Parlipoor, the Rahtores have no other notion than that it was in the north ; but in the declared race of their progenitor, a *Yavan* prince, of the Aswa or Asi tribe,² we have a proof of the Scythic origin of this Rajpoot family.

The chronicle proceeds with the foundation of Kanya-cúbja,³ or Canouj, and the origin of Cama-dhwaja,⁴ (*vulgo* Camdhuj), the titular appellation of its princes, and concludes with the thirteen great *sac'ha*, or ramifications of the Rahtores, and their *Gotra-acharya*, or genealogical creed.⁵

Another roll, of considerable antiquity, commences in the fabulous age, with a long string of names, without facts ; its sole value consists in the esteem in which the tribe holds it. We may omit all that precedes Nayn Pál, who, in the year S. 526 (A.D. 470⁶), conquered Canouj, slaying its monarch Ajspal ; from which period the race was termed Canoujca Rahtore. The genealogy proceeds to Jeichund, the last monarch of Canouj ; relates the emigration of his nephew Sôôji, or Sévaji, and his establishment in the desert (*Maroowar*), with a handful of his brethren (a wreck of the mighty kingdom of Canouj) ; and terminates with the death of Raja Jeswunt Sing, in S. 1735 (A.D. 1679), describing every branch and scion, until we see them spreading over Maroo.

Genealogy ceases to be an uninteresting pursuit, when it enables us to mark the progress of animal vegetation, from the germ to the complete development of the tree, until the land is overshadowed with its branches ; and bare as is the chronicle to the moralist or historian, it exhibits to the observer of the powers of the animal economy, data, which the annals of no other people on earth can furnish. In A.D. 1193, we see the throne of Jeichund overturned ; his nephew, with a handful of retainers, taking service with a petty chieftain in the Indian desert. In less than four centuries, we find the descendants of these exiles of the Ganges occupying nearly the whole of the desert ; having founded three capitals, studded the land with the castles of its feudality, and bringing into the field fifty thousand men, *ek báp ca bétà*, 'the sons of one father,' to combat the emperor of Dehli. What a contrast does their unnoticed growth present to

¹ An ancient town in Marwar.

² One of the four tribes which overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The ancient Hindu cosmographers claim the Aswa as a grand branch of their early family, and describe them to be Scythic people, from the Oxus to the Ganges, were one race.

³ From *Cúbja* (the spine) of the virgin (*Kanya*).

⁴ *Cama-dhwaja*, 'the banner of Cupid.'

⁵ *Gotma Gotra, Mardwandant Sâ'châ, Sookrâcharyâ Gûrâ, Gar-rapti Agni, Panh'hant Dêvî.*

⁶ It is a singular fact, that there is no available date beyond the fourth century for any of the great Rajpoot families, all of whom are brought from the north. This was the period of one of the grand irruptions of the Getic races from Central Asia, who established kingdoms in the Punjâb and on the Indus. *Pal* or *Pali*, the universal adjunct to every proper name, indicates the pastoral race of these invaders.

that of the Islamite conquerors of Canouj, of whom five dynasties passed away in ignorance of the renovated existence of the Rahtore, until the ambition of Shere Shah brought him into contact with the descendants of Séôji, whose valour caused him to exclaim " he had nearly lost the crown of India for a handful of barley," in allusion to the poverty of their land !

What a sensation does it not excite, when we know that a sentiment of kindred pervades every individual of this immense affiliated body, who can point out, in the great tree, the branch of his origin, whilst not one is too remote from the main stem to forget its pristine connection with it ! The moral sympathies created by such a system pass unheeded by the chronicler, who must deem it futile to describe what all sensibly feel, and which renders his page, albeit little more than a string of names, one of paramount interest to the ' sons of Séôji.'

The third authority is the *Sooraj Prakas* (*Surya Prakasa*), composed by the bard Kurnidhan, during the reign and by command of Raja Abhye Sing. This poetic history, comprised in 7500 stanzas, was copied from the original manuscript, and sent to me by Raja Mán, in the year 1820.¹ As usual, the *kavya* (bard) commences with the origin of all things, tracing the Rahtores from the creation down to Soomitra ; from whence is a blank until he recommences with the name of Camdhuj, which appears to have been the title assumed by Nayn Pál, on his conquest of Canouj. Although Kurnidhan must have taken his facts from the royal records, they correspond very well with the roll from Nadolaye. The bard is, however, in a great hurry to bring the founder of the Rahtores into Marwar, and slurs over the defeat and death of Jeichund. Nor does he dwell long on his descendants, though he enumerates them all, and points out the leading events until he reaches the reign of Jeswunt Sing, grandfather of Abhye Sing, who " commanded the bard to write the *Sooraj Prakas*."

The next authority is the *Raj Roopac Akheât*, or ' the royal relations.' This work commences with a short account of the *Suryavansa*, from their cradle at Ajodia ; then takes up Séôji's migration, and in the same strain as the preceding work, rapidly passes over all events until the death of Raja Jeswunt ; but it becomes a perfect chronicle of events during the minority of his successor Ajít, his eventful reign, and that of Abhye Sing, to the conclusion of the war against Sirbolund Khan, viceroy of Guzzerat. Throwing aside the meagre historical introduction, it is professedly a chronicle of the events from S. 1735 (A.D. 1679), to S. 1787 (A.D. 1734), the period to which the *Sooraj Prakas* is brought down.

A portion of the *Beejy Vulas*, a poem of 100,000 couplets, also fell into my hands : it chiefly relates to the reign of the prince whose name it bears, Beejy Sing, the son of Bukhta Sing. It details the civil wars waged by Beejy Sing and his cousin Ram Sing (son of Abhye Sing), and the consequent introduction of the Mahrattas into Marwar.

From a biographical work named simply *Khéât*, or ' Story,' I obtained that portion which relates to the lives of Raja Oodi Sing, the friend of Akber ; his son Raja Guj, and grandson Jeswunt Sing. These sketches exhibit in true colours the character of the Rahtores.

Besides these, I caused to be drawn up by an intelligent man, who had passed his life in office at Jodpoor, a memoir of transactions from the death of Ajít Sing, in A.D. 1629, down to the treaty with the English govern-

¹ This manuscript is deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

ment in A.D. 1818. The ancestors of the narrator had filled offices of trust in the state, and he was a living chronicle both of the past and present.

From these sources, from conversations with the reigning sovereign, his nobles, his ambassadors, and subjects, materials were collected for this sketch of the Rahtores—barren, indeed, of events at first, but redundant of them as we advance.

A genealogical table of the Rahtores is added, showing the grand offsets, whose descendants constitute the feudal *frèrage* of the present day. A glance at this table will show the claims of each house; and in its present distracted condition, owing to civil broils, will enable the paramount power to mediate, when necessary, with impartiality, in the conflicting claims of the prince and his feudatories.

We shall not attempt to solve the question, whether the Rahtores are, or are not, *Rawud-vansa*, 'Children of the Sun'; nor shall we dispute either the birth or etymon of the first Rahtore (from the *raht* or spine of Indra), or search in the north for the kingdom of the nominal father; but be content to conclude that this celestial interference in the household concerns of the Parlipoor prince was invented to cover some disgrace. The name of *Yavana*, with the adjunct *Aswa* or *Asi*, clearly indicates the Indo-Scythic 'barbarian' from beyond the Indus. In the genealogy of the Lunar races descended of Budha and Ella (*Mercury* and the *Earth*—see Table I., vol. i.), the five sons of BAJ-ASWA are made to people the countries on and beyond the Indus; and in the scanty records of Alexander's invasion, mention is made of many races, as the Asasenæ and Asacani, still dwelling in these regions.

This period was fruitful in change to the old established dynasties of the Hindu continent, when numerous races of *barbarians*, namely, Huns, Parthians, and Getes, had fixed colonies on her western and northern frontiers.¹

"In S. 526 (A.D. 470), Nayn Pál obtained Canouj, from which period the Rahtores assumed the title of Camdhuj. His son was Pudarut,² his Poonja, from whom sprung the thirteen great families, bearing the patronymic Camdhuj, namely:

"1st. Dhurma Bhumbo; his descendants styled *Dânésra Camdhuj*.

"2nd. Bhanooda, who fought the Afghans at Kangra, and founded Abhipoor; hence the *Abhipoora Camdhuj*.

"3rd. Virachandra, who married the daughter of Hamira Chohan, of Anhulpoor Pattun; he had fourteen sons, who emigrated to the Dekhan; his descendants called *Kuppolia Camdhuj*.

"4th. Umrabeejy, who married the daughter of the Pramara prince of Korahgurrh on the Ganges;—slew 16,000 Pramaras, and took possession of Korah, whence the *Korah Camdhuj*.³

"5th. Soojun Binode; his descendants *Jirkkhaira Camdhuj*.

"6th. Pudma, who conquered Orissa, and also Bogilana, from Raja Tejmun Yadu.

"7th. Aihar, who took Bengal from the Yadus; hence *Aihara Camdhuj*.

¹ Cosmas. Annals of Méwar. Gete or Jit Inscription, Appendix, vol. i.

² Called *Bhurut* in the Yati's roll; an error of one or other of the authorities, in transcribing from the more ancient records.

³ An inscription given in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. ix. p. 440), found at Korah, relates to a branch of the Canouj family.

"8th. Bardeo; his elder brother offered him in appanage Benares, and eighty-four townships; but he preferred founding a city, which he called *Paruk-poor*:¹ his descendants *Paruk Camdhuj*.

"9th. Oogra-Prebhoo, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hinglaz Chandel,² who, pleased with the severity of his penance, caused a sword to ascend from the fountain, with which he conquered the southern countries touching the ocean:³ his descendants *Chandaila Camdhuj*.

"10th. Mookta-Mun, who conquered possessions in the north from Bhán Túar: his descendants *Beera Camdhuj*.

"11th. Bhurut, at the age of sixty-one, conquered Keneksir, under the northern hills, from Roodra-sén of the Birgoojur tribe: his descendants styled *Bhureau Camdhuj*.

"12th. Allunkul founded Khyroda; fought the Asúras (Moslems) on the banks of the Attok: his descendants *Khyrodea Camdhuj*.

"13th. Chand obtained Tarrapoor in the north. He married a daughter of the Chohan of *Tahera*,⁴ a city well known to the world: with her he came to Benares.

"And thus the race of Súrya multiplied."

"Bhumbo,⁵ or Dherma-Bhumbo, sovereign of Canouj, had a son, Ajy-Chund.⁶ For twenty-one generations they bore the titles of *Rao*; afterwards that of *Raja*. Oodichund, Nirpati, Keneksén, Sehes-sal, Mégsén, Birabhadra, Deosén, Bimulsén, Dánsén, Mokund, Bhodu, Rajsén, Tirpal, Sree-Poonja, Beejy Chund,⁷ his son Jeichund, who became the Naek of Canouj, with the surname *Dul Pangla*."

Nothing is related of the actions of these princes, from the conquest of Canouj by Nayn Pál, in A.D. 470, and the establishment of his thirteen grandsons in divers countries, until we reach Jeichund, in whose person (A.D. 1193) terminated the Rahtore sovereignty on the Ganges; and we have only twenty-one names to fill up the space of seven centuries, although the testimony on which it is given⁸ asserts there were twenty-one princes bearing the title of *Rao* prior to the assumption of that of *Raja*. But the important information is omitted as to who was the first to assume this title. There are names in the Yati's roll that are not in the *Sooraj Prakas*, which we have followed; and one of these, "Rungut D'hvaj," is said to have overcome Jesraj Túar, king of Dehli, for whose period we have correct data: yet we cannot incorporate the names in the Yati's roll with that just given without vitiating each; and as we have no facts, it is useless to perplex ourselves with a barren genealogy. But we can assert that it must have been a splendid dynasty, and that their actions, from the conqueror Nayn Pál, to the last prince, Jeichund, were well deserving of commemoration. That they were commemorated in written records, there cannot be a doubt; for the trade of the bardic chroniclers in India has flourished in all ages.

¹ *Qu.* Parkur, towards the Indus?

² On the coast of Mekran.

³ If we can credit these legends, we see the Rahtore Rajpoots spreading over all India. I give these bare facts *verbatim*, as some traces may yet remain of the races in those countries.

⁴ A city often mentioned by Ferishta, in the early times of the Mahomedans.

⁵ Nayn Pál must have preceded Dherma-Bhumbo by five or six generations.

⁶ Called Abhé-chand, in the *Sooraj Prakas*.

⁷ Also styled *Beejy Pál*; classically *Vijy-pála*, 'Fosterer of Victory.'

⁸ The *Sooraj Prakas*.

Although we have abundant authority to assert the grandeur of the kingdom of Canouj¹ at the period of its extinction, both from the bard Chund and the concurrent testimony of Mahomedan authors, yet are we astonished at the description of the capital, attested not only by the annals of the Rahtores, but by those of their antagonists, the Chohans.

The circumvallation of Canouj covered a space of more than thirty miles ; and its numerous forces obtained for its prince the epithet of "*Dul Pangla*," meaning that the mighty host (*Dul*) was lame or had a halt in its movements owing to its numbers, of which Chund observes, that in the march "the van had reached their ground ere the rear had moved off." The *Sooraj Prakas* gives the amount of this army, which in numbers might compete with the most potent which, in ancient or modern times, was ever sent into the field. "Eighty thousand men in armour ; thirty thousand horse covered with *pakhur*, or quilted mail ; three hundred thousand *paeks* or infantry ; and of bow-men and battle-axes two hundred thousand ; besides a cloud of elephants bearing warriors."

This immense army was to oppose the Yavana beyond the Indus ; for, as the chronicle says, "The king of Gor and Irak crossed the Attok. There Jey Sing met the conflict, when the *Nildab* changed its name to *Soorkhab*." There was the Ethiopic (*Habshee*) king, and the *skilful Frank learned in all arts*,² overcome by the lord of Canouj."

The chronicles of the Chohans, the sworn foe of the Rahtores, repeat the greatness of the monarch of Canouj, and give him the title of "*Mandalica*." They affirm that he overcame the king of the north,⁴ making eight tributary kings prisoners ; that he twice defeated Sidraj, king of Anhulwarra, and extended his dominions south of the Nerbudda, and that at length, in the fulness of his pride, he had divine honours paid him in the rite *Soenair*. This distinction, which involves the most august ceremony, and is held as a virtual assumption of universal supremacy, had in all ages been attended with disaster. In the rite of *Soenair*, every office, down to the scullion of the "*Rusorah*," or banquet-hall, must be performed by royal personages ; nor had it been attempted by any of the dynasties which ruled India since the Pandú : not even Vicrama, though he introduced his own era, had the audacity to attempt what the Rahtore determined to execute. All India was agitated by the accounts of the magnificence of the preparations, and circular invitations were despatched to every prince, inviting him to assist at the pompous ceremony, which was to conclude with the nuptials of the raja's only daughter, who according to the customs of those days, would select her future lord from the assembled chivalry of India. The Chohan bard describes the revelry and magnificence of the scene : the splendour of the *Yug-sála*, or 'hall of sacrifice,' surpassing all powers of description ; in which was assembled all the princes of India, "save the lord of the Chohans, and Samara of Méwar," who, scorning this assumption of supremacy, Jeichund made their

¹ See Inscriptions of Jeichund, Vijyachund, and Korah, in the 9th and 14th vols. of the *Asiatic Researches*.

² The *Nildab*, or 'blue water,' the Indus, changed its name to the 'Red-stream' (*Soork-dab*), or 'ensanguined.'

³ It is singular that Chund likewise mentions the Frank as being in the army of Shabudin, in the conquest of his sovereign Pirthiraj. If this be true, it must have been a desultory or fugitive band of crusaders.

⁴ They thus style the kings west of the Indus.

effigies in gold, assigning to them the most servile posts ; that of the king of the Chohans being *Poleah*, or 'porter of the hall.' Pirthiraj, whose life was one succession of feats of arms and gallantry, had a double motive for action—love and revenge. He determined to enjoy both, or perish in the attempt ; "to spoil the sacrifice and bear away the fair of Canouj from its halls, though beset by all the heroes of Hind." The details of this exploit form the most spirited of the sixty-nine books of the bard. The Chohan executed his purpose, and, with the élite of the warriors of Dehli, bore off the princess in open day from Canouj. A desperate running-fight of five days took place. To use the words of the bard, "he preserved his prize ; he gained immortal renown, but he lost the sinews of Dehli." So did Jeichund those of Canouj ; and each, who had singly repelled all attacks of the kings, fell in turn a prey to the Ghorî Sultan, who skilfully availed himself of these international feuds, to make a permanent conquest of India.

We may here briefly describe the state of Hindust'han at this epoch, and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmoud.

There were four great kingdoms, namely—

1. DEHLI, under the Tûars and Chohans.
2. CANOUJ, under the Rahtores.
3. MÉWAR, under the Ghelotes.
4. ANHULWARRA, under the Chauras and Solankhîs.

To one or other of these states, the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary between Dehli and Canouj was the Cali-nadi, or 'black stream' ; the Calindi of the Greek geographers. Dehli claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms, from the foot of the Himalaya,—the desert—to the Aravulli chain. The Chohan king, successor to the Tûars, enumerated one hundred and eight great vassals, many of whom were subordinate princes.

The power of Canouj extended north to the foot of the Snowy mountains ; eastward to Casî (Benares) ; and across the Chumbul to the lands of the Chundail (now Bûndelkhund) ; on the south its possessions came in contact with Méwar.

Méwar, or *Medya-war*, the 'central region,' was bounded to the north by the Aravulli, to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar (dependent on Canouj), and westward by Anhulwarra, which state was bounded by the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west, and the desert to the north.

There are records of great wars amongst all these princes. The Chohans and Ghelotes, whose dominions were contiguous, were generally allies, and the Rahtores and Tûars (predecessors of the Chohans) who were only divided by the Cali-nadi, often dyed it with their blood. Yet this warfare was never of an exterminating kind ; a marriage quenched a feud, and they remained friends until some new cause of strife arose.

If, at the period preceding Mahmoud, the traveller had journeyed through the courts of Europe, and taken the line of route, in subsequent ages pursued by Timoor, by Byzantium, through Ghizni (adorned with the spoils of India), to Dehli, Canouj, and Anhulwarra, how superior in all that constitutes civilisation would the Rajpoot princes have appeared to him !—in arts immeasurably so ; in arms by no means inferior. At that epoch, in the west, as in the east, every state was governed on feudal principles. Happily for Europe, the democratical principle gained

admittance, and imparted a new character to her institutions ; while the third estate of India, indeed of Asia, remained permanently excluded from all share in the government which was supported by its labour, every pursuit but that of arms being deemed ignoble. To this cause, and the endless wars which feudality engendered, Rajpoot nationality fell a victim, when attacked by the means at command of the despotic kings of the north.

Shabudín, king of Ghor, taking advantage of these dissensions, invaded India. He first encountered Pirthiraj, the Chohan king of Dehli, the outwork and bulwark of India, which fell. Shabudín then attacked Jeichund, who was weakened by the previous struggle. Canouj put forth all her strength, but in vain ; and her monarch was the last son of "the Yavana of Parlipoor," who ruled on the banks of the Ganges. He met a death congenial to the Hindu, being drowned in the sacred stream in attempting to escape.

This event happened in S. 1249 (A.D. 1193), from which period the overgrown, gorgeous Canouj ceased to be a Hindu city, when the "thirty-six races" of vassal princes, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, who served under the banners of *Bardai Séna*,¹ retired to their patrimonial estates. But though the Rahtore name ceased to exist on the shores of the Ganges, destiny decreed that a scion should be preserved, to produce in a less favoured land a long line of kings ; that in thirty-one generations his descendant, Raja Mán, "*Raj, Rajeswara*," 'the king, the lord of kings,' should be as vain-glorious of the sceptre of Maroo, as either Jeichund when he commanded divine honours, or his still more remote ancestor Nayn Pál fourteen centuries before, when he erected his throne in Canouj. The Rahtore may well boast of his pedigree, when he can trace it through a period of 1360 years, in lineal descent from male to male ; and contented with this, may leave to the mystic page of the bard, or the interpolated pages of the *Puránas*, the period preceding Nayn Pál.

¹ Another title of the monarch of Canouj, "the bard of the host," from which we are led to understand he was as well versed in the poetic art, as his rival, the Chohan prince of Dehli.

CHAPTER II

Emigration of Séôji and Saitram, grandsons of Jeichund—Their arrival in the Western Desert—Sketch of the tribes inhabiting the desert to the Indus at that epoch—Séôji offers his services to the chief of Koloomud—They are accepted—He attacks Lakha Phoolana, the famed freebooter of Phoolra, who is defeated—Saitram killed—Séôji marries the Solanki's daughter—Proceeds by Anhulwarra on his route to Dwarica—Again encounters Lakha Phoolana, whom he slays in single combat—Massacres the Dabeys of Mehwo, and the Gohils of Khêrdhur—Séôji establishes himself in "the land of Khêr"—The Brahmin community of Palli invoke the aid of Séôji against the mountaineers—Offer him lands—Accepted—Birth of a son—Séôji massacres the Brahmins, and usurps their lands—Death of Séôji—Leaves three sons—The elder, Asot'hama, succeeds—The second, Soning, obtains Edur—Ajmal, the third, conquers Okamundala, originates the Badhail tribe of that region—Asot'hama leaves eight sons, heads of clans—Doothur succeeds—Attempts to recover Canouj—Failure—Attempts Mundore—Slain—Leaves seven sons—Raepal succeeds—Revenge his father's death—His thirteen sons—Their issue spread over Maroo—Rao Kanhul succeeds—Rao Jalhun—Rao Chado—Rao Theedo—Carry on wars with the Bhattis and other tribes—Conquest of Beenmahl—Rao Siluk—Rao Beerumdeo, killed in battle with the Johyas—Clans, their issue—Rao Chonda—Conquers Mundore from the Purihar—Assaults and obtains Nagore from the Imperialists—Captures Nadole, capital of Godwar—Marries the Princess of Mundore—Fourteen sons and one daughter, who married Lakha Rana of Méwar—Result of this marriage—Feud between Irinkowal, fourth son of Chonda, and the Bhatti chieftain of Poogul—Chonda slain at Nagore—Rao Rinnull succeeds—Resides at Cheetore—Conquers Ajmér for the Rana—Equalises the weights and measures of Marwar, which he divides into departments—Rao Rinnull slain—Leaves twenty-four sons, whose issue constitute the present *frère* of Marwar—Table of clans.

IN S. 1268 (A.D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Canouj, Séôji and Saitram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert, with the intent, according to some of the chronicles, of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Dwarica; but according to others, and with more probability, to carve their fortunes in fresh fields, unscathed by the luxuries in which they had been tried, and proud in their poverty and sole heritage, the glory of Canouj.

Let us rapidly sketch the geography of the tribes over whom it was destined these emigrants of the Ganges should obtain the mastery, from the Jumna to the Indus, and the Garah river to the Aravulli hills. First, on the east, the Cuchwahs, under Milaisi, whose father, Rao Pujoon, was killed in the war of Canouj. Ajmér, Sambhur, and the best lands of the Chohans, fell rapidly to the Islamite—though the strongholds of the Aravulli yet sheltered some, and Nadole continued for a century more to be governed by a descendant of Beesuldeo. Mansi, Rana of the Eendoh tribe, a branch of the Purihars, still held Mundore, and the various *Bhomias* around paid him a feudal subjection as the first chief of the desert. Northward, about Nagore, lived the community of the Mohils (a name now extinct), whose chief place was Aureent, on which depended 1440 villages. The whole of the tracts now occupied by Bikanér to Bhatnair were partitioned into petty republics of Gêtes or Jits, whose history will hereafter be related. Thence to the Garah river, the Johyas, Dyas, Cathæ, Langa-

has, and other tribes whose names are now obliterated, partly by the sword, partly by conversion to Islamism. The Bhattis had for centuries been established within the bounds they still inhabit, and little expected that this handful of Rahtores was destined to contract them. The Soda princes adjoined the Bhattis south, and the Jarejas occupied the valley of the Indus and Cutch. The Solankhis intervened between them and the Pramaras of Aboo and Chandravati, which completed the chain by junction with Nadole. Various chieftains of the more ancient races, leading a life of fearless independence, acknowledging an occasional submission to their more powerful neighbours, were scattered throughout this space; such as the Dabeys of Eedur and Mehwo; the Gohils of Khérd'hur; the Deoras of San chore; and Sonigurras of Jhalore; the Mohils of Aureent; the Sanklas of Sindli, etc.; all of whom have either had their birthright seized by the Rahtore, or the few who have survived and yet retain them, are enrolled amongst their allodial vassals.

The first exploit of Séôji was at Koloomud (twenty miles west of the city of Bskané, not then in existence), the residence of a chieftain of the Solankhi tribe. He received the royal emigrants with kindness, and the latter repaid it by the offer of their services to combat his enemy, the Jareja chieftain of Phoolra, well known in all the annals of the period, from the Sutlej to the ocean, as Lakha Phoolana, the most celebrated river of Maroo, whose castle of Phoolra stood amidst the almost inaccessible sandhills of the desert. By this timely succour, the Solankhi gained a victory over Lakha, but with the loss of Saitram and several of his band. In gratitude for this service, the Solankhi bestowed upon Séôji his sister in marriage, with an ample dower; and he continued his route by Anhulwarra Patun, where he was hospitably entertained by its prince, to the shrine of Dwarica. It was the good fortune of Séôji again to encounter Lakha, whose wandering habits had brought him on a foray into the territory of Anhulwarra. Besides the love of glory and the ambition of maintaining the reputation of his race, he had the stimulus of revenge, and that of a brother's blood. He was successful, though he lost a nephew, slaying Lakha in single combat, which magnified his fame in all these regions, of which Phoolana was the scourge.

Flushed with success, we hear nothing of the completion of Séôji's pilgrimage; but obedient to the axiom of the Rajpoot, "get land," we find him on the banks of the Looni, exterminating, at a feast, the Dabeys of Mehwo,¹ and soon after the Gohils of Khérdhur,² whose chief, Mohesdas, fell by the sword of the grandson of Jeichund. Here, in the "land of Khér," amidst the sandhills of the Looni (the salt-river of the desert), from which the Gohils were expelled, Séôji planted the standard of the Rahtores.

At this period, a community of Brahmins held the city and extensive lands about Palli, from which they were termed *Palliwal*; and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mairs and

¹ The Dabey was one of the thirty-six royal races; and this is almost the last mention of their holding independent possessions. See vol. i. p. 95, and the map for the position of Mehwo at the bend of the Looni.

² In my last journey through these regions, I visited the chief of the Gohils at Bhaonuggur, in the Gulf of Cambay. I transcribed their defective annals, which trace their migration from "Khérdhur," but in absolute ignorance where it is! See vol. i. p. 95.

Meenas, they called in the aid of Séôji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brahmins from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Séôji lands to settle amongst them, which were readily accepted ; and here he had a son by the Solankhani, to whom he gave the name of Asot'hama. With her, it is recorded, the suggestion originated to make himself lord of Palli; and it affords another example of the disregard of the early Rajpoots for the sacred order, that on the *Holi*, or 'Saturnalia,' he found an opportunity to "obtain land," putting to death the heads of this community, and adding the district to his conquests. Séôji outlived his treachery only twelve months, leaving his acquisitions as a nucleus for further additions to his children. He had three sons, Asot'hama, Soning, and Ajmal.

One of the chronicles asserts that it was Asot'hama, the successor of Séôji, who conquered "the land of Khér" from the Gohils. By the same species of treachery by which his father attained Palli, he lent his aid to establish his brother Soning in Eedur. This small principality, on the frontiers of Guzzerat, then appertained, as did Mehwo, to the Dabey race ; and it was during the *maatam*, or period of mourning for one of its princes, that the young Rahtore chose to obtain a new settlement. His descendants are distinguished as the Hatondia Rahtores. The third brother, Uja, carried his forays as far as the extremity of the Saurashtra peninsula, where he decapitated Beekumsi, the Chawara chieftain of Okamundala,¹ and established himself. From this act his branch became known as the "*Badhail*" ;² and the Badhails are still in considerable number in that furthest track of ancient Hinduism called the "World's End."

Asot'hama died, leaving eight sons, who became the heads of clans, namely, Doohur, Jopsi, Khimpsao, Bhopsoo, Dhandul, Jaitmal, Bandur, and Oohur ; of which, four, Doohur, Dhandul, Jaitmal, and Oohur, are yet known.

Doohur succeeded Asot'hama. He made an unsuccessful effort to recover Canouj ; and then attempted to wrest Mundore from the Purihars, but "watered their lands with his blood." He left seven sons, namely, Raepal, Keerutpal, Behur, Peetul, Joogail, Daloo, and Béгур.

Raepal succeeded, and revenged the death of his father, slaying the Purihar of Mundore, of which he even obtained temporary possession. He had a progeny of thirteen sons, who rapidly spread their issue over these regions. He was succeeded by his son Kanhul, whose successor was his son Jalhun ; he was succeeded by his son Chado, whose successor was his son Theedo. All these carried on a desperate warfare with, and made conquests from, their neighbours. Chado and Theedo are mentioned as very troublesome neighbours in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmér, who were compelled to carry the war against them into the "land of Khér." Rao Theedo took the rich district of Beenmahl from the Sonigurra, and made other additions to his territory from the Deoras and Baléchas. He was succeeded by Siluk or Silko. His issue, the *Silkawuts*, now Bhomias, are yet numerous both in Mehwo and Rardurro. Silko was succeeded by his son Beerumdeo, who attacked the Johyas of the north,

¹ On the western coast of the Saurashtra peninsula.

² From *bhāda*, 'to slay.'

and fell in battle. His descendants, styled *Beerumote* and *Beejawut*, from another son Beejo, are numerous at Saitroo, Sewanoh, and Daichoo. Beerumdeo was succeeded by his son Chonda, an important name in the annals of the Rahtores. Hitherto they had attracted notice by their valour and their raids, whenever there was a prospect of success; but they had so multiplied in eleven generations, that they now essayed a higher flight. Collecting all the branches bearing the name of Rahtore, Chonda assaulted Mundore, slew the Purihar prince, and planted the banners of Canouj on the ancient capital of Maroo.

So fluctuating are the fortunes of the daring Rajpoot, ever courting distinction and coveting *bhom*, 'land,' that but a short time before this success, Chonda had been expelled from all the lands acquired by his ancestors, and was indebted to the hospitality of a bard of the Charun tribe, at Kaloo; and they yet circulate the *cavit*, or quatrain, made by him when, in the days of his greatness, he came and was refused admittance to "the lord of Mundore"; he took post under the balcony, and *improvised* a stanza, reminding him of the Charun of Kaloo: "*Chonda nihyn awé chit'h, Katchur Kaloo tinna? Bhoop b'hyo b'hy-b'hit'h, Mundawur ra maléa?*" "Does not Chonda remember the porridge of Kaloo, now that the lord of the land looks so terrific from his balcony of Mundawur?" Once established in Mundore, he ventured to assault the imperial garrison of Nagore. Here he was also successful. Thence he carried his arms south, and placed his garrison in Nadole, the capital of the province of Godwar. He married a daughter of the Purihar prince,¹ who had the satisfaction to see his grandson succeed to the throne of Mundore. Chonda was blessed with a progeny of fourteen sons, growing up to manhood around him. Their names were *Rinmull*,² *Sutto*, *Rindheer*, *Irinkowal*,³ *Poonja*, *Bheem*, *Kana*, *Ujo*, *Ramdeo*, *Beejo*, *Sehesmul*, *Bagh*, *Loombo*, *Seoraj*.

Chonda had also one daughter named *Hansa*, married to Lakha Rana of Méwar, whose son was the celebrated Koombho. It was this marriage which caused that interference in the affairs of Méwar, which had such fatal results to both states.⁴

The feud between his fourth son, Irinkowal, and the Bhatti prince of Poogul, being deemed singularly illustrative of the Rajpoot character, has been extracted from the annals of Jessulmér, in another part of this work.⁵ The Rahtore chronioler does not enter into details, but merely states the result, as ultimately involving the death of Chonda—simply that "he was slain at Nagore with one thousand Rajpoots"; and it is to the chronicles of Jessulmér we are indebted for our knowledge of the manner. Chonda acceded in S. 1438 (A.D. 1382), and was slain in S. 1465.

Rinmull succeeded. His mother was of the Gohil tribe. In stature he was almost gigantic, and was the most athletic of all the athletes of his nation. With the death of Chonda, Nagore was again lost to the Rahtores. Rana Lakha presented Rinmull with the township of Durlo and forty

¹ He was of the *Eendo* branch of the Purihars, and his daughter is called the "*Eendovatni*."

² The descendants of those whose names are in italics still exist.

³ This is the prince mentioned in the extraordinary feud related (vol. i. p. 498) from the annals of Jessulmér. Incidentally, we have frequent synchronisms in the annals of these states, which, however slight, are of high import.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 223.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 498.

villages upon his sister's marriage, when he almost resided at Cheetore, and was considered by the Rana as the first of his chiefs. With the forces of Méwar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the viceroy of Ajmér, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chohans, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Méwar. Khemsi Pancholi, the adviser of this measure, was rewarded with a grant of the township of Kaatoh, then lately captured from the Kaim-Khánis. Rinnull went on a pilgrimage to Gya, and paid the tax exacted for all the pilgrims then assembled.

The bard seldom intrudes the relation of civil affairs into his page, and when he does, it is incidentally. It would be folly to suppose that the princes of Maroo had no legislative recorders; but with these the poet had no bond of union. He, however, condescends to inform us of an important measure of Rao Rinnull, namely, that he equalised the weights and measures throughout his dominions, which he divided as at present. The last act of Rinnull, in treacherously attempting to usurp the throne of the infant Rana of Méwar, was deservedly punished, and he was slain by the faithful Chonda, as related in the annals of that state.¹ This feud originated the line of demarcation of the two states,² and which remained unaltered until recent times, when Marwar at length touched the Aravulli. Rao Rinnull left twenty-four sons, whose issue, and that of his eldest son, Joda, form the great vassalage of Marwar. For this reason, however barren is a mere catalogue of names, it is of the utmost value to those who desire to see the growth of the *frèrage* of such a community.³

| Names. | Clans. | Chieftainships or Fiefs. |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Joda (succeeded) . | Joda. | |
| 2. Kandul . . . | { Kandulote, conquered lands in . . . } | Bfkanér. |
| 3. Champa . . . | Champawut . . . | { Ahwa, Kaátah, Palri, Hursola, Rohit, Jawula, Sutlana, Singari. |
| 4. Akhiraj had seven sons : 1st Koompo . . . | { Koompawut . . . } | { Asope, Kuntaleo, Chundawul, Sirriari, Kharlo, Hursore, Bulloo, Bajoria, Soorpoora, Dewureo. |
| 5. Mandlo . . . | Mandlote . . . | Saroonda. |
| 6. Patta . . . | Pattawut . . . | { Kurnichari, Baroh, and Desnokh. ⁴ |
| 7. Lakha . . . | Lakhawut . . . | _____ |
| 8. Bala . . . | Balawut . . . | Dhoonara. |
| 9. Jaitmul . . . | Jaitmulote . . . | Palasni. |
| 10. Kurno . . . | Kurnote . . . | Loonawas. |
| 11. Roopa . . . | Roopawut . . . | Chooteela. |
| 12. Nathoo . . . | Nathawut . . . | Bfkanér. |

¹ See vol. i. p. 226.

² See vol. i. p. 227.

³ It is only by the possession of such knowledge that we can exercise with justice our right of universal arbitration.

⁴ Brave soldiers, but, safe in the deep sands, they refuse to serve except on emergencies.

| Names. | Clans. | Chieftainships or Fiefs. |
|----------------------|-------------------|---|
| 13. Doongra . . . | Doongerote . . . | } Estates not mentioned ; their descendants have become dependent on the greater clanships. |
| 14. Sanda . . . | Sandawut . . . | |
| 15. Mando . . . | Mandnote . . . | |
| 16. Biroo . . . | Birote . . . | |
| 17. Jugmal . . . | Jugmalote . . . | |
| 18. Hampo . . . | Hampawut . . . | |
| 19. Sakto . . . | Saktawut . . . | |
| 20. Kerimchund . . . | _____ . . . | |
| 21. Urival . . . | Urivalote . . . | |
| 22. Ketsi . . . | Ketsiote . . . | |
| 23. Sutrosal . . . | Sutrosalote . . . | } |
| 24. Tezmal . . . | Tezmalote . . . | |

CHAPTER III .

Accession of Rao Joda—Transfers the seat of government from Mundore to the new capital Jodpoor—The cause—The Vana-perist, or Druids of India—Their penances—The fourteen sons of Joda—New settlements of Satulmér, Mairta, Bikanér—Joda dies—Anecdotes regarding him—His personal appearance—Rapid increase of the Rahtore race—Names of tribes displaced thereby—Accession of Rao Soojoh—First conflict of the Rahtores with the Imperialists—Rape of the Rahtore virgins at Peepar—Gallantry of Soojoh—His death—Issue—Succeeded by his grandson Rao Ganga—His uncle Saga contests the throne—Obtains the aid of the Lodi Pat'hans—Civil War—Saga slain—Baber's invasion of India—Rana Sanga generalissimo of the Rajpoots—Rao Ganga sends his contingent under his grandson Raemul—Slain at Biana—Death of Ganga—Accession of Rao Maldeo—Becomes the first amongst the princes of Rajpootana—Reconquers Nagore and Ajmér from the Lodis, Jhalore and Sewanoh from the Sindhils—Reduces the rebellious allodial vassals—Conquest from Jessulmér—The Maldotes—Takes Pokurn—Dismantles Satulmér—His numerous public works—Cantons belonging to Marwar enumerated—Maldeo resumes several of the great estates—Makes a scale of rank hereditary in the line of Joda—Period favourable to Maldeo's consolidation of his power—His inhospitality to the Emperor Hemayoon—Shere Shah invades Marwar—Maldeo meets him—Danger of the Imperial army—Saved by stratagem from destruction—Rahtore army retreats—Devotion of the two chief clans—Their destruction—Akber invades Marwar—Takes Mairta and Nagore—Confers them on Raé Sing of Bikanér—Maldeo sends his second son to Akber's court—Refused to pay homage in person—The emperor gives the firman of Jodpoor to Raé Sing—Rao Maldeo besieged by Akber—Defends Jodpoor—Sends his son Oodi Sing to Akber—His reception—Receives the title of Raja—Chundersén maintains Rahtore independence—Retires to Sewanoh—Besieged, and slain—His sons—Maldeo witnesses the subjection of his kingdom—His death—His twelve sons.

JODA was born at Dunlo, the appanage of his father in Méwar, in the month Bysak, S. 1484. In 1511 he obtained Sojut, and in the month Jait, 1515 (A.D. 1459) laid the foundation of Jodpoor, to which he transferred the seat of government from Mundore. With the superstitious Rajpoot, as with the ancient Roman, every event being decided by the omen or the augur, it would be contrary to rule if so important an occasion as the change of capital, and that of an infant state, were not marked by some

propitious *prestige*, that would justify the abandonment of a city won by the sword, and which had been for ages the capital of Maroo. The intervention, in this instance, was of a simple nature ; neither the flight of birds, the lion's lair, or celestial manifestation ; but the ordinance of an anchorite, whose abode, apart from mankind, was a cleft of the mountains of Bakurcheera. But the behests of such ascetics are secondary only to those of the divinity, whose organs they are deemed. Like the Druids of the Celts, the Vana-perist Jogi, from the glades of the forest (*vana*) or recess in the rocks (*gopha*), issue their oracles to those whom chance or design may conduct to their solitary dwellings. It is not surprising that the mandates of such beings prove compulsory on the superstitious Rajpoot : we do not mean those squalid ascetics, who wander about India, and are objects disgusting to the eye ; but the genuine *Jogi*, he who, as the term imports, mortifies the flesh, till the wants of humanity are restricted merely to what suffices to unite matter with spirit ; who has studied and comprehended the mystic works, and pored over the systems of philosophy, until the full influence of *maia* (illusion) has perhaps unsettled his understanding ; or whom the rules of his sect have condemned to penance and solitude ; a penance so severe, that we remain astonished at the perversity of reason which can submit to it.¹ To these, the Druids of India, the prince and the chieftain would resort for instruction. They requested neither lands nor gold : to them " the boasted wealth of Bokhara " was as a particle of dust. Such was the ascetic who recommended Joda to erect his castle on ' the Hill of Strife ' (*Jodagir*), hitherto known as *Bakurcheera*, or ' the bird's nest,' a projecting elevation of the same range on which Mundore was placed, and about four miles south of it. Doubtless its inaccessible position seconded the recommendation of the hermit, for its scarped summit renders it almost impregnable, while its superior elevation permits the sons of Joda to command, from the windows of their palace, a range of vision almost comprehending the limits of their sway. In clear weather, they can view the summits of their southern barrier, the gigantic Aravulli ; but in every other direction, it fades away in the boundless expanse of sandy plains. Neither the founder, nor his monitor, the ascetic, however, were engineers, and they laid the foundation of this stronghold without considering what an indispensable adjunct to successful defence was good water ; but to prevent any slur on the memory of Joda, they throw the blame of this defect on the hermit. Joda's engineer, in tracing the line of circumvallation, found it necessary to include the spot chosen as his hermitage, and his remonstrance for undisturbed possession was treated with neglect ; whether by the prince as well as the

¹ We have seen one of these objects, self-condemned never to lie down during forty years, and there remained but three to complete the term. He had travelled much, was intelligent and learned, but far from having contracted the moroseness of the recluse, there was a benignity of mien, and a suavity and simplicity of manner in him, quite enchanting. He talked of his penance with no vain-glory, and of its approaching term without any sensation. The resting position of this Druid (*vana-perist*) was by means of a rope suspended from the bough of a tree, in the manner of a swing, having a cross-bar, on which he reclined. The first years of this penance, he says, were dreadfully painful ; swollen limbs affected him to that degree, that he expected death ; but this impression had long since worn off. " Even in this, is there much vanity," and it would be a nice point to determine whether the homage of man or the approbation of the Divinity, most sustains the energies under such appalling discipline.

chief architect, the legend says not. The incensed Jogi pronounced an imprecation, that the new castle should possess only brackish water, and all the efforts made by succeeding princes to obtain a better quality, by blasting the rock, have failed. The memory of the Jogi is sanctified, though his anger compelled them to construct an apparatus, whereby water for the supply of the garrison is elevated from a small lake at the foot of the rock, which, being entirely commanded from the walls, an assailant would find difficult to cut off. This was the third grand event in the fortunes of the Rahtores, from the settlement of Séôji.¹

Such was the abundant progeny of these princes, that the limits of their conquests soon became too contracted. The issue of the three last princes, namely, the fourteen sons of Chonda, the twenty-four of Rinmull, and fourteen of Joda, had already apportioned amongst them the best lands of the country, and it became necessary to conquer "fresh fields in which to sow the Rahtore seed."

Joda had fourteen sons, namely—

| Names of Chiefs. | Clans. | Fiefs or Chieftainships. | Remarks. |
|---------------------|------------|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Santul, or Satil | — | Satulmér | Three coss from Pokurn. |
| 2. Soojoh (Sooraj) | — | — | Succeeded Joda. |
| 3. Gomoh . . . | — | — | No issue. |
| 4. Doddoh . . . | Mairtea | Mairta | Doodoh took Sambhur from the Chohans. He had one son, Beerum, whose two sons, Jeimul and Jugmal, founded the clans Jeimulote and Jugmalote. |
| 5. Birsing . . . | Birsingate | Nolai . . . | |
| 6. Becko . . . | Beekaet | Beekanér . . . | |
| 7. Bharmul . . . | Bharmulote | Bai Bhilara . . . | |
| 8. Seoraj . . . | Seorajote | Dhoonara . . . | On the Looni. |
| 9. Kurmsi . . . | Kurmsote | Kewnsir . . . | — |
| 10. Raemul . . . | Raemulote | — | — |
| 11. Samutsi . . . | Samutséote | Dawaroh . . . | — |
| 12. Beeda . . . | Beedawut | Beedavatí . . . | In Nagore district. |
| 13. Bunhur . . . | — | — | Clans and fiefs not mentioned. |
| 14. Neembo . . . | — | — | |

The eldest son, Santul, born of a female of Boondi, established himself in the north-west corner, on the lands of the Bhattis, and built a fort, which he called Satulmér, about five miles from Pokurn. He was killed

¹ Palli did not remain to Séôji's descendants, when they went westward and settled on the Looni: the Seesodias took it with other lands from the Purihar of Mundore. It was the feud already adverted to with Méwar, which obtained for him the fertile districts of Palli and Sojut, by which his territories at length touched the Aravulli, and the fears of the assassin of Rana Koombho made his parricidal son relinquish the provinces of Sambhur and Ajmér.—See vol. i. p. 233.

in action by a Khan of the Sahrâes (the Saracens of the Indian desert), whom he also slew. His ashes were burnt at Kusmoh, and an altar was raised over them, where seven of his wives became suttees.

The fourth son, Doodoh, established himself on the plains of Mairta, and his clan, the Mairtea, is numerous, and has always sustained the reputation of being the "first swords" of Maroo. His daughter was the celebrated Meera Bae, wife of Rana Khoombo,¹ and he was the grandsire of the heroic Jeimul, who defended Cheetore against Akber, and whose descendant, Jeyt Sing of Bednore, is still one of the sixteen chief vassals of the Oodipoor court.

The sixth son, Beeko, followed the path already trod by his uncle Kandul, with whom he united, and conquered the tracts possessed by the six Jit communities. He erected a city, which he called after himself, Beekanér, or Bikanér.

Joda outlived the foundation of his new capital thirty years, and beheld his sons and grandsons rapidly peopling and subjugating the regions of Maroo. In S. 1545, aged sixty-one, he departed this life, and his ashes were housed with those of his fathers, in the ancestral abode of Mundore. This prince, the second founder of his race in these regions, was mainly indebted to the adversities of early life for the prosperity his later years enjoyed; they led him to the discovery of worth in the more ancient, but neglected, allodial proprietors displaced by his ancestors, and driven into the least accessible regions of the desert. It was by their aid he was enabled to redeem Mundore, when expelled by the Gehlotes, and he nobly preserved the remembrance thereof in the day of his prosperity. The warriors whose forms are sculptured from the living rock at Mundore, owe the perpetuity of their fame to the gratitude of Joda; through them he not only recovered, but enlarged his dominions.² In less than three centuries after their migration from Canouj, the Rahtores, the issue of Séôji, spread over a surface of four degrees of longitude and the same extent of latitude, or nearly 80,000 miles square, and they amount at this day, in spite of the havoc occasioned, by perpetual wars and famine, to 500,000 souls. While we thus contemplate the renovation of the Rahtore race, from a single scion of that magnificent tree, whose branches once overshadowed the plains of Ganga, let us withdraw from oblivion some of the many noble names they displaced, which now live only in the poet's page. Well may the Rajpoot repeat the ever-recurring simile, "All is unstable; life is like the scintillation of the fire-fly; house and land will depart, but a good name will last for ever!" What a list of noble tribes could we enumerate now erased from independent existence by the successes of "the children of Seva" (*Seva-pútra*)!³ Puriharas, Eendos, Sanklas, Chohans, Gohils, Dabeys, Sindhils, Mohils, Sonigurras, Cattis, Jits, Hools, etc., and the few who still exist only as retainers of the Rahtore.

Soojoh⁴ (Soorajmul) succeeded, and occupied the *gadi* of Joda during twenty-seven years, and had at least the merit of adding to the stock of Séôji.

¹ See vol. i. p. 232.

² See vol. i. p. 573.

³ Séôji is the Bhaka for Seva;—the *ji* is merely an adjunct of respect.

⁴ One of the chronicles makes Satil occupy the *gadi* after Joda, during three years; but this appears a mistake—he was killed in defending Satulmér.

The contentions for empire, during the vacillating dynasty of the Lodi kings of Dehli, preserved the sterile lands of Maroo from their cupidity ; and a second dynasty, the Shere-shahi, intervened ere ' the sons of Joda ' were summoned to measure swords with the Imperialists. But in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516), a desultory band of Pat'hans made an incursion during the fair of the Teej,¹ held at the town of Peepar, and carried off one hundred and forty of the maidens of Maroo. The tidings of the rape of the virgin Rajpootnis were conveyed to Soojoh, who put himself at the head of such vassals as were in attendance, and pursued, overtook and redeemed them, with the loss of his own life, but not without a full measure of vengeance against the " northern barbarian." The subject is one chosen by the itinerant minstrel of Maroo, who, at the fair of the Teej, still sings the rape of the one hundred and forty virgins of Peepar, and their rescue by their cavalier prince at the price of his own blood.

Soojoh had five sons, namely : 1. Bhago, who died in non-age : his son Ganga succeeded to the throne. 2. Oodoh, who had eleven sons : they formed the clan Oodawut, whose chief fiefs are Neemaj, Jytarun, Goondoche, Biratea, Raepoor, etc., besides places in Méwar. 3. Saga, from whom descended the clan Sagawut ; located at Burwoh. 4. Priag, who originated the Priagote clan. 5. Beerumdeo, whose son, Naroo, receives divine honours as the *pútra* of Maroo, and whose statue is worshipped at Sojut. His descendants are styled Narawut Joda, of whom a branch is established at Puchpahar, in Haroutí.

Ganga, grandson of Soojoh, succeeded his grandfather in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516) ; but his uncle, Saga, determined to contest his right to the *gadi*, invited the aid of Dowlut Khan Lodi, who had recently expelled the Rahtores from Nagore. With this auxiliary a civil strife commenced, and the sons of Joda were marshalled against each other. Ganga, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and reckoning upon the support of the best swords of Maroo, spurned the offer of compromise made by the Pat'han, of a partition of its lands between the claimants, and gave battle, in which his uncle Saga was slain, and his auxiliary, Dowlut Khan, ignominiously defeated.

Twelve years after the accession of Ganga, the sons of Joda were called on to unite their forces to Méwar to oppose the invasion of the Moghuls from Turkistan. Sanga Rana, who had resumed the station of his ancestors amongst the princes of Hind, led the war, and the king of Maroo deemed it no degradation to acknowledge his supremacy, and send his quotas to fight under the standard of Méwar, whose chronicles do more justice to the Rahtores than those of their own bards. This, which was the last confederation made by the Rajpoots for national independence, was defeated, as already related, in the fatal field of Biana, where, had treachery not aided the intrepid Baber, the Rahtore sword would have had its full share in rescuing the nation from the Mahomedan yoke. It is sufficient to state that a Rahtore was in the battle, to know that he would bear its brunt ; and although we are ignorant of the actual position of the Rana, we may assume that their post was in the van. The young prince Raemul (grandson of Ganga), with the Mairtea chieftains Khartoe and Rutna, and many others of note, fell against the Chagitai on this eventful day.

¹ For a description of this festival, see vol. i. p. 461.

Ganga died ¹ four years after this event, and was succeeded by Maldeo in S. 1588 (A.D. 1532), a name as distinguished as any of the noble princes in the chronicles of Maroo. The position of Marwar at this period was eminently excellent for the increase and consolidation of its resources. The emperor Baber found no temptation in her sterile lands to divert him from the rich plains of the Ganges, where he had abundant occupation; and the districts and strongholds on the emperor's frontier of Maroo, still held by the officers of the preceding dynasty, were rapidly acquired by Maldeo, who planted his garrisons in the very heart of Dhoondár. The death of Sanga Rana, and the misfortunes of the house of Méwar, cursed with a succession of minor princes, and at once beset by the Moguls from the north, and the kings of Guzzerat, left Maldeo to the uncontrolled exercise of his power, which, like a true Rajpoot, he employed against friend and foe, and became beyond a doubt the first prince of Rajwarra, or, in fact, as styled by the Mahomedan historian Ferishta, "the most potent prince in Hindustan."

The year of Maldeo's installation, he redeemed the two most important possessions of his house, Nagore and Ajmér. In 1596 he captured Jhalore, Sewanoh, and Bhadratoon from the Sindhils; and two years later dispossessed the sons of Beeka of supreme power in Bikanér. Mehwo, and the tracts on the Looni, the earliest possessions of his house, which had thrown off all dependence, he once more subjugated, and compelled the ancient allodial tenantry to hold of him in chief, and serve with their quotas. He engaged in war with the Bhattis, and conquered Beekumpoor, where a branch of his family remained, and are now incorporated with the Jessulmér state, and, under the name of Maldotes,² have the credit of being the most daring robbers of the desert. He even established branches of his family in Méwar and Dhoondár, took, and fortified Chatsoo, not twenty miles south of the capital of the Cuchwahas. He captured and restored Serohi from the Deoras, from which house was his mother. But Maldeo not only acquired, but determined to retain, his conquests, and erected numerous fortifications throughout the country. He enclosed the city of Jodpoor with a strong wall, besides erecting a palace, and adding other works to the fortress. The circumvallations of Mairtea and its fort, which he called Malkote, cost him £24,000. He dismantled Satulmér, and with the materials fortified Pokurn, which he took from the Bhattis, transplanting the entire population, which comprehended the richest merchants of Rajast'han. He erected forts at Bhadratoon, on the hill of Bheemlode, near Sewanoh, at Goondoche, at Reeah, Peepar, and Dhoonara. He made the Koondulkote at Sewanoh, and greatly added to that of Filodi, first made by Hamira Nirawut. He also erected that bastion in Gurh Beetli (the citadel of Ajmér) called the Kote-boorj, and showed his skill in hydraulics by the construction of a wheel to bring water into the fort. The chronicler adds, that "by the wealth of Sambur," meaning the resources of this salt lake, he was enabled to accomplish these works, and furnishes a list of the possessions of Jodpoor at this period, which we cannot exclude: Sojut, Sambur, Mairtea, Khatah,

¹ The Yati's roll says Ganga was poisoned; but this is not confirmed by any other authority.

² Mr. Elphinstone apprehended an attack from the Maldotes on his way to Caubul.

Bednore, Ladnoo, Raepoor, Bhadratoon, Nagore, Sewanoh, Lohagurh, Jyulgurh, Bikanér, Beenmahl, Pokurn, Barmair, Kusoli, Rewasso, Jajawur, Jhalore, Baoli, Mular, Nadole, Filodi, Sanchore, Deedwana, Chatsoo, Lowain, Mularna, Deorah, Futtehpoor, Umursir, Khawur, Baniapoor, Tonk, Thoda, Ajmér, Jehajpoor and Pramarc-a-Oodipoor (in Shekhavati); in all thirty-eight districts, several of which, as Jhalore, Ajmér, Tonk, Thoda and Bednore, comprehended each three hundred and sixty townships, and there were none which did not number eighty. But of those enumerated in Dhoondar, as Chatsoo, Lowain, Tonk, Thoda, and Jehajpoor in Méwar, the possession was but transient; and although Bednore, and its three hundred and sixty townships, were peopled by Rahtores, they were the descendants of the Mairteas under Jeimul, who became one of the great vassals of Méwar, and would, in its defence, at all times draw their swords against the land which gave them birth.¹ This branch of the house of Joda had for some time been too powerful for subjects, and Mairtea was resumed. To this act Méwar was indebted for the services of this heroic chief. At the same time, the growing power of others of the great vassalage of Marwar was checked by resumptions, when Jyturun from the Oodawuts, and several other fiefs, were added to the fisc. The feudal allotments had never been regulated, but went on increasing with the energies of the state, and the progeny of its princes, each having on his birth an appenage assigned to him, until the whole land of Maroo was split into innumerable portions. Maldeo saw the necessity for checking this subdivision, and he created a gradation of ranks, and established its perpetuity in certain branches of the sons of Rinnull and Joda, which has never been altered.

Ten years of undisturbed possession were granted Maldeo to perfect his designs, ere his cares were diverted from these to his own defence. Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, was dead, and his son and successor had been driven from his newly-conquered throne by his provincial lieutenant, Shere Shah: so rapidly do revolutions crowd upon each other where the sword is the universal arbitrator. We have elsewhere related that the fugitive monarch sought the protection of Maldeo, and we stigmatised his conduct as unnational; but we omitted to state that Maldeo, then heir-apparent, lost his eldest, perhaps then only son Raemul in the battle of Biana, who led the aid of Marwar on that memorable day, and consequently the name of Chagitai, whether in fortune or in flight, had no great claims to his regard. But little did Maldeo dream how closely the fortunes of his house would be linked with those of the fugitive Hemayoon, and that the infant Akber, born in this emergency, was destined to revenge this breach of hospitality. Still less could the proud Rahtore, who traced his ancestry on the throne of Canouj one thousand years before the birth of the "barbarian" of Ferghana, deem it within the range of probability, that he should receive honours at such hands, or that the first title of *Raja*, *Rajeswar*, or 'rāja, lord of rajas,' would be conferred on his own son by this infant, then rearing amidst the sand-hills at the extremity of his desert dominion! It is curious to indulge in the speculative inquiry, whether, when the great Akber girded Oodi Sing, with the sword of honour, and marked his forehead with the

¹ Such is the Rajpoot's notion of *swamidherma*, or "fidelity to him whose salt they eat," their immediate lord, even against their king.

unguent of Raka-shah, he brought to mind the conduct of Maldeo, which doomed his birth to take place in the dismal castle of Amerkote, instead of in the splendid halls of Dehli.

Maldeo derived no advantage from his inhospitality ; for whether the usurper deemed his exertions insufficient to secure the royal fugitive, or felt his own power insecure with so potent a neighbour, he led an army of eighty thousand men into Marwar. Maldeo allowed them to advance, and formed an army of fifty thousand Rajpoots to oppose him. The judgment and caution he exercised were so great, that Shere Shah, well versed in the art of war was obliged to fortify his camp at every step. Instead of an easy conquest, he soon repented of his rashness when the admirable dispositions of the Rajpoots made him dread an action, and from a position whence he found it impossible to retreat. For a month the armies lay in sight of each other, every day the king's situation becoming more critical, and from which he saw not the slightest chance of extrication. In this exigence he had recourse to one of those stratagems which have often operated successfully on the Rajpoot, by sowing distrust in his mind as to the fidelity of his vassals. He penned a letter, as if in correspondence with them, which he contrived to have dropped, as by accident, by a messenger sent to negotiate. Perhaps the severity of the resumptions of estates seconded this scheme of Shere Shah ; for when the stipulated period for the attack had arrived, the raja countermanded it. The reasons for this conduct, when success was apparent, were soon propagated ; when one or two of the great leaders, in order to demonstrate their groundlessness, gave an instance of that devotion with which the annals of these states abound. At the head of twelve thousand, they attacked and forced the imperial entrenched camp, carrying destruction even to the quarters of the emperor ; but multitudes prevailed, and the patriotic clans were almost annihilated. Maldeo, when too late, saw through the stratagem which had made him doubt the loyalty of his vassals. Superstition and the reproaches of his chieftains for his unworthy suspicions, did the rest ; and this first *levée en masse* of the descendants of Séôji, arrayed in defence of their national liberties, was defeated. With justice did the usurper pay homage to their gallantry, when he exclaimed, on his deliverance from this peril, "he had nearly lost the empire of Hindust'han for a handful of barley." ¹

Maldeo was destined to outlive the Shereshahi dynasty, and to see the imperial crown of India once more encircle the brows of the fugitive Hemayoon.² It had been well for the Rakhores had his years been lengthened ; for his mild disposition and natural indolence of character gave them some chance that these qualities would be their best advocate. But he did not long survive the restoration. Whether the mother of his successor, prince Akber, not yet fifteen, stimulated by the recollection of her misfortunes, nursed his young animosity against Maldeo for the miseries of Amerkote, or whether it was merely an act of cautionary policy to curb the Rajpoot power, which was inconsistent with his own,

¹ In allusion to the poverty of the soil, as unfitted to produce richer grains.

² There is a biographical account of this monarch, during his exile in Persia, written by his *abdâr*, or 'cup-bearer,' in the library of Major W. Yule, of Edinburgh, and which, when translated, will complete the series of biography of the members of the house of Timour.

in S. 1617 (A.D. 1561) he invaded Marwar, and laid siege to Malakote or Mairtea, which he took after an obstinate and sanguinary defence, part of the garrison cutting their way through his host, and making good their retreat to their prince. The important castle of Nagore was also captured; and both these strongholds and their lands were conferred by Akber on the younger branch of the family, Rae Sing, prince of Bfkanér, now established in independence of the parent state, Jodpoor.

In 1625 (A.D. 1569), Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and in conformity with the times, sent his second son, Chundersén, with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmér, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but Akber was so dissatisfied with the disdainful bearing of the desert king, who refused personally to pay his court, that he not only guaranteed the free possession of Bfkanér to Rae Sing, but presented him with the *firmán* for Jodpoor itself, with supremacy over his race. Chundersén appears to have possessed all the native pride of the Rahtore, and to have been prepared to contest his country's independence, in spite of Akber and the claims of his elder brother, Oodi Sing, who eventually was more supple in ingratiating himself into the monarch's favour. At the close of life, the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after a brave but fruitless resistance, was obliged to yield homage, and pay it in the person of his son Oodi Sing, who, attending with a contingent, was enrolled amongst the commanders of 'one thousand'; and shortly after was invested with the title of *Moota Raja*, or 'the fat Raja,' by which epithet alone he is designated in the annals of that period.

Chundersén, with a considerable number of the brave vassals of Maroo, determined to cling to independence and the rude fare of the desert, rather than servilely follow in the train of the despot. When driven from Jodpoor, they took post in Sewanoh, in the western extremity of the state, and there held out to the death. For seventeen years he maintained his title to the *gadi*, and divided the allegiance of the Rahtores with his elder brother Oodi Sing (though supported by the king), and stood the storm in which he nobly fell, leaving three sons, Oogursén, Aiskurn, and Rae Sing, who fought a duel with Rao Soortan, of Sirohi, and was slain, with twenty-four of his chiefs,¹ near the town of Duttani.

Maldeo, though he submitted to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor, was at least spared the degradation of seeing a daughter of his blood bestowed upon the opponent of his faith; he died soon after the title was conferred on his son, which sealed the dependence of Maroo. His latter days were a dismal contrast to those which witnessed his conquests in almost every part of Rajpootana, but he departed from this world in time to preserve his own honour untarnished, with the character of the most valiant and energetic Rajpoot of his time. Could he have added to his years and maintained their ancient vigour, he might, by a junction with Pertáp of Méwar, who single-handed commenced his career just as Maldeo's closed, have maintained Rajpoot independence against the rising power of the Moguls.²

¹ It was fought with a certain number on each side, Rahtores against Deoras, a branch of the Chohans, the two bravest of all the Rajpoot races. It reminds us of some of the duels related by Froissart.

² See Annals of Méwar, p. 266 et seq.

Maldeo, who died S. 1625 (A.D. 1569), had twelve sons :—

1. Ram Sing, who was banished, and found refuge with the Rana of Méwar ; he had seven sons, the fifth of whom, Késoodas, fixed at Chooly Mahéswur.
 2. Raemul, who was killed in the battle of Biana.
 3. Oodi Sing, Raja of Marwar.
 4. Chundersén, by a wife of the Jhala tribe ; had three sons, the eldest, Oogúrsén got BINAI ; he had three sons, Kurrún, Kanji, and Kahun.
 5. Aiskurn ; descendants at Jooneah.
 6. Gopal-das ; killed at Eedur.
 7. Pirthi Raj ; descendants at Jhalore.
 8. Ruttunsi ; descendants at Bhadrajoon.
 9. Bhairaj ; descendants at Ahari.
 10. Bikramajeet
 11. Bhan
 12. ———
- } No notice of them.

CHAPTER IV

Altered conditions of the Princes of Marwar—Installation of Raja Oodi Sing—

Not acknowledged by the most powerful clans until the death of Chundersén—Historical retrospect—The three chief epochs of Marwar history, from the conquest to its dependence on the empire—Order of succession changed, with change of capital, in Méwar, Amér, and Marwar—Branches to which the succession is confined—Dangers of mistaking these—Examples—Joda regulates the fiefs—The eight great nobles of Marwar—These regulations maintained by Maldeo, who added to the secondary fiefs—Fiefs perpetuated in the elder branches—The brothers and sons of Joda—Various descriptions of fiefs—Antiquity of the Rajpoot feudal system—Akber maintains it—Paternity of the Rajpoot sovereigns not a fiction, as in Europe—The lowest Rajpoot claims kindred with the sovereign—The name Oodi Sing fatal to Rajpootana—Bestows his sister Jod Baé on Akber—Advantages to the Rahtores of this marriage—Numerous progeny of Oodi Sing—Establishes the fiefs of Govingurh and Pisangurh—Kishengurh and Rutlam—Remarkable death of Raja Oodi Sing—Anecdotes—Issue of Oodi Sing—Table of descent.

THE death of Maldeo formed an important epoch in the annals of the Rahtores. Up to this period, the will had waited upon the wish of the gallant descendants of Sevá ; but now the vassals of Maroo acknowledged one mightier than they. The banner of the empire floated pre-eminent over the '*panchranga*,' the five-coloured flag, which had led the Rahtores from victory to victory, and waved from the sandhills of Amerkote to the salt-lake of Sambhur ; from the desert bordering the Garah to the peaks of the Aravulli. Henceforward, the Rahtore princes had, by their actions or subservience, to ascend by degrees the steps to royal favour. They were required to maintain a contingent of their proud vassals, headed by the heir, to serve at the Mogul's pleasure. Their deeds won them, not ignobly, the grace of the imperial court ; but had slavish submission been the sole path to elevation, the Rahtore princes would never have attained a grade beyond the first '*munsab*,' conferred on Oodi Sing. Yet

though streams of wealth enriched the barren plains of Maroo ; although a portion of the spoils of Golconda and Bccjipoor augmented its treasures, decorated its palaces, and embellished its edifices and mausoleums ; although the desert kings took the ' right hand ' of all the feudality of Hind, whether indigenous or foreign—a feudal assemblage of no less than seventy-six petty kingdoms—yet the Rahtore felt the sense of his now degraded condition, and it often burst forth even in the presence of the suzerain.

Maldeo's death occurred in S. 1625 ; but the chronicles do not admit of Oodi Sing's elevation until the death of his brother Chundersén, from which period we may reckon that he was, though junior, the choice both of his father and the nobles, who did not approve of Oodi Sing's submission to Akber. In fact, the Raja led the royal forces against the most powerful of his vassals, and resumed almost all the possessions of the Mairteas, and weakened the others.

Before we proceed to trace the course pursued by Oodi Sing, who was seated upon the cushion of Maldeo in S. 1640 (A.D. 1584), let us cast a short retrospect over the annals of Maroo, since the migration of the grandson of the potentate of Canouj, which, compared with the ample page of western history, present little more than a chronicle of hard names, though not destitute of facts interesting to political science.

In the table before the reader, aided by the explanations in the text, he will see the whole process of the conquest, peopling, and settlement of an extensive region, with its partition or allotments amongst an innumerable *frèrage* (*bhyâd*), whose children continue to hold them as vassals of their king and brother, the descendant of their mutual ancestor Sévaji.

We may divide the annals of Marwar, from the migration of Sévaji from Canouj to the accession of Oodi Sing, into three distinct epochs :

1. From the settlement of Séôji in the land of Khér, in A.D. 1212, to the conquest of Mundore by Chonda, in A.D. 1381.
2. From the conquest of Mundore to the founding of Jodpoor, in A.D. 1459 ; and
3. From the founding of Jodpoor to the accession of Oodi Sing, in A.D. 1584, when the Rahtores acknowledged the supremacy of the empire.

The two first epochs were occupied in the subjugation of the western portion of the desert from the ancient allodality ; nor was it until Chonda conquered Mundore, on the decline of the Chohans of the east, that the fertile lands on either side of the Looni were formed into fiefs for the children of Rinnull and Joda. A change of capital with the Rajpoot is always productive of change in the internal organisation of the state ; and not unfrequently the race changes its appellation with its capital. The foundation of Jodpoor was a new era, and henceforth the throne of Maroo could only be occupied by the tribe of Joda, and from branches not constituting the vassals of the crown, who were cut off from succession. This is a peculiar feature in Rajpoot policy, and is common to the whole race, as will be hereafter more distinctly pointed out in the annals of Ajmér.

Joda, with all the ambition of the founder of a state, gave a new form to the feudal institutions of his country. Necessity, combined with pride, led him to promulgate a statute of limitation of the sub-infeudations of Maroo. The immense progeny of his father Rinnull, twenty-four sons, and his own, of fourteen, almost all of whom had numerous issue, rendered

it requisite to fix the number and extent of the fiefs ; and amongst them, henceforward constituting permanently the *frèrage* of Maroo, the lands were partitioned, Kandul having emigrated and established his own numerous issue, the Kandulotes, in Bikanér. The two brothers next to Joda, namely, Champa and Koompa, with his two sons, Doodo and Kurmsi, and his grandson, Oodoh, were declared the heads of the feudal association under their names, the Champawuts, Kampawuts, Mairteas (sons of Doodo), Kurmsotes, and Oodawuts, continue to be "the pillars of Maroo." Eight great estates, called the *aght thacooratt*, or 'eight lordships' of Marwar, each of the nominal annual value of fifty thousand rupees (£5000), were settled on these persons, and their immense influence has obtained many others for younger branches of their clans. The title of the first noble of Maroo was given to Champa and his issue, who have often made its princes tremble on their thrones. Besides these, inferior appanages were settled on the junior branches, brothers, sons, and grandsons of Joda, which were also deemed hereditary and irresumable ; to use their own phrase, their *bat'h*,¹ or 'allotment,' to which they consider their title as sacred as that of their prince to his throne, of whom they say, "When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord, when not, we are again his brothers and kin, claimants, and laying claim to the land."²

Rao Maldeo confirmed this division of Joda, though he increased the secondary fiefs, and as the boundaries of Marwar were completed in his reign, it was essentially necessary to confirm the limitation. The feudal states of Marwar are, therefore, perpetuated in the offspring of the princes from Joda to Maldeo, and a distinction exists between them and those subsequently conferred ; the first, being obtained by conquest, are deemed irrevocable, and must be perpetuated by adoption on the failure of lineal issue ; whereas the other may, on lapses, be resumed and added to the fisc whence it emanated. The fiscal domain of the Rajpoot princes cannot, says their traditionary lore, be alienated for more than a life-interest ; but this wise rule, though visible in anecdotes of past days, has been infringed with their general disorganisation. These instances, it may be asserted, afford the distinctions of allodial and feudal lands. Of the numerous clans, the issue of Séôji to Joda, which are spread over the northern and western parts of the state, some, partly from the difficulty of their position, partly from a feeling of respect to their remote ancestry, enjoy almost entire independence. Yet they recognise the prince of Maroo as their liege lord when his crown is endangered, and render homage on his accession or any great family event. These clans hold without grant or fine, and may properly be called the allodial chieftains. Of this number we may enumerate the lordships of Barmair, Kotorah, Seo, Phulsoond, etc. Others there are who, though less independent, may also be styled the allodality of Marwar, who are to furnish their quotas when demanded, and perform personal homage on all great days of re-joining ; of these are Mehwo, Sindri, etc. The ancient clans scattered over the land, or serving the more modern chieftains, are recognised by their patronymic distinctions, by those versed in the chronicles ; though

¹ From *batna*, 'to divide, to partition.'

² See the remonstrance of the vassal descendants of these chiefs, expelled their patrimony by their prince, to the English enemy, vol. i. p. 160.

many hear the names of Doohurca, Mangulea, Oohur, and Dhandul, without knowing them to be Rahtore. The mystic page of the bard is always consulted previous to any marriage, in order to prevent a violation of the matrimonial canons of the Rajpoots, which are stricter than the Mosaic, and this keeps up the knowledge of the various branches of their own and other races, which would otherwise perish.

Whatever term may be applied to these institutions of a martial race, and which for the sake of being more readily understood we have elsewhere called, and shall continue to designate, 'feudal,' we have not a shadow of doubt that they were common to the Rajpoot races from the remotest ages, and that Séôji conveyed them from the seat of his ancestors, Canouj. A finer picture does not exist of the splendour of a feudal array than the camp of its last monarch, Jeichund, in the contest with the Chohan. The annals of each and every state bear evidence to a system strictly parallel to that of Europe; more especially Méwar, where, thirteen hundred years ago, we see the entire feudatories of the state throwing up their grants, giving their liege lord defiance, and threatening him with their vengeance. Yet, having 'eaten his salt,' they forebore to proceed to hostilities till a whole year had elapsed, at the expiration of which they deposed him.¹ Akber, who was partial to Hindu institutions, borrowed much from them, in all that concerned his own regulations.

In contrasting these customs with analogous ones in the west, the reader should never lose sight of one point, which must influence the analogy, namely, the patriarchal form which characterises the feudal system in all countries; and as, amongst the Rajpoots, all their vassalage is of their own kin and blood (save a slight mixture of foreign nobles as a counterpoise), the *paternity* of the sovereign is no fiction, as in Europe; so that from the son of Champa, who takes the right hand of his prince, to the meanest vassal, who serves merely for his '*paiti*'² (rations), all are linked by the tie of consanguinity, of which it is difficult to say whether it is most productive of evil or good, since it has afforded examples as brilliant and as dark as any in the history of mankind. The devotion which made twelve thousand, out of the fifty thousand, "sons of Joda," prove their fidelity to Maldeo, has often been emulated even to the present day.

The chronicles, as before stated, are at variance with regard to the accession of Oodi Sing: some date it from the death of Maldeo, in S. 1625 (A.D. 1569); others from that of his elder brother Chundersén, slain in the storm of Sewanoh. The name of Oodi appears one of evil portent in the annals of Rajast'han.³ While "Oodi, the fat," was inhaling the breeze of imperial power, which spread a haze of prosperity over Maroo, Pertáp of Méwar, the idol of the Rajpoots, was enduring every hardship in the attempt to work out his country's independence, which had been sacrificed by his father, Oodi Sing. In this he failed, but he left a name hallowed in the hearts of his countrymen, and immortalised in the imperishable verse of the bard.

¹ See vol. i. p. 186.

² Literally, 'a bellyful.'

³ Instead of being, as it imports, the "ascending"¹ it should for ever, in both the houses of Maroo and Méwar, signify "setting"; the pusillanimity of the one sunk Méwar, that of the other Marwar.

¹ *Oodya*, in Sanscrit (*Oodi*, in the dialect), is tantamount to *Oriens*, the point of rising:—*ex. Udyáḍita*, 'the rising sun.'

On the union of the imperial house with that of Jodpoor, by the marriage of Jod Baé to Akber, the emperor not only restored all the possessions he had wrested from Marwar, with the exception of Ajmér, but several rich districts in Malwa, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own fiscal domain. With the aid of his imperial brother-in-law, he greatly diminished the power of the feudal aristocracy, and clipped the wings of almost all the greater vassals, while he made numerous sequestrations of the lands of the ancient allodiality and lesser vassals ; so that it is stated, that, either by new settlement or confiscation, he added fourteen hundred villages to the fisc. He resumed almost all the lands of the sons of Doodoh, who, from their abode, were termed *Mairtea* ; took Jaitarun from the Oodawuts, and other towns of less note from the sons of Champa and Koompó.

Oodi Sing was not ungrateful for the favours heaped upon him by the emperor, for whom his Rahtores performed many signal services : for the raja was latterly too unwieldy for any steed to bear him to battle. The 'king of the Desert' (the familiar epithet applied to him by Akber) had a numerous progeny ; no less than thirty-four legitimate sons and daughters, who added new clans and new estates to the feudal association of Maroo : of these the most conspicuous are Govingurh and Pisangurh ; while some obtained settlements beyond its limits which became independent and bear the name of the founders. Of these are Kishengúrth and Rutlam in Malwa.

Oodi Sing died thirteen years after his inauguration on the cushion of Joda, and thirty-three after the death of Maldeo. The manner of his death, as related in the biographical sketches termed '*Khéât*,' affords such a specimen of superstition and of Rajpoot manners that it would be improper to omit it. The narrative is preceded by some reflections on the moral education of the Rahtore princes, and the wise restraints imposed upon them under the vigilant control of chiefs of approved worth and fidelity ; so that, to use the words of the text, "they often passed their twentieth year, ignorant of woman." If the 'fat raja' had ever known this moral restraint, in his riper years he forgot it ; for although he had no less than twenty-seven queens, he cast the eye of desire on the virgin-daughter of a subject, and that subject a Brahmin.

It was on the raja's return from court to his native land, that he beheld the damsel, and he determined, notwithstanding the sacred character of her father and his own obligations as the dispenser of law and justice, to enjoy the object of his admiration. The Brahmin was an '*Ayá-punti*,' or votary of *Ayá-Matá*, whose shrine is at Bai-Bhilára. These sectarians of Maroo, very different from the abstinent Brahmins of Bengal, eat flesh, drink wine, and share in all the common enjoyments of life with the martial spirits around them. Whether the scruples of the daughter were likely to be easily overcome by her royal tempter, or whether the raja threatened force, the '*Khéât*' does not inform us ; but as there was no other course by which the father could save her from pollution but by her death, he resolved to make it one of vengeance and horror. He dug a sacrificial pit, and having slain his daughter, cut her into fragments, and mingling therewith pieces of flesh from his own person, made the '*homa*,' or burnt sacrifice to Aya Mata, and as the smoke and flames ascended he pronounced an imprecation on the raja : "Let peace be a stranger to him !

and in three pahars,¹ three days, and three years, let me have revenge ! ” Then exclaiming, “ My future dwelling is the *Dabi Baori* ! ” sprung into the flaming pit. The horrid tale was related to the raja, whose imagination was haunted by the shade of the Brahmin ; and he expired at the assigned period, a prey to unceasing remorse.

Superstition is sometimes made available for moral ends ; and the shade of the *Ayá-punti* Brahmin of Bhilara has been evoked, in subsequent ages, to restrain and lead unto virtue libidinous princes, when all other control has been unavailing. The celebrated Jeswunt Sing, the great grandson of Oodi, had an amour with the daughter of one of his civil officers, and which he carried on at the *Dabi Baori*.² But the avenging ghost of the Brahmin interposed between him and his wishes. A dreadful struggle ensued, in which Jeswunt lost his senses, and no effort could banish the impression from his mind. The ghost persecuted his fancy, and he was generally believed to be possessed with a wicked spirit, which, when exorcised, was made to say he would only depart on the self-sacrifice of a chief equal in dignity to Jeswunt. Nahur Khan, ‘ the tiger lord,’ chief of the Koompawut clan, who led the van in all his battles, immediately offered his head in expiation for his prince ; and he had no sooner expressed this loyal determination, than the holy men who exorcised the spirit, caused it to descend into a vessel of water, and having waved it thrice round his head, they presented it to Nahur Khan who drank it off, and Jeswunt’s senses were instantly restored. This miraculous transfer of the ghost is implicitly believed by every chief of Rajast’han, by whom Nahur was called ‘ the faithful of the faithful.’ Previous to dying, he called his son, and imposed on him and his descendants, by the solemnity of an oath, the abjuration of the office of *Purdhan*, or hereditary premier of Marwar, whose dignity involved such a sacrifice ; and from that day, the Champawuts of Ahwa succeeded the Koompawuts of Asope, who renounced the first seat on the right for that on the left of their princes.

We shall conclude the reign of Oodi Sing with the register of his issue from ‘ the Book of Kings.’ It is by no means an unimportant document to such as are interested in these singular communities, and essentially useful to those who are called upon to interfere in their national concerns. Here we see the affinities of the branch (*sac’ha*) to the parent tree, which in one short century has shaded the whole land ; and to which the independents of Kishengurh, Roopnagurh, and Rutlam, as well as the feudal chiefs of Govingurh, Khyrwa, and Pisangurh, all issues from Oodi Sing, look for protection.

Issue of Raja Oodi Sing :—

1. Soor Sing, succeeded.
 2. Akhiraj.
 3. Bugwandas ; had issue Bullo, Gopaldas, Govindas, who founded Govingurh.
 4. Nururdas
 5. Sukut Sing
 6. Bhoput
- } had no issue attaining eminence.

¹ A pahar is a watch of the day, about three hours.

² A reservoir excavated by one of the Dabi tribe.

7. Dilput had four sons ; 1, Muhesdas, whose son, Rutna, founded Rutlam ;¹ 2, Jeswunt Sing ; 3, Pertáp Sing ; 4, Kunirain.
8. Jaet had four sons ; 1, Hur Sing ; 2, Umra ; 3, Kunniram ; 4, Praimraj, whose descendants held lands in the tract called Bullati and Khyrwa.
9. Kishen, in S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), founded Kishengurh ; he had three sons, Schesmul, Jugmul, Bharmul, who had Hari Sing, who had Roop Sing, who founded Roopnagurh.
10. Jeswunt, his son Maun founded Manpoora, his issue called Manpoora Joda.
11. Kesoo founded Pisangurh.
12. Ramdas.
13. Poorunmul.
14. Madoodas.
15. Mohundas.
16. Keerut Sing.
17. ———

} No mention of them.

And seventeen daughters not registered in the chronicle.

CHAPTER V

Accession of Raja Soor—His military talents obtain him honours—Reduces Rao Soortan of Sirohi—Commands against the King of Guzzerat—Battle of Dhundoca gained by the Raja—Wealth and honours acquired—Gifts to the bards—Commanded against Umra Balécha—Battle of the Rewa—Slays the Chohan—Fresh honours—Raja Soor and his son Guj Sing attend the court of Jéhangir—The heir of Marwar invested with the sword by the Emperor's own hands—Escalade of Jhalore—Raja Guj attends Prince Khoorm against the Rana of Méwar—Death of Raja Soor—Maledictory pillar erected on the Nerbudda—The Rahtore chiefs' dissatisfaction at their long detention from their native land—Raja Soor embellishes Jodpoor—His issue—Accession of Raja Guj—Invested with the Rajaship of Boorhanpoor—Made Viceroy of the Dekhan—The compliment paid to his contingent—His various actions—Receives the title of *Dul'hūma*, or 'barrier of the host'—Causes of Rajpoot influence on the Imperial succession—The Sultans Purvéz and Khoorm, sons of Rajpoot Princesses—Intrigues of the Queens to secure the succession to their immediate offspring—Prince Khoorm plots against his brother—Endeavours to gain Raja Guj, but fails—The Prince causes the chief adviser of Raja Guj to be assassinated—Raja Guj quits the royal army—Prince Khoorm assassinates his brother Purvéz—Proceeds to depose his father Jéhangir, who appeals to the fidelity of the Rajpoot Princes—They rally round the throne, and encounter the rebel army near Benares—The Emperor slights the Rahtore Prince, which proves nearly fatal to his cause—The rebels defeated—Flight of Prince Khoorm—Raja Guj slain on the Guzzerat frontier—His second son, Raja Jeswunt, succeeds—Reasons for occasional departure from the rules of primogeniture amongst the Rajpoots—Umra, the elder, excluded the succession—Sentence of banishment pronounced against him—Ceremony of *Des-vatoh*, or 'exile,' described—Umra repairs to the Mogul court—Honours conferred upon him—His tragical death.

SOOR SING succeeded in S. 1651 (A.D. 1595). He was serving with the Imperial forces at Lahore, where he had commanded since S. 1648, when

¹ Rutlam, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, are independent, and all under the separate protection of the British Government.

intelligence reached him of his father's death. His exploits and services were of the most brilliant nature, and had obtained for him, even during his father's life, the title of 'Sowae Raja,' and a high grade amongst the dignitaries of the empire. He was commanded by Akber to reduce the arrogant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to the natural strength of his mountainous country, still refused to acknowledge a liege lord. This service well accorded with his private views, for he had a feud (*wér*) with Rao Soortan, which, according to the chronicle, he completely revenged. "He avenged his feud with Soortan and plundered Sirohi. The Rao had not a pallet left to sleep upon, but was obliged to make a bed for his wives upon the earth." This appears to have humbled the Deora, "who, in his pride, shot his arrows at the sun for daring to shine upon him." Soortan accepted the imperial firman in token of submission, and agreed to serve with a contingent of his hardy clansmen in the war then entrusted to Raja Soor against the king of Guzzerat, whose success we shall relate in the simple language of the chronicle:—"The Raja took the *pán* against the king Mozuffur, with the title of viceroy of Guzzerat. The armies met at Dhundoca, where a terrible conflict ensued. The Rahtores lost many valiant men, but the Shah was defeated, and lost all the insignia of his greatness. He sent the spoil of seventeen thousand towns to the king, but kept a crore of *dribs* for himself, which he sent to Jodpoor, and therewith he enlarged the town and fort. For this service Akber increased his *munsab*, and sent him a sword, with a khelat, and a grant of fresh lands."

Raja Soor, it appears in the sequel, provided liberally for the bards; for no less than 'six lords of verse,' whose names are given, had in gift £10,000 each of the spoils of Guzzerat, as incentives to song.

On the conquest of Guzzerat, Raja Soor was ordered to the Dekhan. "He obeyed, and with thirteen thousand horse, ten large guns, and twenty elephants, he fought three grand battles. On the Rewa (Nerbudda) he attacked Umra Balécha,¹ who had five thousand horse, whom he slew, and and reduced all his country. For this service the king sent him a *nobut* (kettle-drum), and conferred on him Dhar and its domain."

On Akber's death and the accession of Jéhangír, Soor Sing attended at court with his son and heir, Guj Sing, whom the king with his own hands invested with the sword, for his bravery in the escalade of Jhalore, which had been conquered by the monarch of Guzzerat and added to his domain. The poet thus relates the event: "Guj² was commanded against Behari Pat'han; his war-trump sounded; Arabúdhá heard and trembled. What took Alla-o-dín years, Guj accomplished in three months; he escalated Jhalindra³ sword in hand; many a Rahtore of fame was killed, but he put to the sword seven thousand Pat'hans, whose spoils were sent to the king."

Raja Soor, it would appear, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Guzzerat, remained at the capital, while his son and heir, Guj Sing, attended the king's commands, and, soon after the taking of Jhalore, was ordered with the Marwar contingent against Rana Umra of Méwar: it was at the very moment of its expiring liberties,⁴ for the chronicle merely

¹ Balécha is one of the Chohan tribes.

² *Guj*, 'the elephant.'

³ Classical appellation of Jhalore.

⁴ The chronicle says, "In S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), the king formed an army against the Rana"; which accords exactly with the date in the emperor's own memoirs.

adds, "Kurrun agreed to serve the king, and Guj Sing returned to Tarragurh.¹ The king increased both his own *munsab* (dignity) and that of his father, Raja Soor."

Thus the Rajpoot chronicler, solicitous only to record the fame of his own princes, does not deem it necessary to concern himself with the agents conjoined with them, so that a stranger to the events of the period would imagine, from the high relief given to their actions, that the Rahtore princes commanded in all the great events described; for instance, that just mentioned, involving the submission of the Rana, when Raja Guj was merely one of the great leaders who accompanied the Moghul heir-apparent, Prince Khoorm, on this memorable occasion. In the Diary of Jéhangir, the emperor, recording this event, does not even mention the Rahtore prince, though he does those of Kotah and Duttea, as the instruments by which Prince Khoorm carried on the negotiation;² from which we conclude that Raja Guj merely acted a military part in the grand army which then invaded Méwar.

Raja Soor died in the Dekhan, in S. 1676 (A.D. 1620). He added greatly to the lustre of the Rahtore name, was esteemed by the emperor, and, as the bard expresses it, "His spear was frightful to the Southron." Whether Raja Soor disapproved of the exterminating warfare carried on in these regions, or was exasperated at the unlimited service he was doomed to, which detained him from his native land, he, in his last moments, commanded a pillar to be erected with a curse engraven thereon, imprecated upon any of his race who should once cross the Nerbudda. From his boyhood he had been almost an alien to his native land: he had accompanied his father wherever he led the aid of Maroo, was serving at Lahore at the period of his accession, and died far from the monuments of his fathers, in the heart of the peninsula. Although the emperor was not ungrateful in his estimate of these services,—for Raja Soor held by patent no less than "sixteen grand fiefs"³ of the empire, and with the title of *Sowâe* raised above all the princes, his associates at court,—it was deemed no compensation for perpetual absence from the hereditary domain, thus abandoned to the management of servants. The great vassals, his clansmen, participated in this dissatisfaction, separated from their wives, families, and estates; for to them the pomp of imperial greatness, or the sunshine of court-favour, was as nothing when weighed against the exercise of their influence within their own cherished patrimony. The simple fare of the desert was dearer to the Rahtore than all the luxuries of the imperial banquet, which he turned from with disgust to the recollection of 'the green pulse of Mundawur,' or his favourite *rabri*, or 'maize porridge,' the prime dish with the Rahtore. These minor associations conjoined with greater evils to increase the *mal de pays*, of whose influence no human being is more susceptible than the brave Rajpoot.

Raja Soor greatly added to the beauty of his capital, and left several

¹ Ajmér, of which the citadel is styled Tarragurh.

² See Annals of Méwar, vol. i. p. 286.

³ Of these, nine were the subdivisions of his native dominions, styled "The Nine Castles of Maroo"; for on becoming one of the great feudatories of the empire, he made a formal surrender of these, receiving them again by grant, renewed on every lapse, with all the ceremonies of investiture and relief. Five were in Guzzerat, one in Malwa, and one in the Dekhan. We see that thirteen thousand horse was the contingent of Marwar for the lands thus held.

works which bear his name ; amongst them, not the least useful in that arid region, is the lake called the *Soor Sagur*, or 'Warrior's Sea,' which irrigates the gardens on its margin. He left six sons and seven daughters, of whose issue we have no account, namely, Guj Sing, his successor ; Subhul Sing, Beerumdeo, Beejy Sing, Pertáp Sing, and Jeswunt Sing.

Raja Guj, who succeeded his father in A.D. 1620, was born at Lahore, and the *teeka* of investiture found him in the royal camp at Boorhanpoor. The bearer of it was Darab Khan, the son of the khankhanan, or premier noble of the emperor's court, who, as the imperial proxy, girt Raja Guj with the sword. Besides the 'nine castles' (*Nokotée Marwar*), his patrimony, his patent contained a grant of 'seven divisions' of Guzzerat, of the district of Jhulaye in Dhoondár ; and what was of more consequence to him, though of less intrinsic value, that of Musáoda in Ajmér, the heir-loom of his house. Besides these marks of distinction, he received the highest proof of confidence in the elevated post of viceroy of the Dekhan ; and, as a special testimony of imperial favour, the Rahtore cavaliers composing his contingent were exempted from the *dag'h*, that is, having their steeds branded with the imperial signet. His elder son, Umra Sing, served with his father in all his various battles, to the success of which his conspicuous gallantry on every occasion contributed. In the sieges and battles of Kirkigurh, Golconda, Kelena, Pernala, Gujungurh, Asair and Satarra, the Rahtores had their full share of glory, which obtained for their leader the title of *Dul'humna*, or 'barrier of the host.' We have already¹ remarked the direct influence which the Rajpoot princes had in the succession to the imperial dignity, consequent upon the intermarriage of their daughters with the crown, and the various interests arising therefrom. Sultan Purvéz, the elder son and heir of Jéhangír, was the issue of a princess of Marwar, while the second son, Khoorm, as his name imports, was the son of a Cuchwaha² princess of Ambér. Being the offspring of polygamy, and variously educated, these princes were little disposed to consider consanguinity as a bond of natural union ; and their respective mothers, with all the ambition of their race, thought of nothing but obtaining the diadem for the head of their children. With either of these rival queens, the royal children who were not her own, had no affinity with her or hers, and these feelings were imparted from the birth to their issue, and thus it too often happened that the heir of the throne was looked upon with an envious eye, as a bar to be removed at all hazards. This evil almost neutralised the great advantages derived from intermarriage with the indigenous races of India ; but it was one which would have ceased with polygamy. Khoorm felt his superiority over his elder brother, Purvéz, in all but the accidental circumstance of birth. He was in every respect a better man, and a braver and more successful soldier ; and, having his ambition thus early nurtured by the stimulants administered by Bheem of Méwar, and the intrepid Mohabet,³ he determined to remove this barrier between him and the crown. His views were first developed whilst leading the armies in the Dekhan, and he communicated them to Raja Guj of Marwar, who held the post of honour next the prince, and solicited his aid to place him on the

¹ See vol. i. p. 297.

² *Cuchwa* and *Khoorm* are synonymous terms for the race which rules Ambér—the *Tortoises* of Rajast'han.

³ A Rajpoot of the Rana's house, converted to the *faith*.

throne. Gratitude for the favours heaped upon him by the king, as well as the natural bias to Purvéz, made the Raja turn a deaf ear to his application. The prince tried to gain his point through Govindas, a Rajpoot of the Bhatti tribe, one of the foreign nobles of Maroo, and confidential adviser of his prince; but, as the annals say, "Govindas reckoned no one but his, master and the king." Frustrated in this, Khoorm saw no hopes of success but by disgusting the Rahtores, and he caused the faithful Govindas to be assassinated by Kishen Sing;¹ on which Raja Guj, in disgust, threw up his post, and marched to his native land. From the assassination of Purvéz, which soon followed, the deposal of his father appeared but a step; and Khoorm had collected means, which he deemed adequate to the design, when Jéhangír appealed to the fidelity of the Rajpoots, to support him against filial ingratitude and domestic treason; and, in their general obedience to the call, they afforded a distinguished proof of the operation of the first principle, *Gadi-ca-án*, allegiance to the throne, often obeyed without reference to the worth of its occupant. The princes of Marwar, Ambér, Kotah, and Boondí put themselves at the head of their household retainers on this occasion, which furnishes a confirmation of a remark already made, that the respective annals of the states of Rajast'han so rarely embrace the contemporaneous events of the rest, as to lead to the conclusion that by the single force of each state this rebellion was put down. This remark will be further exemplified from the annals of Boondí.

Jéhangír was so pleased with the zeal of the Rahtore prince—alarmed as he was at the advance of the rebels—that he not only took him by the hand, but what is most unusual, kissed it. When the assembled princes came in sight of the rebels, near Benares, the emperor gave the *herole*, or vanguard, to the Cuchwaha prince, the Mirza raja of Ambér. Whether this was a point of policy, to secure his acting against prince Khoorm, who was born of this race, or merely, as the Marwar annals state, because he brought the greater number into the field, is immaterial; but it was very nearly fatal in its consequences: for the proud Rahtore, indignant at the insult offered to him in thus bestowing the post of honour, which was his right, upon the rival race of Ambér, furlled his banners, separated from the royal army, and determined to be a quiet spectator of the result. But for the impetuous Bheem of Méwar, the adviser of Khoorm, he might that day have been emperor of India. He sent a taunting message to Raj Guj, either to join their cause or "draw their swords." The Rahtores overlooked the neglect of the king in the sarcasm of one of their own tribe; and Bheem was slain, Govindas avenged, the rebellion quelled, and Khoorm put to flight, chiefly by the Rahtores and Hāras.

In S. 1694 (A.D. 1638), Raja Guj was slain in an expedition into Guzzerat; but whether in the fulfilment of the king's commands, or in the chastisement of freebooters on his own southern frontier, the chronicles do not inform us. He left a distinguished name in the annals of his country, and two valiant sons, Umra and Jeswunt, to maintain it: another son, Achil, died in infancy.

The second son, Jeswunt, succeeded, and furnishes another of many

¹ This was the founder of Kishengurh; for this iniquitous service he was made an independent Raja in the town which he erected. His descendant is now an ally by treaty with the British Government.

instances in the annals of Rajpootana, of the rights of primogeniture being set aside. This proceeded from a variety of motives, sometimes merely paternal affection, sometimes incapacity in the child 'to head fifty thousand Rahtores,' and sometimes, as in the present instance, a dangerous turbulence and ever-boiling impetuosity in the individual, which despised all restraints. While there was an enemy against whom to exert it, Umra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father's wars in the south was ever foremost in the battle. His daring spirit collected around him those of his own race, alike in mind, as connected by blood, whose actions, in periods of peace, were the subjects of eternal complaint to his father, who was ultimately compelled to exclude Umra from his inheritance.

In the month of Bysak, S. 1690 (A.D. 1634), five years before the death of Raja Guj, in a convocation of all the feudality of Maroo, sentence of exclusion from the succession was pronounced upon Umra, accompanied by the solemn and seldom practised rite of *Dés-vatoh* or exile. This ceremony, which is marked as a day of mourning in the calendar, was attended with all the circumstances of funeral pomp. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, that his birth-right was forfeited and assigned to his junior brother, and that he ceased to be a subject of Maroo, the *khelat* of banishment was brought forth, consisting of sable vestments, in which he was clad; a sable shield was hung upon his back, and a sword of the same hue girded round him; a black horse was then led out, being mounted on which, he was commanded, though not in anger, to depart whither he listed beyond the limits of Maroo.

Umra went not alone; numbers of each clan, who had always regarded him as their future lord, voluntarily partook of his exile. He repaired to the imperial court; and although the emperor approved and sanctioned his banishment, he employed him. His gallantry soon won him the title of Rao and the *munsib* of a leader of three thousand, with the grant of Nagore as an independent domain, to be held directly from the crown. But the same arrogant and uncontrollable spirit which lost him his birth-right, brought his days to a tragical conclusion. He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jehan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Umra proudly replied, that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed, putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced, determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Sallabut Khan,¹ was sent to Umra's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Syud not suiting the temper of Umra, he unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Umra's instant appearance. He obeyed and having reached the *aum-khás*, or grand divan, beheld the king, "whose eyes were red with anger," with Sallabut in the act of addressing him.

¹ Sallabut Khan Bukshee, he is called. The office of Bukshee is not only one of paymaster (as it implies), but of inspection and audit. We can readily imagine, with such levies as he had to muster and pay, his post was more honourable than secure, especially with such a band as was headed by Umra, ready to take offence if the wind but displaced their moustache. The annals declare that Umra had a feud (*wér*) with Sallabut; doubtless for no better reason than that he fulfilled the trust reposed in him by the emperor.

Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when, with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Sallabut to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartments. All was uproar and confusion. Umra continued the work of death, indifferent upon whom his blows fell, and five Moghul chiefs of eminence had fallen, when his brother-in-law, Urjoon Gore, under pretence of cajoling him, inflicted a mortal wound, though he continued to ply his dagger until he expired. To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Bulloo Champawut and Bhao Khoompawut, put on their *saffron garments*, and a fresh carnage ensued within the *loll kelah*.¹ To use the words of their native bard, "The pillars of Agra bear testimony to their deeds, nor shall they ever be obliterated from the record of time: they made their obeisance to Umra in the mansions of the sun." The faithful band was cut to pieces; and his wife, the princess of Boondi, came in person and carried away the dead body of Umra, with which she committed herself to the flames. The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission, was built up, and henceforward known only as "Umra Sing's gate"; and in proof of the strong impression made by this event,² it remained closed through centuries, until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steell, of the Bengal engineers.³

¹ The palace within the citadel (*kelah*), built of red (*loll*) freestone.

² It may be useful to record such facts, by the way of contrast with the state policy of the west, and for the sake of observing that which would actuate the present paramount power of India should any of its tributary princes defy them as Umra did that of the universal potentate of that country. Even these despots borrowed a lesson of mercy from the Rajpoot system, which does not deem treason hereditary, nor attains a whole line for the fault of one unworthy link. Shah Jehan, instead of visiting the sins of the father on the son, installed him in his fief of Nagore. This son was Rae Sing; and it devolved to his children and grandchildren,¹ until Indur Sing, the fourth in descent, was expelled by the head of the Rahtores, who, in the weakness of the empire, reannexed Nagore to Jodpoor. But perhaps we have not hitherto dared to imitate the examples set us by the Moghul and even by the Mahratta; not having sufficient hold of the affections of the subjected to venture to be merciful; and thence our vengeance, like the bolt of heaven, sears the very heart of our enemies. Witness the many chieftains ejected from their possessions; from the unhallowed league against the Rohillas, to that last act of destruction at Bhurtpoor, where, as arbitrators, we acted the part of the lion in the fable. Our present attitude, however, is so commanding, that we can afford to display the attribute of mercy; and should unfortunately, its action be required in Rajpootana, let it be ample, for there its grateful influence is understood, and it will return, like the dews of heaven, upon ourselves. But if we are only to regulate our political actions by the apprehension of danger, it must one day recoil upon us in awful retribution. Our system is filled with evil to the governed, where a fit of bile in ephemeral political agents, may engender a quarrel leading to the overthrow of a dominion of ages.

³ Since these remarks were written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the work of demolition was proceeding, Capt. S. was urgently warned by the natives of the

¹ Namely, Hátí Sing, his son Anop Sing, his son Indur Sing, his son Mokum Sing. This lineal descendant of Raja Guj, and the rightful heir to the 'cushion of Joda,' has dwindled into one of the petty *thacoors*, or lords of Marwar. The system is one of eternal vicissitudes, amidst which the germ of reproduction never perishes.

CHAPTER VI

Raja Jeswunt mounts the *gadi* of Marwar—His mother a princess of Méwar—He is a patron of science—His first service in Gondwana—Prince Dara appointed regent of the empire by his father, Shah Jehan—Appoints Jeswunt viceroy in Malwa—Rebellion of Arungzéb, who aspires to the crown—Jeswunt appointed generalissimo of the army sent to oppose him—Battle of Futtchbad, a drawn battle—Jeswunt retreats—Heroism of Rao Rutna of Rutlam—Arungzéb proceeds towards Agra—Battle of Jajow—Rajpoots overpowered—Shah Jehan deposed—Arungzéb, now emperor, pardons Jeswunt, and summons him to the presence—Commands him to join the army formed against Shuja—Battle of Cudjwa—Conduct of Jeswunt—Betrays Arungzéb and plunders his camp—Forms a junction with Dara—This prince's inactivity—Arungzéb invades Marwar—Detaches Jeswunt from Dara—Appointed viceroy of Guzzerat—Sent to serve in the Dekhan—Enters into Sevaji's designs—Plans the death of Shaista Khan, the king's lieutenant—Obtains this office—Superseded by the prince of Ambér—Re-appointed to the army of the Dekhan—Stimulates Prince Moazzim to rebellion—Superseded by Delfre Khan—Jeswunt tries to cut him off—Removed from the Dekhan to Guzzerat—Outwitted by the king—Ordered against the rebellious Afghans of Cabul—Jeswunt leaves his son, Pirthi Sing, in charge of Jodpoor—Pirthi Sing commanded to court by Arungzéb, who gives him a poisoned robe—His death—Character—The tidings reach Jeswunt at Cabul, and cause his death—Character of Jeswunt—Anecdotes illustrative of Rahtore character—Nahur Khan—His exploits with the tiger, and against Soortan of Sirohi.

RAJA JESWUNT, who obtained, by the banishment of Umra, the 'cushion' of Marwar, was born of a princess of Méwar; and although this circumstance is not reported to have influenced the change of succession, it will be born in mind that, throughout Rajpootana, its princes regarded a connection with the Rana's family as a primary honour.

"Jeswunt (says the Bardai) was unequalled amongst the princes of his time. Stupidity and ignorance were banished; and science flourished where he ruled: *many were the books composed under his auspices.*"

The south continued to be the arena in which the martial Rajpoot sought renown, and the emperor had only rightly to understand his character to turn the national emulation to account. Shah Jehan, in the language of the chronicler, "became a slave to the seraglio," and sent his sons, as viceroys, to govern the grand divisions of the empire. The first service of Jeswunt was in the war of Gondwana, when he led a body composed of "twenty-two different contingents" in the army under Arungzéb. In this and various other services (to enumerate which would be to go over the ground already passed),¹ the Rahtores were conspicuous. Jeswunt played a comparatively subordinate part, until the illness of the emperor, in A.D. 1658, when his elder son Dara was invested with the powers of regent. Prince Dara increased the *munsib* of Jeswunt to a leader of 'five thousand,' and nominated him his viceroy in Malwa.

danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large Cobra-di-capello rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Capt. S. fortunately escaped without injury.

¹ The new translation of Ferishta's History, by Lieut.-Col. Briggs, a work much wanted, may be referred to by those who wish to see the opinion of the Mahomedan princes of their Rajpoot vassalage.

In the struggle for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, consequent upon this illness, the importance of the Rajpoot princes and the fidelity we have often had occasion to depict, were exhibited in the strongest light. While Raja Jey Sing was commanded to oppose prince Shuja, who advanced from his viceroyalty of Bengal, Jeswunt was entrusted with means to quash the designs of Arungzéb, then commanding in the south, who had long cloaked, under the garb of hypocrisy and religion, views upon the empire.

The Rahtore prince was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Arungzéb, and he marched from Agra at the head of the united contingents of Rajpootana, besides the imperial guards, a force which, to use the hyperbole of the bard, "made Shésnág writhe in agony." Jeswunt marched towards the Nerbudda, and had encamped his army in a position fifteen miles south of Oojein, when tidings reached him of his opponent's approach. In that field on which the emperor erected a town subsequently designated *Futtehbad*, or 'abode of victory,' Jeswunt awaited his foes. The battle which ensued, witnessed and so circumstantially related by Bernier, as has been already noticed in this work,¹ was lost by the temerity of the Rahtore commander-in-chief, who might have crushed the rebellious hopes of Arungzéb, to whom he purposely gave time to effect a junction with his brother Morad, from the vain-glorious desire "to conquer two princes at once." Dearly did he pay for his presumption; for he had given time to the wily prince to sow intrigues in his camp, which were disclosed as soon as the battle joined, when the Moghul horse deserted and left him at the head of his thirty thousand Rajpoots, deemed, however, by their leader and themselves, sufficient against any odds. "Jeswunt, spear in hand, mounted his steed *Maboob*, and charged the imperial brothers; ten thousand Moslems fell in the onset, which cost seventeen hundred Rahtores, besides Gehlotes, Haras, Gores, and some of every clan of Rajwarra. Arung and Morad only escaped because their days were not yet numbered. Maboob and his rider were covered with blood; Jesoh looked like a famished lion, and like one he relinquished his prey." The bard is fully confirmed in his relation of the day, both by the Moghul historian and by Bernier, who says, that notwithstanding the immense superiority of the imperial princes, aided by a numerous artillery served by Frenchmen, night alone put a stop to the contest of science, numbers, and artillery, against Rajpoot courage. Both armies remained on the field of battle, and though we have no notice of the anecdote related by the first translator of Ferishta, who makes Jeswunt "in bravado drive his car round the field," it is certain that Arungzéb was too politic to renew the combat, or molest the retreat which took place next day towards his native dominions. Although, for the sake of alliteration, the bard especially singles out the *Gehlotes* and *Gores*, the tribes of Méwar and Scopoor, all and every tribe was engaged; and if the Rajpoot ever dared to mourn the fall of kindred in battle, this day should have covered every house with the emblems of grief; for it is stated by the Moghul historian that fifteen thousand fell, chiefly Rajpoots. This was one of the events glorious to the Rajpoot, showing his devotion to whom fidelity (*swamidherma*) had been pledged—the aged and enfeebled emperor Shah Jehan, whose "salt they ate"—against all the temptations offered by youthful ambition. It is forcibly

¹ Vol. i. p. 494.

contrasted with the conduct of the immediate household troops of the emperor, who, even in the moment of battle, worshipped the rising sun, whilst the Rajpoot sealed his faith in his blood ; and none more liberally than the brave Haras of Kotah and Boondl. The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an entire family, six royal brothers, stretched on the field, and all but one in death.¹

Of all the deeds of heroism performed on this day, those of Rutna of Rutlam, by universal consent, are pre-eminent, and "are wreathed into immortal rhyme by the bard" in the *Rasa Rao Rutna*.² He also was a Rahtore, the great grandson of Oodi Sing, the first raja of Maroo ; and nobly did he show that the Rahtore blood had not degenerated on the fertile plains of Malwa. If aught were wanting to complete the fame of this memorable day, which gave empire to the scourge of Rajpootana, it is found in the conduct of Jeswunt's queen, who, as elsewhere related,³ shut the gates of his capital on her fugitive lord, though he "brought back his shield" and his honour.

Arungzéb, on Jeswunt's retreat, entered the capital of Malwa in triumph, whence, with all the celerity requisite to success, he pursued his march on the capital. At the village of Jajow, thirty miles south of Agra, the fidelity of the Rajpoots again formed a barrier between the aged king and the treason of his son ; but it served no other purpose than to illustrate this fidelity. The Rajpoots were overpowered, Dara was driven from the regency, and the aged emperor deposed.

Arungzéb, soon after usurping the throne, sent, through the prince of Ambér, his assurances of pardon to Jeswunt, and a summons to the presence, preparatory to joining the army forming against his brother Shuja, advancing to vindicate his claims to empire. The Rahtore, deeming it a glorious occasion for revenge, obeyed, and communicated to Shuja his intentions. The hostile armies met at Kujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad. On the first onset, Jeswunt, wheeling about with his Rahtore cavaliers, attacked the rear-ward of the army under prince Mohammed, which he cut to pieces, and plundering the imperial camp (left unprotected), he deliberately loaded his camels with the most valuable effects, which he despatched under part of the force, and leaving the brothers to a contest, which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both, he followed the cortège to Agra. Such was the panic on his appearance at that capital, joined to the rumours of Arungzéb's defeat, which had nearly happened, that the wavering garrison required only a summons to have surrendered, when he might have released Shah Jehan from confinement, and with this "tower of strength" have rallied an opposition fatal to the prince.

That this plan suggested itself to Jeswunt's sagacity we cannot doubt ; but besides the manifest danger of locking up his army within the precincts of a capital, if victory was given to Arungzéb, he had other reasons for not halting at Agra. All his designs were in concert with prince Dara, the rightful heir to the throne, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action ; but while Jeswunt remained hovering in the rear of

¹ See Kotah annals, which state that that prince and five brothers all fell in this field of carnage.

² Amongst the MSS. presented by the author to the Royal Asiatic Society, is this work, the *Rasa Rao Rutna*.

³ See vol. i. p. 494.

Arungzéb, momentarily expecting the junction of the prince, the latter loitered on the southern frontier of Marwar, and thus lost, for ever, the crown within his grasp. Jeswunt continued his route to his native dominions, and had at least the gratification of housing the spoils, even to the regal tents, in the castle of Joda. Dara tardily formed a junction at Mairta; but the critical moment was lost, and Arungzéb, who had crushed Shuja's force, rapidly advanced, now joined by many of the Rajpoot princes, to overwhelm this last remnant of opposition. The crafty Arungzéb, however, who always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms, addressed a letter to Jeswunt, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Guzzerat, if he would withdraw his support from Dara, and remain neuter in the contest. Jeswunt accepted the conditions, and agreed to lead the Rajpoot contingents, under prince Moazzim, in the war against Sevaji, bent on reviving the independence of Mahrashtra. From the conduct again pursued by the Rahtore, we have a right to infer that he only abandoned Dara because, though possessed of many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoot, besides his title to the throne, he wanted those virtues necessary to ensure success against his energetic brother. Scarcely had Jeswunt reached the Dekhan when he opened a communication with Sevaji, planned the death of the king's lieutenant, Shaista Khan, on which he hoped to have the guidance of the army, and the young viceroy. Arungzéb received authentic intelligence of this plot, and the share Jeswunt had in it; but he temporised, and even sent letters of congratulation on his succeeding to the command in chief. But he soon superseded him by Raja Jey Sing of Ambér, who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture of Sevaji. The honour attending this exploit was, however, soon exchanged for disgrace; for when the Ambér prince found that the tyrant had designs upon the life of his prisoner, for whose safety he had pledged himself, he connived at his escape. Upon this, Jeswunt was once more declared the emperor's lieutenant, and soon inspired prince Moazzim with designs, which again compelled the king to supersede him, and Delire Khan was declared general in chief. He reached Arungabad, and the night of his arrival would have been his last, but he received intimation and rapidly retreated, pursued by the prince and Jeswunt to the Nerbudda. The emperor saw the necessity of removing Jeswunt from this dangerous post, and he sent him the *firman* as viceroy of Guzzerat, to which he commanded him to repair without delay. He obeyed, reached Ahmedabad, and found the king had outwitted him and his successor in command; he, therefore, continued his course to his native dominions, where he arrived in S. 1726 (A.D. 1670).

The wily tyrant had, in all these changes, used every endeavour to circumvent Jeswunt, and, if the annals are correct, was little scrupulous as to the means. But the Raja was protected by the fidelity of his kindred vassalage. In the words of the bardic chronicler, "The *Aswapati* ¹ Arung, finding treachery in vain, put the collar of simulated friendship round his neck, and sent him beyond the Attok to die."

The emperor saw that the only chance of counteracting Jeswunt's inveterate hostility was to employ him where he would be least dangerous.

¹ The common epithet of the Islamite emperors, in the dialect of the bard, is *Asput*, classically *Aswapati*, 'lord of horses.'

He gladly availed himself of a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul; and with many promises of favour to himself and his family, appointed him to the chief command, to lead his turbulent Rajpoots against the equally turbulent and almost savage Afghans. Leaving his elder son, Pirthi Sing, in charge of his ancestral domains, with his wives, family, and the chosen bands of Maroo, Jeswunt departed for the land of the 'barbarian,' from which he was destined never to return.

It is related, in the chronicles of Maroo, that Arungzéb having commanded the attendance at court of Jeswunt's heir, he obeyed, and was received not only with the distinctions which were his due, but with the most specious courtesy; that one day, with unusual familiarity, the king desired him to advance, and grasping firmly his folded hands (the usual attitude of deference) in one of his own, said, "Well, Rahtore, it is told me you possess as nervous an arm as your father; what can you do now?" "God preserve your majesty," replied the Rajpoot prince, "when the sovereign of mankind lays the hand of protection on the meanest of his subjects, all his hopes are realised; but when he condescends to take both of mine, I feel as if I could conquer the world." His vehement and animated gesture gave full force to his words, and Arungzéb quickly exclaimed, "Ah! here is another Khootun" (the term he always applied to Jeswunt); yet, affecting to be pleased with the frank boldness of his speech, he ordered him a splendid dress, which, as customary, he put on, and, having made his obeisance, left the presence in the certain assurance of exaltation.

That day was his last!—he was taken ill soon after reaching his quarters, and expired in great torture, and to this hour his death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the king.¹

Pirthi Sing was the staff of his father's age, and endowed with all the qualities required to lead the swords of Maroo. His death, thus reported, cast a blight on the remaining days of Jeswunt, who, in this cruel stroke, saw that his mortal foe had gone beyond him in revenge. The sacrifice of Pirthi Sing was followed by the death of his only remaining sons, Juggut Sing and Dulthumun, from the ungenial climate of Cabul, and grief soon closed the existence of the veteran Rahtore. He expired amidst the mountains of the north, without an heir to his revenge, in S. 1737 (A.D. 1681), having ruled the tribes of Maroo for two-and-forty years. In this year, death released Arungzéb from the greatest terrors of his life; for the illustrious Sevaji and Jeswunt paid the debt to nature within a few months of each other. Of the Rahtore, we may use the words of the biographer of his contemporary, Rana Raj Sing of Méwar: "Sighs never ceased flowing from Arung's heart while Jeswunt lived."

The life of Jeswunt Sing is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana, and a full narrative of it would afford a perfect and deeply interesting picture of the history and manners of the period. Had his

¹ This mode of being rid of enemies is firmly believed by the Rajpoots, and several other instances of it are recorded in this work. Of course, it must be by porous absorption; and in a hot climate, where only a thin tunic is worn next the skin, much mischief might be done, though it is difficult to understand how death could be accomplished. That the belief is of ancient date, we have only to recall the story of Hercules put into doggerel by Pope:

——"He whom Dejanira
Wrapp'd in the envenomed shirt, and set on fire."

abilities, which were far above mediocrity, been commensurate with his power, credit, and courage, he might, with the concurrent aid of the many powerful enemies of Arungzéb, have overturned the Moghul throne. Throughout the long period of two-and-forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Arungzéb, in the battle of the Nerbudda, to his conflicts with the Afghans amidst the snows of Caucasus. Although the Rahtore had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Arungzéb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own ; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all. His blind arrogance lost him the battle of the Nerbudda, and the supineness of Dara prevented his reaping the fruit of his treachery at Kujwa. The former event, as it reduced the means and lessened the fame of Jeswunt, redoubled his hatred to the conqueror. Jeswunt neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. Impelled by this motive, more than by ambition, he never declined situations of trust, and in each he disclosed the ruling passion of his mind. His overture to Sevaji (like himself the implacable foe of the Moghul), against whom he was sent to act ; his daring attempt to remove the imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force ; his inciting Moazzim, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jeswunt's thirst for vengeance. The emperor, fully aware of this hatred, yet compelled from the force of circumstances to dissemble, was always on the watch to counteract it, and the artifices this mighty king had recourse to in order to conciliate Jeswunt, perhaps to throw him off his guard, best attest the dread in which he held him. Alternately he held the viceroyalty of Guzzerat, of the Dekhan, of Malwa, Ajmér, and Cabul (where he died), either directly of the king, or as the king's lieutenant, and second in command under one of the princes. But he used all these favours merely as stepping-stones to the sole object of his life. Accordingly, if Jeswunt's character had been drawn by a biographer of the court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him ; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the king, the avowed enemy of the Hindu faith, we only see in Jeswunt a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the raja, therefore, only opposed fraud to hypocrisy, and treachery to superior strength. Doubtless the Rahtore was sometimes dazzled by the baits which the politic king administered to his vanity ; and when all his brother princes eagerly contended for royal favour, it was something to be singled out as the first amongst his peers in Rajpootana. By such conflicting impulses were both parties actuated in their mutual conduct throughout a period in duration nearly equal to the life of man ; and it is no slight testimony to Arungzéb's skill in managing such a subject, that he was able to neutralise the hatred and the power of Jeswunt throughout this lengthened period. But it was this vanity, and the immense power wielded by the kings who could reward service by the addition of a vice-royalty to their hereditary domains,

that made the Rajpoot princes slaves ; for, had all the princely contemporaries of Jeswunt—Jey Sing of Ambér, the Rana Raj of Méwar, and Sevaji—coalesced against their national foe, the Moghul power must have been extinct. Could Jeswunt, however, have been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge ; for the image of the Rahtore crossed all his visions of aggrandisement. The cruel sacrifice of his heir, and the still more barbarous and unrelenting ferocity with which he pursued Jeswunt's innocent family, are the surest proofs of the dread which the Rahtore prince inspired while alive.

Previous, however, to entering on this and the eventful period which followed Jeswunt's death, we may record a few anecdotes illustrative of the character and manners of the vassal chieftains, by whose aid he was thus enabled to brave Arungzéb. Nor can we do better than allow Nahur Khan, chief of the Koompawuts and premier noble, to be the representative portrait of the clans of Maroo. It was by the vigilance of this chief, and his daring intrepidity, that the many plots laid for Jeswunt's life were defeated ; and in the anecdote already given, when in order to restore his prince from a fit of mental delusion,¹ he braved the superstitions of his race, his devotion was put to a severer test than any which could result from personal peril. The anecdote connected with his *nom de guerre* of Nahur (*tiger*) Khan, exemplifies his personal, as the other does his mental, intrepidity. The real name of this individual, the head of the Koompawut clan, was Mokundás. He had personally incurred the displeasure of the emperor, by a reply which was deemed disrespectful to a message sent by the royal *ahdy*, for which the tyrant condemned him to enter a tiger's den, and contend for his life unarmed. Without a sign of fear, he entered the arena, where the savage beast was pacing, and thus contemptuously accosted him : " Oh tiger of the *méah*,² face the tiger of Jeswunt " ; exhibiting to the king of the forest a pair of eyes, which anger and opium had rendered little less inflamed than his own. The animal, startled by so unaccustomed a salutation, for a moment looked at his visitor, put down his head, turned round and stalked from him. " You see," exclaimed the Rahtore, " that he dare not face me, and it is contrary to the creed of a true Rajpoot to attack an enemy who dares not confront him." Even the tyrant, who beheld the scene, was surprised into admiration, presented him with gifts, and asked if he had any children to inherit his prowess. His reply, " How can we get children, when you keep us from our wives beyond the Attok ? " fully shows that the Rahtore and fear were strangers to each other. From this singular encounter, he bore the name of Nahur Khan, ' the tiger lord.'

On another occasion, from the same freedom of speech, he incurred the displeasure of the Shahzada, or prince-royal, who, with youthful levity, commanded the ' tiger lord ' to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely, gallop at speed under a horizontal branch of a tree and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common

¹ See p. 28.

² *Méah* is a term used by the Hindu to a Mooslim, who himself generally applies it to a pedagogue : the village schoolmaster has always the honourable epithet of *Méah-ji* !

amusement, and it is related, in the Annals of Méwar that the chief of Bunéra broke his spine in the attempt ; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahur heard the command, he indignantly replied, he "was not a monkey"; that "if the prince wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword had play"; on which he was ordered against Soortan, the Deorah prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rahtore contingent at his disposal. The Deorah prince, who could not attempt to cope against it in the field, took to his native hills ; but while he deemed himself secure, Mokund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night, entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while, environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deorahs starting from their rocky beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue, when Nahur called aloud, "You see his life is in my hands ; be assured it is safe if you are wise ; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm was that you might behold me carry off my prize." He conveyed Soortan to Jeswunt, who said he must introduce him to the king. The Deorah prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deorah replied, "His life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own ; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." As Jeswunt had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance, and instead of introducing him as usual, they showed him a wicket, knee high, and very low overhead, by which to enter, but putting his feet foremost, his head was the last part to appear. This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing, and his long-protracted resistance, added to Jeswunt's pledge, won the king's favour ; and he not only proffered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire. Though the king did not name the return, Soortan was well aware of the terms, but he boldly and quickly replied, "What can your majesty bestow equal to Achilgurh ? let me return to it is all I ask ?" The king had the magnanimity to comply with his request ; Soortan was allowed to retire to the castle of Aboo,¹ nor did he or any of the Deorahs ever rank themselves amongst the vassals of the empire ; but they have continued to the present hour a life of almost savage independence.

From such anecdotes we learn the character of the tiger lord of Asope, and his brother Rahtores of Marwar ; men reckless of life when put in competition with distinction and fidelity to their prince, as will be abundantly illustrated in the reign we are about to describe.

¹ *Achilgurh*, or 'the immovable castle,' is the name of the fortress of the Deorah princes of Aboo and Sirohi, of which wonderful spot I purpose in another work to give a detailed account.

CHAPTER VII

The pregnant queen of Jeswunt prevented from becoming Sati—Seven concubines and one Rani burn with him—The Chundravati Rani mounts the pyre at Mundore—General grief for the loss of Jeswunt—Posthumous birth of Ajit—Jeswunt's family and contingent return from Cabul to Marwar—Intercepted by Arungzéb, who demands the surrender of the infant Ajit—The chiefs destroy the females and defend themselves—Preservation of the infant prince—The Eendos take Mundore—Expelled—Arungzéb invades Marwar, takes and plunders Jodpoor, and sacks all the large towns—Destroys the Hindu temples, and commands the conversion of the Rahtore race—Impolicy of the measure—Establishes the Jezeya, or tax on infidels—The Rahtores and Seesodias unite against the king—Events of the war from the Chronicle—The Mairtea clan oppose the entire royal army, but are cut to pieces—The combined Rajpoots fight the Imperialists at Nadole—Bheem, the son of the Rana, slain—Prince Akber disapproves the war against the Rajpoots—Makes overtures—Coalition—The Rajpoots declare Akber emperor—Treachery and death of Tyber Khan—Akber escapes, and claims protection from the Rajpoots—Doorga conducts Prince Akber to the Dekhan—Soning, brother of Doorga, leads the Rahtores—Conflict at Jodpoor—Affair at Sojut—The cholera morbus appears—Arungzéb offers peace—The conditions accepted by Soning—Soning's death—Arungzéb annuls the treaty—Prince Azim left to carry on the war—Mooslem garrisons throughout Marwar—The Rahtores take post in the Aravulli hills—Numerous encounters—Affairs of Sojut—Cheraie—Jyturun—Rainpoor—Palli—Immense sacrifice of lives—The Bhattis join the Rahtores—The Mairtea chief assassinated during a truce—Further encounters—Sewanoh assaulted—The Mooslem garrison put to the sword—Noor Alli abducts the Assani damsels—Is pursued and killed—Mooslem garrison of Sambhur destroyed—Jhalore capitulates to the Rajpoots.

“WHEN Jeswunt died beyond the Attok, his wife, the (future) mother of Ajit, determined to burn with her lord, but being in the seventh month of her pregnancy, she was forcibly prevented by Ooda Koompawut. His other queen and seven *patras* (concubines) mounted the pyre; and as soon as the tidings reached Jodpoor, the Chundravati queen, taking a turban of her late lord, ascended the pile at Mundore. The Hindu race was in despair at the loss of the support of their faith. The bells of the temple were mute; the sacred shell no longer sounded at sun-rise; the Brahmins vitiated their doctrines and learned the Mooslem creed.”

The queen was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Ajit. As soon as she was able to travel, the Rahtore contingent, with their infant prince, his mother, the daughters, and establishment of their late sovereign, prepared to return to their native land. But the unrelenting tyrant, carrying his vengeance towards Jeswunt even beyond the grave, as soon they reached Dehli, commanded that the infant should be surrendered to his custody. “Arung offered to divide Maroo amongst them if they would surrender their prince; but they replied, ‘Our country is with our sinews, and these can defend both it and our lord.’ With eyes red with rage, they left the *Aum-khâs*. Their abode was surrounded by the host of the Shah. In a basket of sweetmeats they sent away the young prince, and prepared to defend their honour; they made oblations to the gods, took a double portion of opium, and mounted their steeds. Then spoke Rinchor, and Govind the son of Joda, and Chundurbhan the Darawut, and the son of Raghoo, on whose shoulders the sword had been

married at Oojein, with the fearless Bharmul the Oodawut, and the Soojawut, Raghoonat'h. 'Let us swim,' they exclaimed, 'in the ocean of fight. Let us root up these Asuras, and be carried by the Apsaras to the mansions of the sun.' As thus each spoke, Soojah the bard took the word: 'For a day like this,' said he, 'you enjoy your fiefs (*puttas*), to give in your lord's cause your bodies to the sword, and in one mass to gain *swerga* (heaven). As for me, who enjoyed his friendship and his gifts, this day will I make his salt resplendent. My father's fame will I uphold, and lead the death in this day's fight, that future bards may hymn my praise.' Then spake Doorga son of Assoh: 'The teeth of the Yavans are whetted, but by the lightning emitted from our swords, Dehli shall witness our deeds; and the flame of our anger shall consume the troops of the Shah.' As thus the chiefs communed, and the troops of the king approached, the *Raj-loca*¹ of their late lord was sent to inhabit *swerga*. Lance in hand, with faces resembling Yama,² the Rahtores rushed upon the foe. Then the music of swords and shields commenced. Wave followed wave in the field of blood. Sankra³ completed his chaplet in the battle fought by the children of Doohur in the streets of Dehli. Rutna contended with nine thousand of the foe; but his sword failed, and as he fell, Rembha⁴ carried him away. Dilloh the Darawut made a gift of his life;⁵ the salt of his lord he mixed with the water of the field.⁶ Chundur-bhan was conveyed by the Apsaras to Chandrapoor.⁷ The Bhatti was cut piece-meal and lay on the field beside the son of Soortán. The faithful Oodawut appeared like the crimson lotos; he journeyed to *Swerga* to visit Jeswunt. Sandoh the bard, with a sword in either hand, was in the front of the battle, and gained the mansion of the moon.⁸ Every tribe and every clan performed its duty in this day's pilgrimage to the stream of the sword, in which Doorgadas ground the foe and saved his honour''⁹

When these brave men saw that nothing short of the surrender of all that was dear to a Rajpoot was intended by the fiend-like spirit of the king, their first thought was the preservation of their prince; the next to secure their own honour and that of their late master. The means by which they accomplished this were terrific. The females of the deceased, together with their own wives and daughters, were placed in an apartment filled with gunpowder, and the torch applied—all was soon over! This sacrifice accomplished, their sole thought was to secure a niche in that

¹ A delicate mode of naming the female part of Jeswunt's family; the 'royal abode' included his young daughters, sent to inhabit heaven (*swerga*).

² Pluto.

³ 'The lord of the shell,' an epithet of Śiva, as the god of war; his war-trump being a shell (*sankh*); his chaplet (*mālā*), which the Rahtore bard says was incomplete until this fight, being of human skulls.

⁴ Queen of the Apsaras, or celestial nymphs.

⁵ Pope makes Sarpedon say:

"The life that others pay, let us bestow,
And give to fame what we to nature owe."

⁶ I.e. blood.

⁷ 'The city of the moon.'

⁸ The lunar abode seems that allotted for all bards, who never mention *Bhān-loca*, or the 'mansion of the sun,' as a place of reward for them. Doubtless they could assign a reason for such a distinction.

⁹ This is but a short transcript of the poetic account of this battle, in which the deeds, name, and tribe of every warrior who fell are related. The heroes of Thermopylæ had not a more brilliant theme for the bard.

immortal temple, which the Rajpoot bard, as well as the great minstrel of the west, peoples with "youths who died, to be by poets sung." For this, the Rajpoot's anxiety has in all ages been so great, as often to defeat even the purpose of revenge, his object being to die gloriously rather than to inflict death; assured that his name would never perish, but, preserved in "immortal rhyme" by the bard, would serve as the incentive to similar deeds. Accordingly, "the battle fought by the sons of Doohurea¹ in the streets of Dehli," is one of the many themes of everlasting eulogy to the Rahtores: and the seventh of Sravan, S. 1736 (the second month of the Monsoon of A.D. 1680), is a sacred day in the calendar of Maroo.

In the midst of this furious contest, the infant prince was saved. To avoid suspicion the heir of Maroo, concealed in a basket of sweetmeats, was entrusted to a Mooslem, who religiously executed his trust and conveyed him to the appointed spot, where he was joined by the gallant Doorgadas with the survivors who had cut their way through all opposition, and who were doomed often to bleed for the prince thus miraculously preserved. It is pleasing to find that, if to "the leader of the faithful," the bigoted Arungzéb, they owed so much misery, to one (and he of humble life), of the same faith, they owed the preservation of their line. The preserver of Ajít lived to witness his manhood and the redemption of his birthright, and to find that princes are not always ungrateful; for he was distinguished at court, was never addressed but as *Kaka*, or uncle, by the prince; and to the honour of his successors be it told, the lands then settled upon him are still enjoyed by his descendants.

With the sole surviving scion of Jeswunt, the faithful Doorga and a few chosen friends repaired to the isolated rock of Aboo, and placed him in a monastery of recluses. There the heir of Maroo was reared in entire ignorance of his birth. Still rumours prevailed, that a son of Jeswunt lived; that Doorga and a few associates were his guardians; and this was enough for the loyal Rajpoot, who, confiding in the chieftain of Droonara, allowed the mere name of '*Dhuini*' (lord) to be his rallying-word in the defence of his rights. These were soon threatened by a host of enemies, amongst whom were the Eendos, the ancient sovereigns of Maroo, who saw an opening for the redemption of their birth-right, and for a short time displayed the flag of the Purihars on the walls of Mundore. While the Eendos were rejoicing at the recovery of their ancient capital, endeared to them by tradition, an attempt was made by Rutna, the son of Umra Sing (whose tragical death has been related), to obtain the seat of power, Jodpoor. This attempt, instigated by the king, proved futile; and the clans, faithful to the memory of Jeswunt and the name of Ajít, soon expelled the Eendos from Mundore, and drove the son of Umra to his castle of Nagore. It was then that Arungzéb, in person, led his army into Maroo; the capital was invested; it fell and was pillaged, and all the great towns in the plains, as Mairtea, Deedwana, and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, mosques were erected on their site, and nothing short of the compulsory conversion to the tenets of Islam of every Rajpoot in Marwar would satisfy his revenge. The consequences of this fanatical and impolitic

¹ Here is another instance of the ancient patronymic being brought in by the bards, and it is thus they preserve the names and deeds of the worthies of past days. Rao Doohur was one of the earliest Rahtore kings of Marwar.

conduct recoiled not only upon the emperor but his whole race, for it roused an opposition to this iron yoke, which ultimately broke it in pieces. The emperor promulgated that famous edict, the 'Jezeya,' against the whole Hindu race, which cemented into one compact union all who cherished either patriotism or religion. It was at this period of time, when the Rahtores and Seesodias united against the tyrant, that Rana Raj Sing indited that celebrated epistle, which is given in a preceding part of this work.¹

"Seventy thousand men," says the bard,² "under Tyber Khan, were commanded to destroy the Rajpoots, and Arung followed in person to Ajmér. The Mairtea clan assembled, and advanced to Pooshkur to oppose him. The battle was in front of the temple of Varaha, where the swords of the Mairteas, always first in the fight, played the game of destruction on the heads of the Asuras. Here the Mairteas were all slain on the 11th Bhadoon, S. 1736.

"Tyber continued to advance. The inhabitants of Moordhur fled to the mountains. At Goorah the brothers Roopa and Koombo took post with their clan to oppose him; but they fell with twenty-five of their brethren. As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Arung pour his barbarians over the land. He remained but five days at Ajidoorg (Ajmér), and marched against Cheetore. It fell! it appeared as if the heavens had fallen. Ajít was protected by the Rana, and the Rahtores led the van in the host of the Seesodias. Seeing the strength of the Yavans, they shut up the young prince, like a flame confined in a vessel. Dehli-pat (the king of Dehli) came to Debarri,³ at whose pass he was opposed by Koombo, Oogursén, and Oodoh, all Rahtores. While Arung-

¹ Vol. i. p. 302.

² It may be well to exhibit the manner in which the poetic annalist of Rajpootana narrates such events, and to give them in his own language rather than in an epitome, by which not only the pith of the original would be lost, but the events themselves deprived of half their interest. The character of historic fidelity will thus be preserved from suspicion, which could scarcely be withheld if the narrative were exhibited in any but its native garb. This will also serve to sustain the Annals of Marwar, formed from a combination of such materials, and dispose the reader to acknowledge the impossibility of reducing such animated chronicles to the severe style of history. But more than all, it is with the design to prove what in the preface of this work, the reader was compelled to take on credit; that the Rajpoot kingdoms were in no ages without such chronicles: and if we may not compare them with Froissart, or with Monstrelet, they may be allowed to compete with the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and they certainly surpass those of Ulster. But we have stronger motives than even legitimate curiosity, in allowing the bard to tell his own tale of the thirty years' war of Rajpootana; the desire which has animated this task from its commencement, to give a correct idea of the importance of these events, and to hold them up as a beacon to the present governors of these brave men. How well that elegant historian, Orme, appreciates their importance, as bearing on our own conduct in power, the reader will perceive by reference to his Fragments (p. 165), where he says, "There are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connection or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Arungzéb, or its influence on the reigns of his successors." It behoves us, therefore, to make ourselves acquainted with the causes as well as the characters of those who occasioned the downfall of our predecessors in the sovereignty of India. With this object in view, the bard shall tell his own tale from the birth of Ajít, in S. 1737, to 1767, when he had vanquished all opposition to Arungzéb, and regained the throne of Maroo.

³ The cenotaph of these warriors still marks the spot where they fell, on the right on entering the portals.

zēb attacked Oodipoor, Azim was left at Cheetore. Then the king learned that Doorgadas had invaded Jhalore; he abandoned his conquest, and returned to Ajmér, sending Mokurra Khan to aid Beharri at Jalore; but Doorga had raised contributions (*dind*), and passed to Jodpoor, alike forced to contribute; for the son of Indur Sing, on the part of the king, now commanded in Tricúta (*triple-peaked mount*). Arung Shah measured the heavens; he determined to have but one faith in the land. Prince Akber was sent to join Tyber Khan. Rapine and conflagration spread over the land. The country became a waste; fear stalked triumphant. Providence had willed this affliction. The Eendos were put in possession of Jodpoor; but were encountered at Kaitapoor and put to the sword by the Champawuts. Once more they lost the title of Raos of Moordurdés, and thus the king's intentions of bestowing sovereignty on the Purihars were frustrated on the 13th day of Jeit, S. 1736.

"The Aravulli gave shelter to the Rahtores. From its fastnesses they issued, and mowed down entire harvests of the Mooslem, piling them in *kullas*.¹ Arung had no repose. Jhalore was invaded by one body, Sewanoh by another of the faithful chiefs of Ajít, whose *án*² daily increased, while Arung's was seldom invoked. The king gave up the war against the Rana to send all his troops into Maroo; but the Rana, who provoked the rage of Arung from granting refuge to Ajít, sent his troops under his own son, Bheem, who joined the Rahtores, led by Indurbhan and Doorgadas in Godwar. Prince Akber and Tyber Khan advanced upon them, and a battle took place at Nadole. The Scesodias had the right. The combat was long and bloody. Prince Bheem fell at the head of the Méwarees: he was a noble bulwark to the Rahtores.³ Indurbhan was slain, with Jait the Oodawut, performing noble deeds; and Soning Doorga did wonders on that day, the 14th Asoj, S. 1737" (the winter of A.D. 1681).

The gallant bearing of the Rajpoots in this unequal combat, their desperate devotion to their country and prince, touched the soul of Prince Akber, who had the magnanimity to commiserate the sufferings he was compelled to inflict, and to question the policy of his father towards these gallant vassals. Ambition came to the aid of compassion for the sufferings of the Rahtores, and the persecution of the minor son of Jeswunt. He opened his mind to Tyber Khan, and exposed the disgrace of bearing arms in so unholy a warfare, and in severing from the crown such devoted and brave vassals as the Rahtores. Tyber was gained over, and an embassy sent to Doorgadas offering peace, and expressing a wish for a conference. Doorga convened the chiefs, and disclosed the overture; but some suspected treachery in the prince, others, selfish views on the part of Doorga. To prevent the injurious operation of such suspicions, Doorga observed, that if assent were not given to the meeting, it would be attributed to the base motive of fear. "Let us proceed in a body," said he, "to this conference; who ever heard of a cloud being caught?" They met; mutual views were developed; a treaty was concluded, and the meeting

¹ The heaps of grain thrashed in the open field, preparatory to being divided and housed, are termed *kullas*.

² Oath of allegiance.

³ The Méwar chronicle claims a victory for the combined Rajpoot army, and relates a singular stratagem by which they gained it; but either I have overlooked it, or the *Raj Vulas* does not specify that Prince Bheem, son of the heroic Rana Raj, fell on this day, so glorious in the annals of both states.—See vol. i. p. 307.

ended by Akber waving the umbrella of regality over his head. He coined in his own name ; he established his own weights and measures. The poisoned intelligence was poured into Arung's ear at Ajmér ; his soul was troubled ; he had no rest ; he plucked his beard in grief when he heard that Doorga and Akber had united. Every Rahtore in the land flocked to Akber's standard. The house of Dehli was divided, and Govind¹ again supported the Hindu faith.

The dethronement of the tyrant appeared inevitable. The scourge of the Rajpoots was in their power, for he was almost alone and without the hope of succour. But his energies never forsook him ; he knew the character of his foes, and that on an emergency his grand auxiliary, stratagem, was equal to an army. As there is some variation both in the Moghul historian's account of this momentous transaction, and in the annals of Méwar and Marwar, we present the latter *verbatim* from the chronicle.

"Akber, with multitudes of Rajpoots, advanced upon Ajmér. But while Arung prepared for the storm, the prince gave himself up to women and the song, placing everything in the hands of Tyber Khan. We are the slaves of fate ; puppets that dance as it pulls the strings. Tyber allowed himself to dream of treason ; it was whispered in his ear that if he could deliver Akber to his father, high rewards would follow. At night he went privily to Arungzéb, and thence wrote to the Rahtores : 'I was the bond of union betwixt you and Akber, but the dam which separated the waters has broken down. Father and son again are one. Consider the pledges, given and received, as restored, and depart for your own lands.' Having sealed this with his signet, and dispatched a messenger to the Rahtores, he appeared before Arungzéb to receive the fruit of his service. But his treason met its reward, and before he could say, the imperial orders were obeyed, *a blow of the mace from the hand of the monarch sent his soul to hell*. At midnight the Dervéish messenger reached the Rahtore camp ; he put the letter into their hand, which stated father and son were united ; and added from himself that Tyber Khan was slain. All was confusion ; the Rahtores saddled and mounted, and moved a coss from Akber's camp. The panic spread to his troops, who fled like the dried leaves of the sugar-cane when carried up in a whirlwind, while the prince was attending to the song and the wiles of the wanton."

This narrative exemplifies most strongly the hasty unreflecting character of the Rajpoot, who always acts from the impulse of the moment. They did not even send to Akber's camp, although close to their own, to inquire the truth or falsehood of the report, but saddled and did not halt until they were twenty miles asunder. It is true, that in these times of peril, they did not know in whom to confide ; and being headed by one of their own body, they could not tell how far he might be implicated in the treachery.

The next day they were undeceived by the junction of the prince, who, when made acquainted with the departure of his allies, and the treason and death of Tyber Khan, could scarcely collect a thousand men to abide by his fortunes. With these he followed his panic-struck allies, and threw himself and his family upon their hospitality and protection—an appeal never made in vain to the Rajpoot. The poetic account, by the bard

¹ Crishna.

Kurnidhan, of the reception of the prince by the chivalry of Maroo, is remarkably minute and spirited:—the warriors and senators enter into a solemn debate as to the conduct to be pursued to the prince now claiming *sirna* (sanctuary), when the bard takes occasion to relate the pedigree and renown of the chiefs of every clan. Each chief delivers his sentiments in a speech full of information respecting their national customs and manners. It also displays a good picture of “the power of the *swans*, and the necessity of *feeding them with pearls*,” to enable them to sing with advantage. The council breaks up with the declaration of its determination to protect Akber at all hazards, and Jaita, the brother of the head of the Champawuts, is nominated to the charge of protector of Akber's family. The gallant Doorga, the Ulysses of the Rahtores, is the manager of this dramatic convention, the details of which are wound up with an eulogy in true oriental hyperbole, in the Doric accents of Maroo:—

“ *Eh ! Mata poot esa jin*
Jessa Doorga-dâs
Band Moordra rakheo
Bin t'hamba âkhâs.

“ O mother ! produce such sons as Doorga-das, who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens.”

This model of a Rajpoot, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation. Many anecdotes are extant recording the dread Arungzéb had of this leader of the Rahtores, one of which is amusing. The tyrant had commanded pictures to be drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sevaji and Doorga : “ Seva was drawn seated on a couch ; Doorga in his ordinary position, on horseback, toasting *bhawties*, or barley-cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Arungzéb, at the first glance, exclaimed, ‘ I may entrap that fellow (meaning Sevaji), but this dog is born to be my bane.’ ”

Doorga at the head of his bands, together with young Akber, moved towards the western extremity of the state, in hopes that they might lead the emperor in pursuit amongst the sandhills of the Looni ; but the wily monarch tried other arts, and first attempted to corrupt Doorga. He sent him eight thousand gold mohurs,¹ which the Rajpoot instantly applied to the necessities of Akber, who was deeply affected at this proof of devotion, and distributed a portion of it amongst Doorga's retainers. Arungzéb, seeing the futility of this plan, sent a force in pursuit of his son, who, knowing he had no hope of mercy if he fell into his father's hands, was anxious to place distance between them. Doorga pledged himself for his safety, and relinquished all to ensure it. Making over the guardianship of young Ajit to his elder brother, Soning, and placing himself at the head of one thousand chosen men, he turned towards the south. The bard enumerates the names and families of all the chieftains of note who formed the body-guard of prince Akber in this desperate undertaking. The Champawuts were the most numerous, but he specifies several of the home clans, as the Joda and Mairtea, and amongst the foreign Rajpoots, the Jadoon, Chohan, Bhatti, Deorah, Sonigurra, and Mangulea.

¹ The Méwar chronicle says forty thousand.

"The king followed their retreat : his troops surrounded the Rahtores ; but Doorga with one thousand chosen men left the north on their backs, and with the speed of the winged quitted the camp. Arung continued the pursuit to Jhalore, when he found he had been led on a wrong scent ; and that Doorga, with the prince, keeping Guzzerat on his right, and Chuppun on his left, had made good his retreat to the Nerbudda. Rage so far got the better of his religion, that *he threw the Koran at the head of the Almighty*. In wrath, he commanded Azim to exterminate the Rahtores, but to leave Oodipoor on one side,¹ and every other design, and first secure his brother. The deeds of Camunda² removed the troubles of Méwar, as the wind disperses the clouds which shade the brightness of the moon. In ten days after Azim marched, the emperor himself moved, leaving his garrisons in Jodpoor and Ajmér. Doorga's name was the charm which made the hosts of locusts quit their ground.³ Doorga was the sea-serpent ; Akber the mountain with which they churned the ocean Arung, and made him yield the fourteen gems, one of which our religion regained, which is Lacshmi, and our faith, which is Dhununtra the sage.

"In fidelity who excelled the Kheechees Seo Sing and Mokund, who never left the person of Ajít, when his infancy was concealed in the mountains of Arbood ? to them alone, and the faithful Sonigurra, did Doorga confide the secret of his retreat. The vassals of the *Nine Castles of Maroo* knew that he was concealed ; but where or in whose custody all were ignorant. Some thought he was at Jessulmér ; others at Beekumpoor ; others at Sirohi. The eight divisions nobly supported the days of their exile ; their sinews sustained the land of Mord'hur. Raos, Rajas, and Ranas applauded their deeds, for all were alike enveloped in the net of destruction. In all the nine thousand [towns] of Morh'hur, and the ten thousand of Méwar,⁴ inhabitants there were none. Enayet Khan was left with ten thousand men to preserve Jodpoor ; but the Champawut is the Soomér of Maroo, and without fear was Doorga's brother, Soning. With Khemkurn the Kurnote, and Subhul the Joda, Beejmal the Mahecha, Jaitmal Soojote, Kesuri Kurnote, and the Joda brethren Seodan and Bheem, and many more collected their clans and kin, and as soon as they heard that the king was within four coss of Ajmér, they blockaded the Khan in the city of Joda ; but twenty thousand Moguls came to the rescue. Another dreadful conflict ensued at the gates of Jodpoor, in which the Jadoon Kesore, who led the battle, and many other chiefs were slain, yet not without many hundreds of the foe ; the 9th Asar, S. 1737.

"Soning carried the sword and the flame into every quarter. Arung could neither advance nor retreat. He was like the serpent seizing the musk-rat, which, if liberated, caused blindness ; but if swallowed, was like poison. Hurnát and Kana Sing took the road to Sojut. They surrounded and drove away the cattle, which brought the Asoors to the rescue. A dreadful strife ensued ; the chief of the Asoors was slain, but the brothers and all their kin bedewed the land with their blood. This,

¹ That is, dropped all schemes against it at that moment.

² The Camd'huj ; epithet of the Rahtores.

³ Charms and incantations, with music, are had recourse to, in order to cause the flight of these destructive insects from the fields they light on.

⁴ The number of towns and villages formerly constituting the arondissement of each state.

the *saca* of Sojut, was when 1737 ended and 1738 commenced, when the sword and the pestilence (*murri*¹) united to clear the land.

"Soning was the Roodra of the field; Agra and Dehli trembled at his deeds; he looked on Arung as the waning moon. The king sent an embassy to Soning; it was peace he desired. He offered the *munsab* of *Sâl'h. Hazari* for Ajft, and what dignities he might demand for his brethren—the restoration of Ajmér, and to make Soning its governor. To the engagement was added, 'the *punja* is affixed in ratification of this treaty, witnessed by God Almighty.'² The Dewan, Assud Khan, was the negotiator, and the *Aremdi*,³ who was with him, solemnly swore to its maintenance. The treaty concluded, the king, whose thoughts could not be diverted from Akber, departed for the Dekhan. Asud Khan was left at Ajmér, and Soning at Mairta. But Soning was a thorn in the side of Arungzéb; he bribed the Brahmins, who threw pepper into the *homa* (burnt sacrifice) and secured for Soning a place in *Sooraj Mandala* (the mansion of the sun). The day following the treaty, by the incantations of Arunga, Soning was no more.⁴ Asoj the 6th, S. 1738.

"Asud sent the news to the king. This terror being removed, the king withdrew his *punja* from his treaty, and in joy departed for the Dekhan. The death of Soning shed gloom and grief over the land. Then Mokund Sing Mairtea, son of Kulian, abandoned his *munsab* and joined his country's cause. A desperate encounter soon followed with the troops of Asud Khan near Mairta, in which Ajft, the son of Beetuldas, who led the fight, was slain, with many of each clan, which gave joy to the Asoors, but grief to the faithful Rajpoot; on the second day of the bright half of the moon of Kartik, S. 1738.

"Prince Azim was left with Asud Khan; Enayet at Jodpoor; and their

¹ *Murri*, or 'death' personified, is the name for that fearful scourge the spasmodic *cholera morbus*, which has caused the loss of so many lives for the last thirteen years throughout India. It appears to have visited India often, of which we have given a frightful record in the Annals of Méwar in the reign of Rana Raj Sing (see vol. i. p. 310), in S. 1717 or A.D. 1661 (twenty years prior to the period we treat of); and Orme describes it as raging in the Dekhan in A.D. 1684. They had likewise a visitation of it within the memory of many individuals now living.

Regarding the nature of this disease, whether endemic, epidemic, or contagious, and its cure, we are as ignorant now as the first day of our experience. There have been hundreds of conflicting opinions and hypotheses, but none satisfactory. In India, nine medical men out of ten, as well as those not professional, deny its being contagious. At Oodipoor, the Rana's only son, hermetically sealed in the palace against contact, was the first seized with the disorder: a pretty strong proof that it was from atmospheric communication. He was also the last man in his father's dominions likely, from predisposition, to be attacked, being one of the most athletic and prudent of his subjects. I saw him through the disorder. We were afraid to administer remedies to the last heir of Bappa Rawul, but I hinted to Amurji, who was both bard and doctor, that strong doses of musk (12 grs. each) might be beneficial. These he had, and I prevented his having cold water to drink, and also checking the insensible perspiration by throwing off the bedclothes. Nothing but his robust frame and youth made him resist this tremendous assailant.

² See vol. i. p. 309, for an explanation of the *punja*—and the treaty which preceded this, made by Rana Raj Sing, the fourth article of which stipulates for terms to the minor son of Jeswunt.

³ I know not what officer is meant by the *Aremdi*, sent to swear to the good faith of the king.

⁴ His death was said to be effected by incantations, most probably poison.

garrisons were scattered over the land, as their tombs (*ghor*) everywhere attest. The lord of Chundawul, Simboo Koompawut, now led the Rahtores with Oodung Sing Bukshee, and Tejsi, the young son of Doorga, *the bracelet on the arm of Mahadeva*, with Futteh Sing and Ram Sing, just returned from placing Akber safely in the Dekhan, and many other valiant Rahtores.¹ They spread over the country even to Méwar, sacked Poor-Mandil, and slew the governor Kasim Khan."

These desultory and bloody affrays, though they kept the king's troops in perpetual alarm and lost them myriads of men, thinned the ranks of the defenders of Maroo, who again took refuge in the Aravulli. From thence, watching every opportunity, they darted on their prey. On one occasion, they fell upon the garrison of Jytarun, which they routed and expelled, or as the chronicle quaintly says, "with the year 1739 they also fled." At the same time, the post of Sojut was carried by Beejo Champawut, while the Jodawuts, under Ram Sing, kept their foes in play to the northward, and led by Oodi-bhan attacked the Mirza Noor Alli at Cheraie: "the contest lasted for three hours; the dead bodies of the Yavans lay in heaps in the Akhara; who even abandoned their Nakarras."

"After the affair of Jytarun, when Oodi Sing Champawut, and Mokhim Sing Mairtea were the leaders, they made a push for Guzzerat, and had penetrated to Kheiraloo, when they were attacked, pursued, and surrounded in the hills at Rainpoor, by Syed Mohammed, the Hakim of Guzzerat. All night they stood to their arms. In the morning the sword rained and filled the cars of the Apsaras. Kurrun and Kesuri were slain, with Gokuldas Bhatti, with all their civil officers, and Ram Sing himself renounced life on this day.² But the Asoors pulled up the reins, having lost many men. Palli was also attacked in the month of Bhadoon this year 1739; then the game of destruction was played with Noor Alli, three hundred Rahtores against five hundred of the king's troops, which were routed, losing their leader, Ufzul Khan, after a desperate struggle.

"Balla was the hero who drove the Yavan from this post. Oodya attacked the Sidí at Sojut. Jytarun was again reinforced. In Bysak, Mokhim Sing Mairtea attacked the royal post at Mairta, slew Syed Alli, and drove out the king's troops."

The year 1739 was one of perpetual conflict, of captures and recaptures, in which many parties of twenty and thirty on each side fell. They afford numerous examples of heroic patriotism, in which Rahtore blood was lavishly shed; but while to them each warrior was a loss not to be replaced, the despot continued to feed the war with fresh troops. The Bhattis of Jessulmér came forward this year, and nobly shed their blood in seconding the efforts of the Rahtores in this patriotic warfare.

"In S. 1740, Azim and Asud Khan joined the emperor in the Dekhan, and Enayet Khan was left in command at Ajmér—being enjoined not to relax the war in Marwar, even with the setting in of the rains. Mairwarra afforded a place of rendezvous for the Rahtores, and security for their families. Here eleven thousand of the best troops of Enayet invaded the hills to attack the united Jodas and Champawuts, who retaliated on Palli,

¹ Many were enumerated by the bardic chronicler, who would deem it sacrilege to omit a single name in the page of fame.

² He was one of the gallant chiefs who, with Doorga, conveyed prince Akber to the sanctuary with the Mahrattas.

Sojot, and Godwar. The ancient Mundore, which was occupied by a garrison under Khwaja Saleh, was attacked by the Mandaicha Bhatti and driven out. At Bagrie, a desperate encounter took place in the month of Bysak, when Ram Sing and Samunt Sing, both Bhatti chiefs, fell, with two hundred of their vassals, slaying one thousand of the Moguls. The Kurumsotes and Koompawuts, under Anop Sing, scoured the banks of the Looni, and put to the sword the garrisons of Oosturroh and Gangani. Mokhim, with his Mairteas, made a descent on his patrimonial lands, and drew upon him the whole force of its governor, Mohammed Alli. The Mairteas met him on their own native plains. The Yavan proposed a truce, and at the interview assassinated the head of the Mairteas, tidings of whose death rejoiced the Shah in the Dekhan.

"At the beginning of 1741, neither strife nor fear had abated. Sooján Sing led the Rahtores in the south, while Lakha Champawut and Kesar Koompawut aided by the Bhattis and Chohans, kept the garrison of Jodpoor in alarm. When Soojan was slain, the bard was sent to Singram, who held a munsub and lands from the king; he was implored to join his brethren; he obeyed, and all collected around Singram.¹ Sewancha² was attacked, and with Bhalotra and Panchbadra were plundered; while the blockaded garrisons were unable to aid. An hour before sunset, every gate of Maroo was shut. The Asoors had the strongholds in their power; but the plains resounded with the *An*³ of Ajít. Oodi-bhan, with his Jodawuts, appeared before Bhadratoon; he assaulted the foe and captured his guns and treasure. An attempt from Jodpoor made to recapture the trophies, added to the triumph of the Joda.

"Poordil Khan⁴ held Sewanoh; and Nahur Khan Mewatti, Kunari. To attack them, the Champawuts convened at Mokulsir. Their thirst for vengeance redoubled at the tidings that Noor Alli had abducted two young women of the tribe of Assani. Rutna led the Rahtores; they reached Kunari and engaged Poordil Khan, who was put to the sword with six hundred of his men. The Rahtores left one hundred in the field that day, the ninth of Cheyt. The Mirza⁵ no sooner heard of this defeat than he fled towards Thoda, with the Assani damsels, *gazing on the mangoes as they ripened*, and having reached Koochal, he encamped. Subhul Sing, the son of Aiskurn, heard it; he took his opium, and though the Mirza was surrounded by pillars, the dagger of Aiskurn's son reached his heart; but the Bhatti⁶ was cut in pieces. The roads were now impassable; the *T'hanas*⁷ of the Yavans were reduced to great straits.

"The year 1742 commenced with the slaughter of the king's garrison at Sambhur by the Lakhawuts and Assawuts;⁸ while from Godwar the chiefs made incursions to the gates of Ajmér. A battle took place at

¹ We are not informed of what clan he was, or his rank, which must have been high.

² The tract so called, of which Sewanoh is the capital.

³ Oath of allegiance.

⁴ It is almost superfluous to remark, even to the mere English reader, that whenever he meet the title *Khan*, it indicates a Mahomedan; and that of *Sing* (lion) a Rajpoot.

⁵ Noor Alli. Mirza is a title only applied to a Mogul.

⁶ As a Bhatti revenged this disgrace, it is probable the Assani damsels, thus abducted by the Mirza, were of his own race.

⁷ Garrisons and military posts.

⁸ These are of the most ancient vassalage of Maroo.

Mairta, where the Rahtores were defeated and dispersed ; but in revenge Singram burned the suburbs of Jodpoor, and then came to Dhoonara, where once more the clans assembled. They marched, invested Jhalore, when Beharri, left without succour, was compelled to capitulate, and the gate of honour (*dhermadwara*) was left open to him. And thus ended 1742."

CHAPTER VIII

The clans petition to see the young Raja—Doorjun Sal of Kotah joins the Rahtore cause—They proceed to Aboo—Are introduced to Ajit, who is conveyed to Ahwa, and makes a tour to all the chieftainships—Consternation of Arungzéb—He sets up a pretender to Jodpoor—The Rahtores and Haras drive the Imperialists from Marwar—They carry the war abroad—Storm of Poor Mandil—The Hara prince slain—Doorgadas returns from the Dekhan—Defeats Sefi Khan, governor of Ajmér, who is disgraced by the king—Sefi Khan attempts to circumvent Ajit by negotiation—His failure and disgrace—Rebellion in Méwar—The Rahtores support the Rana—Arungzéb negotiates for the daughter of prince Akber left in Marwar—Ajit again driven for refuge into the hills—Affair at Beejipoor—Success of the Rahtores—Arungzéb's apprehension for his granddaughter—The Rana sends the coco-nut to Ajit, who proceeds to Oodipoor, and marries the Rana's niece—Negotiations for peace renewed—Terminate—The surrender of the princess—Jodpoor restored—Magnanimity of Doorgadas—Ajit takes possession—Ajit again driven from his capital—Afflictions of the Hindu race—A son born to Ajit, named Abhye Sing—His horoscope—Battle of Droonara—The viceroy of Lahore passes through Marwar to Guzzerat—Death of Arungzéb—Diffuses joy—Ajit attacks Jodpoor—Capitulation—Dispersion and massacre of the king's troops—Ajit resumes his dominions—Azim, with the title of Bahader Shah, mounts the throne—Battle of Agra—The king prepares to invade Marwar—Arrives at Ajmér—Proceeds to Bai Bilaru—Sends an embassy to Ajit, who repairs to the imperial camp—Reception—Treacherous conduct of the emperor—Jodpoor surprised—Ajit forced to accompany the emperor to the Dekhan—Discontent of the Rajas—They abandon the king, and join Rana Umra at Oodipoor—Triple alliance—Ajit appears before Jodpoor, which capitulates on honourable terms—Ajit undertakes to replace Raja Jey Sing on the *gadi* of Ambér—Battle of Sambhur, Ajit victorious—Ambér abandoned to Jey Sing—Ajit attacks Bikanér—Redeems Nagore—The Rajas threatened by the king—Again unite—The king repairs to Ajmer—The Rajas join him—Receive firmans for their dominions—Ajit makes a pilgrimage to *Cûrû-khêta*—Reflections on the thirty years' war waged by the Rahtores against the empire for independence—Eulogium on Doorgadas.

"In the year 1743, the Champawuts, Koompawuts, Oodawuts, Mairteas, Jodas, Kurumsotes, and all the assembled clans of Maroo, became impatient to see their sovereign. They sent for the Khéechie Mokund, and prayed that they might but behold him ; but the faithful to his trust replied : "He,¹ who confided him to me, is yet in the Dekhan."—"Without the sight of our Lord, bread and water have no flavour." Mokund could not withstand their suit. The Hara prince Doorjun Sal, having come to their aid with one thousand horse from Kotah,² they repaired to the hill of Aboo,

¹ Meaning Doorgadas.

² His principal object was to marry the daughter of Sujaun Sing Champawut, the sister of the brave Mokund Sing, often mentioned in the chronicle. The Kotah prince dared not, according to every Rajpoot maxim of gallantry, refuse his aid on such occasion ; but the natural bravery and high mind of Doorjun Sal required no stimulus.

when on the last day of Cheyt 1743, they saw their prince. As the lotos expands at the sunbeam, so did the heart of each Rahtore at the sight of their infant sovereign ; they drank his looks, even as the *papaya* in the month Asoj sips drops of imritu (*ambrosia*) from the *Champa*.¹ There were present, Oodi Sing, Singram Sing, Beeji-Pal, Tej Sing, Mokund Sing, and Nahur son of Huree, all Champawuts. Raj Sing, Juggut Sing, Jeit Sing, Samunt Sing, of the Oodawuts ; Ram Sing, Futteh Sing, and Kesuri, Koompawuts. There was also the Oohur chief of pure descent,² besides the Khecchi Mokund, the Purohit, the Purihar, and the Jain priest, Yati Gyan, Beejy. In a fortunate hour, Ajit became known to the world. The Hara Rao first made his salutation ; he was followed by all Marwar with offerings of gold, pearls, and horses.

"Enayet conveyed the tidings to Arung Shah ; the Asoor chief said to the king, 'If without a head so long they had combated him, what could now be expected ?' He demanded reinforcements.

"In triumph they conveyed the young Raja to Ahwa, whose chief made the *badhoo* ³ with pearls, and presented him with horses ; here he was entertained, and here they prepared the *teeke dour*. Thence, taking Raepoor, Bilara, and Baroonda in his way, and receiving the homage and nuzzurs of their chiefs, he repaired to Asope, where he was entertained by the head of the Koompawuts. From Asope he went to the Bhatti fief of Lowairoh ; thence to Reah, the chief abode of the Mairteas ; thence to Kewnsir, of the Kurmsotes. Each chief entertained their young lord, around whom all the clans gathered. Then he repaired to Kaloo, the abode of Pabhoo Rao Dhandul,⁴ who came forth with all his bands ; and at length he reached Pokurn, where he was joined by Doorgadas from the Dekhan, the 10th of Bhadoon 1744.

"Enayet Khan was alarmed. He assembled a numerous array to quell this fresh tumult, but death pounced upon him. The king was afflicted thereat. He tried another stratagem, and set up a pretended son of Jeswunt, styled Mohammed Shah, and offered Ajit the munsub of five thousand to submit to his authority. The pretender also died as he set out for Joodpor, and Sujait Khan was made the governor of Marwar in place of Enayet. Now the Rahtores and Haras united, having cleared Maroo of their foes, attacked them in a foreign land. The garrisons of Malpoora and Poor Mandil were put to the sword, and here the Hara prince was killed by a cannon shot in leading the storm. Here they levied eight thousand mohurs in contribution and returned to Marwar, while the civil officers and Purohits made collections in his country ; and thus passed 1744.

"The year 1745 commenced with proposals from Sujait Khan to hold Marwar in farm ; he promised one-fourth of all transit duties if the Rahtores would respect foreign commerce : to this they agreed. The son of Enayet left Jodpoor for Delhi ; he had reached Rainwál, but was overtaken by the Joda Hurnat, who released him both of wives and wealth. The Khan

¹ The Hindoo poet says the Papaya bird becomes intoxicated with the flowers.

² A name now lost.

³ Waving a brass vessel, filled with pearls, round his head.

⁴ Pabhoo Rao Rahtore is immortalised by the aid of his lance on this occasion ; he was of the ancient chivalry of Maroo, and still held his allodial domain.

fled to the Cuchwahas for shelter. Sujah Beg, who left Ajmér to release him, fared no better: he was attacked, defeated, and plundered by Mokundas Champawut.

"In 1747, Sefi Khan was Hakim of Ajmér: Doorga determined to attack him. The Hakim took post in the pass which defends the road; there Doorga assailed him, and made him fly to Ajmér. The tidings reached the king; he wrote to the Khan, if he discomfited Doorgadas, he would raise him over all the khans of the empire; if he failed, he should send him bracelets,¹ and order Sujait from Jodpoor to supersede him." Sefi, before abandoning his trust, tried to retain his honours by the circumvention of Ajít. He addressed a letter to him, saying he held the imperial sunnud for the restoration of his paternal domains, but that, as the king's representative, he must come and receive it. Ajít marched at the head of twenty thousand Rahtores, sending in advance Mokund Champawut to observe whether any treachery was contemplated. The snare was discovered and reported to Ajít, as he arrived at the foot of the pass beyond the mountains. 'Let us, however, have a sight of Ajidoorg as we are so near,' said the young prince, 'and receive the compliments of the khan.' They moved on towards the city, and Sefi Khan had no alternative but to pay his obeisance to Ajít. To enjoy his distress, one said, 'Let us fire the city.' The Hakim sat trembling for its safety and his own; he brought forth jewels and horses which he presented to Ajít.

"In 1748, the troubles recommenced in Méwar. Prince Umra rebelled against his father, Rana Jey Sing, and was joined by all his chiefs. The Rana fled to Godwar, and at Ganorah collected a force, which Umra prepared to attack. The Rana demanded succour of the Rahtores, and all the Mairteas hastened to relieve him; and soon after Ajít sent Doorgadas and Bugwán, with Rinnull Joda, and 'the eight ranks of Rahtores' to espouse the father's cause. But the Chondawuts and Suktawuts, the Jhalas and Chohans, rather than admit foreign interference in their quarrel, thought it better to effect a reconciliation between father and son; and thus the Rana was indebted to Marwar for the support of his throne.

"The year 1749 passed in negotiation to obtain the daughter of prince Akber, left in charge of Doorgadas, for whose honour Arungzéb was alarmed, as Ajít was reaching manhood; Narayndas Koolmbi was the medium of negotiation, and Sefi Khan caused all hostilities to cease while it lasted.

"In 1750, the Mooslem governors of Jodpoor, Jhalore, and Sewanoh combined their forces against Ajít, who was again compelled to retreat to the mountains. Akho, the Balla, received their attack, but was defeated in the month of Magh. Another combat was hastened by the wanton slaughter of a *sánd'h*,² when the Hakim of Chank, with all his train, were made prisoners at Mokulsir by the Champawut Mokundas.

"To such straits were the Mooslems put in 1751, that many districts paid *chout'h*, others tribute, and many tired of this incessant warfare, and unable to conquer their bread, took service with the Rahtores. This year, Kasim Khan and Lushkur Khan marched against Ajít, who took

¹ A mark of contempt.

² One of those pampered bulls, allowed to wander at liberty and fed by everyone.

post at Beejipoor. Doorga's son led the onset, and the Khan was defeated. With each year of Ajít grew the hopes of the Rahtores ; while Arungzéb was afflicted at each month's growth of his granddaughter. He wrote to Sujait, the Hakim of Jodpoor, to secure his honour at whatever cost ; his applications for Akber's daughter were unwearied.

" This year the *coco-nut studded with gems*,¹ two elephants and ten steeds, all richly caparisoned, were sent by the Rana to affiancé the daughter of his younger brother, Guj Sing, to Ajít. The present was accepted, and in the month of Jeit, the prince of the Rahtores repaired to Oodipoor, where the nuptials were solemnised. In Asár he again married at Deolah.²

" In 1753, negotiations were renewed through Doorgadas, and the protracted restoration of the *Sultani* obtained the seat of his ancestors for the *Jodani*. Doorga was offered for himself the munsab of five thousand, which he refused ; he preferred that Jhalore, Sewanchí, Sanchore, and Theraud, should revert to his country. Even Arung admired the honourable and distinguished treatment of his granddaughter.

" In Pos 1757,³ Ajít regained possession of his ancestral abode : on his reaching Jodpoor he slew a buffalo at each of its five gates. The Shahzada Sooltan led the way, Sujait being dead.⁴

" In 1759, Azim Shah again seized on Jodpoor, and Ajít made Jhalore his abode. Some of his chiefs now served the foe, some the Rana whose hopes were on Eklinga alone ; while the lord of Ambér served the king in the Dekhan. The enormities of the Asoors had reached their height ; the sacred kine were sacrificed even at Mat'hoora, Priag, and Okamandel ; the Jogis and Byragis invoked heaven for protection, but iniquity prevailed as the Hindu strength decayed. Prayers were everywhere offered up to heaven to cleanse the land from the iniquities of the barbarians.⁵ In this year, the month of Magh 1759, the *Mittum Laggun* (the 'sun in Gemini'), a son was born of the Chohani, who was called Abhye Sing. (See end of this chapter, p. 64, for the Horoscope of Abhye Sing.)

" In 1761, Eusoph was superseded by Moorshid Kooli as Hakim of Jodpoor. On his arrival he presented the royal sunnud for the restoration of Mairta to Ajít. Koosul Sing, the Mairtea *Sirmor*, with the Dhandul Govindas, were ordered to take the charge, which incensed the son of Indur (Mohkim Sing), who deemed his faithful service during his minority overlooked by this preference. He wrote to the king to nominate him to the command of Marwar, and that he would fulfil his charge to the satisfaction both of Hindu and Moslem.

" In 1761 the star of the foe began to decline. Moorshid Kooli, the Mogul, was relieved by Jaffier Khan. Mohkim's letter was intercepted. He had turned traitor to his prince, and joined the king's troops. Ajít

¹ The coco, the symbol of a marriage offer.

² Pertabgurh Deolah, a small principality grown out of Méwar.

³ I cannot now call to mind whether this break of four years in the chronicle of the bard Kurmidhan occurs in the original, or that in translating I left the hiatus from there being nothing interesting therein. The tyrant was now fully occupied in the Dekhan wars, and the Rajpoots had time to breathe.

⁴ This Shahzada must have been prince Azim, who was nominated viceroy of Guzzerat and Marwar.

⁵ This record of the manifold injuries, civil and religious, under which the Hindu nation groaned, is quite akin to the sentiments of the letter of remonstrance addressed by Rana Raj Sing to Arungzéb. See vol. i. p. 302.

marched against them ; he fought them at Droonara ; the king's troops were defeated, and the rebel Eendawut was slain. This was in 1762.

"In 1763, Ibrahim Khan, the king's lieutenant¹ at Lahore, passed through Marwar to relieve Azim in the vice-royalty of Guzzerat. On the second day of Cheit, the obscure half of the moon, the joyful tidings arrived of the death of the king.² On the fifth, Ajit took to horse ; he reached the town of Joda, and sacrificed to the gates, but the Asoors feared to face him. Some hid their faces in fear, while others fled. The Mirza came down, and Ajit ascended to the halls of his ancestors. The wretched Yavans, now abandoned to the infuriated Rajpoots smarting under twenty-six years of misery, found no mercy. In hopeless despair they fled, and the wealth which they had amassed by extortion and oppression, returned to enrich the proprietor. The barbarians, in turn, were made captive ; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed. Some sought *sirna* (sanctuary), and found it ; even the barbarian leader himself threw fear to the winds in the unconcealed sanctuary of the Koompawut. But the triumph of the Hindu was complete, when, to escape from perdition, their flying foes invoked Seeta-Ram and Hur-govind, begging their bread in the day, and taking to their heels at night. The chaplet of the Moolla served to count the name of Rama, and a handful of gold was given to have their beards removed.³ Nothing but the despair and flight of the 'Mletcha' was heard throughout Moordhur. Mairta was evacuated, and the wounded Mohkim fled to Nagore. Sojut and Palli were regained, and the land returned to the Jodani. Jodgurh was purified from the contaminations of the barbarian with the water of the Ganges and the sacred Toolsi, and Ajit received the tiluk of sovereignty.

Then Azim marched from the south and Moazzim from the north. At Agra a mighty battle for empire took place between the two Asoors, but Allum⁴ prevailed and got the throne. The tidings soon reached the king, that Ajit had plundered his armies in Maroo and taken possession of the 'cushion' of his fathers.

"The rainy season of 1764 had vanished, the king had no repose ; he formed an army and came to Ajmér. Then Huridas, the son of Bugwan, with the Oohur and Mangalea chiefs,⁵ and Rutna the leader of the Oodawuts, with eight hundred of their clan, entered the castle and swore to Ajit, that whatever might be his intentions, they were resolved to maintain the castle to the death. The royal army encamped at Bai Bilara, and Ajit prepared for the storm ; but the king was advised to try peaceful arts, and an overture was made, and the messenger was sent back to the king accompanied by Nahur Khan. The embassy returned bearing the royal firmán to Ajit ; but before he would accept it, he said he would view the royal army, and on the first day of Phalagoon he left the hill of Joda and reached Beesilpoor. Here he was received by a deputation from the king, headed by Sujait Khan, son of the Khankhanan accompanied

¹ He is called the *sumdi*, or 'son-in-law of the king.'

² 5th Cheit S. 1763. The 28th Zekaud.

³ The Rajpoots gave up beards the better to distinguish them from the Mooslems.

⁴ Shah Allum, who assumed the title of Bahader Shah, on mounting the throne.

⁵ The Mangalea is a branch of the Ghelotes, severed from the original stem in the reign of Bappa Rawul eleven centuries ago.

by the Raja of Badoria and Rao Bood'h Sing of Boondí—the place of meeting was Peepar. That night passed in adjusting the terms of the treaty. The ensuing morn he marched forward at the head of all the men of Maroo ; and at Anundpoor the eyes of the king of the barbarians (*Mletcha*) fell on those of the lord of the earth. He gave him the title of *Tég Bahader*.¹ But fate decreed that the city of Joda was coveted by the king ; by stealth he sent Mairab Khan to take possession, accompanied by the traitor Mohkim. Ajít burned with rage when he heard of this treachery, but he was compelled to dissimulate and accompany Allum to the Dekhan, and to serve under Kambuksh. Jey Sing of Ambér² was also with the king, and had a like cause for discontent, a royal garrison being placed in Ambér, and the *gadi* of the Raja bestowed on his younger brother, Beejy Sing. Now the army rolled on like a sea overflowing its bounds. As soon as the king crossed the Nerbudda,³ the Rajas executed their designs, and without saying a word, at the head of their vassals retrograded to Rajwarra. They repaired to Oodipoor, and were received by Rana Umra with rejoicing and distinction, who advanced to conduct them to his capital. Seated together, the *chaori* waving over their heads, they appeared like the *Triuna*,⁴ Brimhá, Vishnú and Mahésa. From this hour the fortunes of the Asoors sunk, and virtue again began to show herself.⁵ From Oodipoor the two Rajas passed to Marwar. They reached Ahwa, and here the Champawut Singram, son of Oodibhán, spread the foot-carpet (*pug-múnda*) for his lord.

"The month of Sawun 1765 set in, and the hopes of the Asoor expired. Mairab was in consternation when he heard that Ajít had returned to his native land. On the 7th the hall of Joda was surrounded by thirty thousand Rahtores. On the 12th the gate of honour was thrown open to Mairab ; he had to thank the son of Aiskurn⁶ for his life. He was allowed an honourable retreat, and Ajít once more entered the capital of Maroo.

"Jey Sing encamped upon the banks of the Soor Sagur ; but a prince without a country, he was unhappy. But as soon as the rains were passed, Ajmal, the sanctuary of the Cuchwaha, proposed to reinstate him in Ambér. When conjoined they had reached Mairta, Agra and Dehli trembled. When they arrived at Ajmér its governor sought *sirna* with the saint,⁷ and paid the contributions demanded. Then, like the falcon, Ajít darted upon Sambhur ; and here the vassals of Ambér repaired from all quarters to the standard of their lord. With twelve thousand men, the Syed advanced along the edge of the salt lake, to encounter Ajmal. The Koompawut led the charge ; a desperate battle ensued ; Hussein, with six thousand men, lay on the field, while the rest took to flight and sought refuge in the castle.⁸ His lieutenant, the Purihar, *chief*

¹ 'The warrior's sword.'

² This is the *Mirza Raja*, Jey Sing—the posterior Jey Sing had the epithet *Sowae*.

³ The Mooslem historian mentions in vol. i. p. 317, that Bahader was then *en route* to Lahore.

⁴ Tri-angá, the *triple-bodied*, or *tri-murti*.

⁵ The bard of Maroo passes over the important fact of the intermarriage which took place on this occasion of the Rajpoot triple alliance. See vol. i. p. 317.

⁶ Doorgadas, who recommended the acceptance of the proffered capitulation.

⁷ The shrine of Khwaja Kootub.

⁸ Although the Marwar chronicler takes all the credit of this action, it was fought by the combined Rajpoots of the alliance. Vol. i. p. 318.

pandoo,¹ here fell into the hands of Ajít ; he then felt he had recovered Mundore. On intelligence of this history, the Asoors abandoned Ambér, and having placed a garrison in Sambhur, in the month of Megsir, Ajít restored Jey Sing to Ambér, and prepared to attack Bikanér. Ajít committed the administration of all civil affairs to the faithful Raghonath Bindarri, with the title of Dewan. He was well qualified, both from his experience in civil affairs and from his valour as a soldier.

"In Bhadoon of the year 1766, Arungzéb put to death Kambuksh,² and Jey Sing entered into negotiations with the king. Ajít now went against Nagore ; but Indur Sing being without resource, came forth and embraced Ajít's feet, who bestowed Ladnoo upon him as a heritage. But this satisfied not him who had been the lord of Nagore, and Indur carried his complaints to Dehli.³ The king was enraged—his threats reached the Rajas, who deemed it safe again to reunite. They met at Koleo near Didwanah, and the king soon after reached Ajmér. Thence he sent his firmáns and the *punja* as terms of friendship to the Rajas : Nahur Khan, *chelah* of the king, was the bearer. They were accepted, and on the 1st Asar both the Rajas repaired to Ajmér. Here the king received them graciously, in the face of the world ; to Ajít he presented the sunnud of the *Nine Castles* of Maroo, and to Jey Sing that of Ambér. Having taken leave of the king, the two Rajas went on the *purbh* to the sacred lake of Pooshkur. Here they separated for their respective domains, and Ajít reached Jodpoor in Sawun 1767. In this year he married a Gor Raní, and thus quenched the feud caused by Arjoon, who slew Umra Sing in the Aum-khas.⁴ Then he went on a pilgrimage to Cúrúkhét, the field of battle of the Máhábhárat, and made his ablutions in the fountain of Bhísáma.⁵ Thus 1767 passed away."

¹ Pandoo is the squire, the shield-bearer, of the Rajpoots.

² Kambuksh was the child of the old age of the tyrant Arungzéb, by a Rajpoot princess. He appears to have held him in more affection than any of his other sons, as his letter on his death-bed to him testifies. See vol. i. p. 300.

³ Indur Sing was the son of Umra, the eldest brother of Jeswunt, and the father of Mohkim, who, being disappointed of the government of Mairta, deserted to the king.

⁴ This is another of the numerous instances of contradictory feelings in the Rajpoot character. Umra, elder brother of Jeswunt, was banished Marwar, lost his birthright, and was afterwards slain at court, as already related. His son, Indur Sing, and grandson Mohkim, from Nagore, which they held in separate grants from the king, never forgot their title as elder branch of the family, and eternally contested their claim against Ajít. Still, as a Rahtore, he was bound to avenge the injuries of a Rahtore, even though his personal foe.—Singular inconsistency !

⁵ There is an anecdote regarding the fountain of this classic field of strife the Troad of Rajast'han, which well exemplifies the superstitious belief of the warlike Rajpoot. The emperor Bahader Shah was desirous to visit this scene of the exploits of the heroes of antiquity, stimulated, no doubt, by his Rajpoot queen, or his mother, also of this race. He was seated under a tree which shaded the sacred fount, named after the great leader of the *Cúrús*, his queen by his side, surrounded by *handís* to hide them from profane eyes, when a vulture perched upon the tree with a bone in its beak, which falling in the fountain, the bird set up a scream of laughter. The king looked up in astonishment, which was greatly increased when the vulture addressed him in human accents, saying, "that in a former birth she was a *Jogini*, and was in the field of slaughter of the *great war*, whence she flew away with the dissevered arm of one of its mighty warriors, with which she alighted on that very tree, that the arm was encumbered with a ponderous golden bracelet, in which, as an amulet, were set thirteen brilliant

Here let us, for a while, suspend the narrative of the chronicler, and take a retrospective glance at the transactions of the Rahtores, from the year 1737, the period of Raja Jeswunt's death at Cabul, to the restoration of Ajit, presenting a continuous conflict of thirty years' duration. In vain might we search the annals of any other nation for such inflexible devotion as marked the Rahtore character through this period of strife, during which, to use their own phrase, "hardly a chieftain died on his pallet." Let those who deem the Hindu warrior void of patriotism read the rude chronicle of this thirty years' war; let them compare it with that of any other country, and do justice to the magnanimous Rajpoot. This narrative, the simplicity of which is the best voucher for its authenticity, presents an uninterrupted record of patriotism and disinterested loyalty. It was a period when the sacrifice of these principles was rewarded by the tyrant king with the highest honours of the state; nor are we without instances of the temptation being too strong to be withstood: but they are rare, and serve only to exhibit, in more pleasing colours, the virtues of the tribe which spurned the attempts at seduction. What a splendid example is the heroic Doorgadas of all that constitutes the glory of the Rajpoot! Valour, loyalty, integrity, combined with prudence in all the difficulties which surrounded him, are qualities which entitle him to the admiration which his memory continues to enjoy. The temptations held out to him were almost irresistible: not merely the gold, which he and thousands of his brethren would alike have spurned, but the splendid offer of power in the proffered 'munsub of five thousand,' which would at once have lifted him from his vassal condition to an equality with the princes and chief nobles of the land. Doorga had, indeed, but to name his reward; but, as the bard justly says, he was '*amólac*,' beyond all price, '*umoko*,' unique. Not even revenge, so dear to the Rajpoot, turned him aside from the dictates of true honour. The foul assassination of his

symbols of Siva, and that after devouring the flesh, she dropped the bracelet, which fell into the fountain, and it was this awakened coincidence which had caused "the scream of laughter." We must suppose that this, the *pulchra* of the field of slaughter, spoke Sanscrit or its dialect, interpreted by his Rajpoot queen. Instantly the pioneers were commanded to clear the fountain, and behold the relic of the Máhábharat, with the symbolic emblems of the god all-perfect! and so large were they, that the emperor remarked they would answer excellently well for 'slaves of the carpet.' The Hindu princes then present, among whom were the Rajas Ajit and Jey Sing, were shocked at this levity, and each entreated of the king one of the phallic symbols. The Mirza Raja obtained two, and both are yet at Jeipoor, one in the Temple of Silla Devi,¹ the other in that of Govinda. Ajit had one, still preserved and worshipped at the shrine of *Girdhari* at Jodpoor. My old tutor and friend, the Yati Gyanchandra, who told the story while he read the chronicles as I translated them, has often seen and made homage to all the three relics. There is one, he believed, at Boondl or Kotah, and the Rana by some means obtained another. They are of pure rock crystal, and as each weighs some pounds, there must have been giants in the days of the Bhárat, to have supported thirteen in one armlet. Homer's heroes were pigmies to the Cúrús, whose bracelet we may doubt if Ajax could have lifted. My venerable tutor, though liberal in his opinions, did not choose to dissent from the general belief, for man, he said, had beyond a doubt greatly degenerated since the heroic ages, and was rapidly approximating to the period, the immediate forerunner of a universal renovation, when only dwarfs would creep over the land.

¹ The goddess of arms, their Pallas.

brother, the brave Soning, effected through his enemies, made no alteration in his humanity whenever the chance of war placed his foe in his power ; and in this, his policy seconded his virtue. His chivalrous conduct, in the extrication of prince Akber from inevitable destruction had he fallen into his father's hands, was only surpassed by his generous and delicate behaviour towards the prince's family, which was left in his care, forming a marked contrast to that of the enemies of his faith on similar occasions. The virtue of the granddaughter of Arungzéb, in the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Droonara,¹ was in far better keeping than in the trebly-walled harem of Agra. Of his energetic mind, and the control he exerted over those of his confiding brethren, what a proof is given, in his preserving the secret of the abode of his prince throughout the six first years of his infancy ! But, to conclude our eulogy in the words of their bard : he has reaped the immortality destined for good deeds ; his memory is cherished, his actions are the theme of constant praise, and his picture on his white horse, old, yet in vigour, is familiar amongst the collections of portraits of Raj-pootana.²

But there was not a clan, or family, that did not produce men of worth in this protracted warfare, which incited constant emulation ; and the bards of each had abundant materials to emblazon the pages of their chronicles. To the recollection of these, their expatriated descendants allude in the memorial³ of their hardships from the cruel policy of the reigning chief, the last lineal descendant of the prince, whose history has just been narrated. We now resume the narrative in the language of the chronicle.

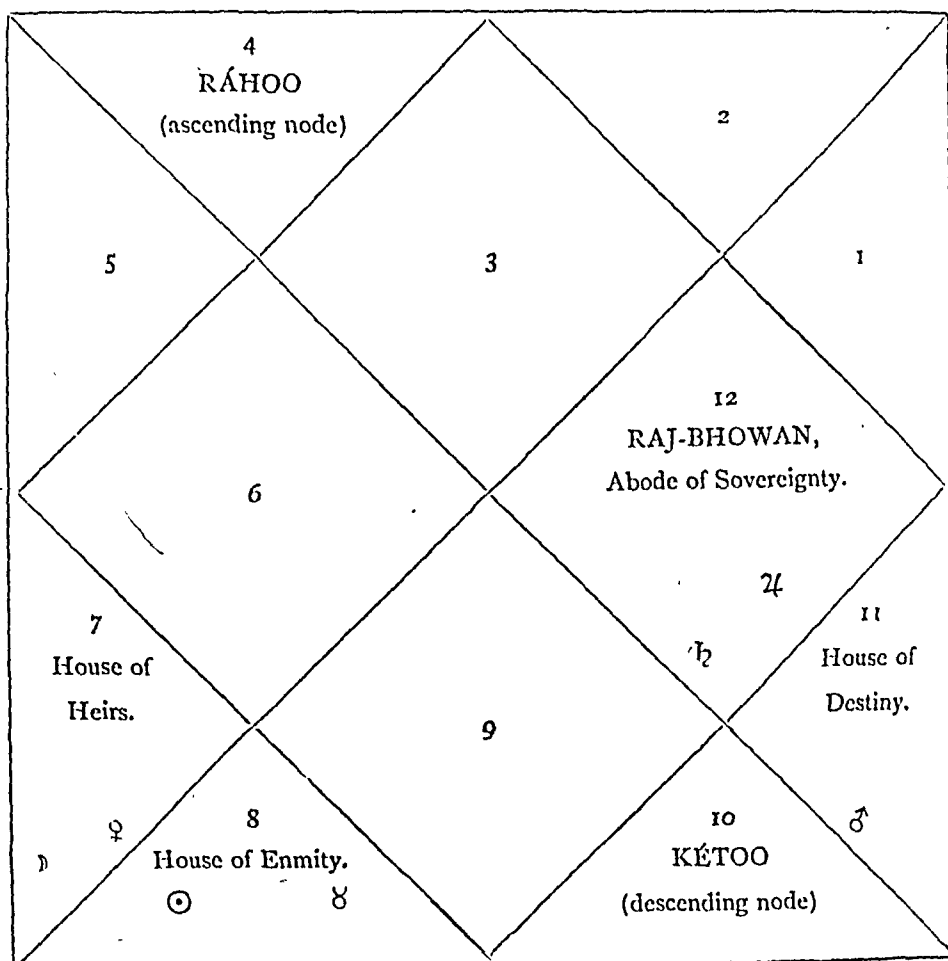
¹ Doorga's fief on the Looni.

² See vol. i. p. 308.

³ See vol. i. p. 159.

HOROSCOPE OF RAJA ABHYE SING.

In the *jenem-patri*, or horoscope of Abhye Sing (referred to in p. 58), the 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, and 12th houses denote the destinies of the heir of Ajit. In the 4th we have the monster *Ráhoo*, the author of eclipses. Of the 7th, or house of heirs, the Moon and Venus have taken possession; of the 8th, or house of strife, the Sun and Mercury. In the 10th is *Kétoo*, brother of *Ráhoo*, both signs of evil portent. Mars rides in the house of fate, while Saturn and Jupiter are together in the abode of sovereignty. Like that of every man living, the horoscope of the heir of Maroo is filled with good and evil: could the *Jotishi* or astrological seer have put the parricidal sign in the house of destiny, he might have claimed some merit for superior intelligence. Those who have ever consulted any works on this foolish pursuit, will observe that the diagrams of the European astrologers are exact copies of the Hindu, in proof of which I have inserted this; to trace darkness as well as light from the East!



CHAPTER IX

Ajít commanded to reduce Nahn and the rebels of the Sewaluk mountains—The emperor dies—Civil wars—Ajít nominated viceroy of Guzzerat—Ajít commanded to send his son to court—Daring attack on the chief of Nagore, who is slain—Retaliated—The king's army invades Marwar—Jodpoor invested—Terms—Abhye Sing sent to court—Ajít proceeds to Dehli—Coalesces with the Syed ministry of the king—Gives a daughter in marriage to the emperor—Returns to Jodpoor—Repeal of the *Je eya*—Ajít proceeds to his viceroyalty of Guzzerat—Settles the province—Worships at Dwarica—Returns to Jodpoor—The Syeds summon him to court—The splendour of his train—Leagues with the Syeds—The emperor visits Ajít—Portents—Husein Alli arrives from the Dekhan—Consternation of the opponents of the Syeds and Ajít—Ajít blockades the palace with his Rahtores—The emperor put to death—Successors—Mohammed Shah—He marches against Ambér—Its Raja claims sanctuary with Ajít—Obtains the grant of Ahmedabad—Returns to Jodpoor—Ajít unites his daughter to the Prince of Ambér—The Syeds assassinated—Ajít warned of his danger—Seizes on Ajmér—Slays the governor—Destroys the mosques, and re-establishes the Hindu rites—Ajít declares his independence—Coins in his own name—Establishes weights and measures, and his own courts of justice—Fixes the gradations of rank amongst his chiefs—The Imperialists invade Marwar—Abhye Sing heads thirty thousand Rahtores to oppose them—The king's forces decline battle—The Rahtores ravage the Imperial provinces—Abhye Sing obtains the surname of '*Dhonkul*,' or exterminator—Returns to Jodpoor—Battle of Sambhur—Ajít gives sanctuary to Choramun Jât, founder of Bhurtpore—The emperor puts himself at the head of all his forces to avenge the defeat of Sambhur—Ajmér invested—Its defence—Ajít agrees to surrender Ajmér—Abhye Sing proceeds to the Imperial camp—His reception—His arrogant bearing—Murder of Ajít by his son—Infidelity of the bard—Blank leaf of the *Raj Roopaca*, indicative of this event—Extract from that chronicle—Funereal rites—Six queens and fifty-eight concubines determine to become *Satis*—Expostulations of the Nazir, bards, and purohits—They fail—Procession—Rite concluded—Reflections on Ajít's life and history.

"In 1768 Ajít was sent against Nahn and the chiefs of the snowy mountains, whom he reduced to obedience. Thence he went to the Ganges, where he performed his ablutions, and in the spring he returned to Jodpoor.

"In 1769 Shah Allum went to heaven. The torch of discord was lighted by his sons, with which they fired their own dwelling. Azim Ooshawn was slain, and the umbrella of royalty waved over the head of Moiz-oo-deen. Ajít sent the Bindarri Kaimsi to the presence, who returned with the sunnud of the vice-royalty of Guzzerat. In the month of Megsir 1769, he prepared an army to take possession of the *Satra-schés*,¹ when fresh dissensions broke out in the house of the Chagitai. The Syeds slew Moiz-oo-deen, and Ferochsér became king. Zoolfecar Khan was put to death, and with him departed the strength of the Moguls. Then the Syeds became headstrong. Ajít was commanded to send his son, Abhye Sing, now seventeen years of age, with his contingent, to court; but Ajít having learned that the traitor Mokund was there and in great favour, sent a trusty band, who slew him even in the middle of Dehli. This daring act brought the Syed with an army to Jodpoor. Ajít sent off the men of wealth to Sewanoh, and his son and family to the desert of Rardurroh.² The capital was invested, and Abhye Sing demanded as a hostage for the

¹ The 'seventeen thousand' towns of Guzzerat.

² The tract west of the Looni.

conduct of Ajít, who was also commanded to court. To neither was the Raja inclined, but the advice of the Dewán and still more of Kesar the bard, who gave as a precedent the instance of Rao Ganga when invaded by the Lodi, Dowlut Khan, who entrusted his affairs to his son Maldeo, was unanimously approved.¹ Abhye Sing was recalled from Rardurroh, and marched with Husein Alli to Dehli, the end of Asar 1770. The heir of Maroo received the munsab of five thousand from the king.

"Ajít followed his son to the court, then held at Dehli. There the sight of the altars raised over the ashes of chiefs who had perished to preserve him in his infancy, kindled all his wrath, and he meditated revenge on the whole house of Timoor. Four distinct causes for displeasure had Ajmál :—

" 1. The *Noroza*.²

" 2. The compulsory marriage of their daughters with the king.

" 3. The killing of kine.

" 4. The *Jezeya*, or capitation tax."³

Here we must interrupt the narrative, in order to supply an important omission of the bard, who slurs over the hardest of the conditions demanded of Ajít on the invasion of the Syed, namely, the giving a daughter to Ferochsér, the important political results of which are already related in the first part of this work.⁴ This compulsory marriage only aggravated Ajít's desire of vengeance, and he entered into the views of the Syeds with the true spirit of his father ; obtaining meanwhile, as the price of coalition, the compliance with the specified demands, besides others of less moment, such as " that the bell for prayer should be allowed to toll in the quarters of the city allotted to the Rajpoots, and that their temples should be held sacred ; and last, but not least, the aggrandisement of his hereditary dominions." Let us again recur to the chronicle.

"In Jcit 1771, having secured all his wishes, Ajít left the court, and with the renewed patent as viceroy of Guzzerat, returned to Jodpoor. Through Kaimsi, his minister, the *jezeya* was repealed. The Hindu race owed eternal obligation to the Mor (*crown*) of Mordhur, the sanctuary of princes in distress.

"In 1772, Ajít prepared to visit this government : Abhye Sing accompanied his father. He first proceeded to Jhalore, where he passed the rainy season. Thence he attacked the '*Mewassò*':⁵ first, Neemuj, which he took, when the Deoras paid him tribute. Feeroz Khan advanced from Palhanpoor to meet him. The Ran of Therád paid a lakh of rupees. Cambay was invested and paid ; and the Koli chief, Kemkurn, was reduced. From Patun, Sukta the Champawut, with Beejo Bindarri, sent the year preceding to manage the province, came forth to meet him.

"In 1773, Ajít reduced the Jhala of Hulwud, and Jam of Noatuggur, who paid as tribute three lacs of rupees, with twenty-five choice steeds ;

¹ They slur over the most important demand—a daughter to wife to the king—it is at this Ajít hesitates, and for which the precedent is given.

² See vol. i. p. 273.

³ Described vol. i. p. 299.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 319.

⁵ *Mewasso* is a term given to the fastnesses in the mountains, which the aboriginal tribes, Kolis, Meenas, and Mairs, and not unfrequently the Rajpoots, make their retreats ; and in the present instance the bard alludes to the '*Mewasso*' of the Deoras of Sirohi and Aboo, which has annoyed the descendants of Ajít to this hour, and has served to maintain the independence of this Chohan tribe.

and having settled the province, he worshipped at Dwarica, and bathed in the Gomtee.¹ Thence he returned to Jodpoor, where he learned that Indur Sing had regained Nagore ; but he stood not before Ajít.

"The year 1774 had now arrived. The Syeds and their opponents were engaged in civil strife. Husein Alli was in the Dekhan, and the mind of Abdoolla was alienated from the king. Paper on paper came, inviting Ajít. He marched, by Nagore, Mairta, Poshkur, Marote, and Sambhur, whose garrisons he strengthened, to Dehli. From Marote he sent Abhye Sing back to take care of Jodpoor. The Syed advanced from Dehli to meet the *Dhunni* (lord) of Marwar, who alighted at Aliverdi's serai. Here the Syed and Ajít formed a league to oppose Jey Sing and the Moguls, while the king remained like a snake coiled up in a closed vessel. To get rid of their chief opponent, Zoolfecar Khan, was first determined.

"When the king heard that Ajít had reached Dehli, he sent the Hara Rao Bheem of Kotah, and Khandowran Khan to introduce him to the presence. Ajít obeyed. Besides his own Rahtores, he was accompanied by Rao Bishen Sing of Jessulmér, and Puddum Sing of Derawul, with Futteh Sing, a noble of Méwar, Maun Sing Rahtore, chief of Seeta Mhow, and the Chunderawut, Gopal of Rampoor, besides Oodi Sing of Kundaila, Sukut Sing of Munohurpoor, Kishen of Kulchipoor, and many others.² The meeting took place at the Mooti Bagh. The king bestowed the *munsib* of *Hest Hazari* (seven thousand horse) on Ajít, and added a crore of *dams* to his rent-roll. He presented him with the insignia of the *Mahi Moratib*, with elephants and horses, a sword and dagger, a diamond aigrette (*Sirpéché*) and plume, and a double string of pearls. Having left the presence, Ajít went to visit Abdoolla Khan. The Syed advanced to meet him, and his reception, with his attendants, was distinguished. They renewed their determination to stand or fall together. Their conference caused dismay to the Moguls, who lay in ambush to put Ajít to death.

"On the second day of the bright moon of Pos, 1775, the king honoured Ajít with a visit. Ajít seated the king on a throne formed of bags of rupces to the amount of one lakh,³ and presented elephants, horses, and all that was precious. In the month of Phalagoon, Ajít and the Syed went to visit the king ; and after the conference wrote to Husein Alli revealing their plans, and desiring his rapid march to unite with them from the Dekhan. Now the heavens assumed portentous appearances ; the *desa* ⁴ was red and fiery ; jackasses brayed unusually ; dogs barked ; thunder rolled without a cloud ; the court, late so gay, was now sad and gloomy ; all were forebodings of change at Dehli. In twenty days, Husein reached Dehli ; his countenance was terrific ; his drum, which now beat close to the palace, was the knell of falling greatness. He was

¹ This is all in the district of Oka (*Oka-mandala*), where the Badhails fixed themselves on the migration of Séóji from Canouj. It would have been instructive had the bard deigned to have given us any account of the recognition which this visit occasioned, and which beyond a doubt caused the 'books of Chronicles and Kings' to be opened and referred to.

² This list well exemplifies the tone now assumed by the Rahtores ; but this grand feudal assemblage was in virtue of his office of viceroy of Guzzerat. Each and all of these chieftainships the author is as familiar with as with the pen he now holds.

³ £10,000 to £12,000.

⁴ Omen of the quarter.

accompanied by myriads of horse. Dehli was enveloped in the dust raised by his hostile steeds. They encamped in the north of the city, and Husein joined Ajít and his brother. The trembling king sent congratulations and gifts ; the Mogul chiefs kept aloof in their abodes ; even as the quail cowers in the grass when the falcon hovers over it, so did the Moguls when Husein reached Dehli. The lord of Ambér was like a lamp left without oil.

" On the second day, all convened at Ajít's tents, on the banks of the Jumna, to execute the plans now determined upon. Ajít mounted his steed ; at the head of his Rahtores, he marched direct to the palace, and at every post he placed his own men : he looked like the fire destined to cause *pralaya*.¹ When the sun appears darkness flies ; when the oil fails the lamp goes out : so is it with crowns and kings, when good faith and justice, the oil that feeds their power, is wanting. The crash which shivered the umbrella of Dehli reverberated throughout the land. The royal treasures were plundered. None amidst the Moguls came forward to rescue their king (Ferochsér), and Jey Sing fled from the scene of destruction. Another king was set up, but in four months he was seized with a distemper and died. Then Dowlah ² was placed on the throne. But the Moguls at Dehli set up Neko Shah at Agra, and Husein marched against them, leaving Ajít and Abdoolah with the king.³

" In 1776, Ajít and the Syed moved from Dehli ; but the Moguls surrendered Neko Shah, who was confined in Selimgurh. At this time the king died, and Ajít and the Syeds made another, and placed Mahomed Shah on the throne. Many countries were destroyed, and many were made to flourish, during the dethronement of kings by Ajít. With the death of Ferochsér Jey Sing's views were crushed, and the Syeds determined to punish him. The lord of Ambér was like water carried in a platter.⁴ The king reached the Dúrgah at Sikri, in progress to Ambér, and here the chieftains sought the *sirna* (sanctuary) of Ajít. They said the *Khoorm* was lost if he protected them not against the Syeds. Even as Krishna saved Arjoon in the Bhárat, so did Ajít take Jey Sing under his protection. He sent the chiefs of the Champawuts and his minister to dispel his fears ; they returned with the lord of Ambér, who felt like one who had escaped the doom (*pralaya*). Ajít placed one monarch on the throne, and saved another from destruction. The king bestowed upon him the grant of Ahmedabad, and gave him permission to visit his home. With Jey Sing of Ambér, and Bood Sing Hara of Boondí, he marched for Jodpoor, and in the way contracted a marriage with the daughter of the Shekhavut chief of Munohurpoor. In the month of Ahsun he reached Jodagir, when the lord of Ambér encamped at Soor Sagur, and the Hara Rao north of the town.

" The cold season had fled ; the spring (*bussunt*) approached. The peacock was intoxicated with the nectar-drops distilled from the sweet blossomed *amba* (mango) ; the rich sap exuded ; the humming-bees

¹ The final doom.

² Ruffeh ool Dowla.

³ This is both minutely and faithfully related, and fully as much so as the Mahomedan record of this black deed. We have already (vol. i. p. 324) described it, and given a translation of an autograph letter of the prince of Ambér, written on this memorable day. The importance of the transaction, as well as the desire to show the Bardic version, will justify its repetition.

⁴ In allusion to his vacillation, for which the ' Mirza Raja ' was notorious.

clustered round the flowers ; new leaves budded forth ; songs of joy resounded ; the hearts of gods, men, and women expanded with mirth. It was then the lord of Ambér was bedecked in saffron robes, to espouse the ' virgin of the sun ' (*Súrya Komari*), the child of Ajít. On this he had consulted the Champawuts, and according to ancient usage, the *Ad-Purdhan*, or chief minister, the Koompawut ; likewise the Bindarri Dewan, and the Gúrú. But were I to dwell on these festivities, this book would become too large ; I therefore say but little !

" The rains of 1777 set in, and Jey Sing and Bood Sing remained with Ajít, when a messenger arrived with tidings that the Moguls had assassinated the Syeds, and were now on the watch for Ajít. He drew his sword, and swore he would possess himself of Ajmér. He dismissed the lord of Ambér. In twelve days after Ajít reached Mairta. In the face of day he drove the Mooslem from Ajmér and made it his own. He slew the king's governor and seized on Tarragurh.¹ Once more the bell of prayers was heard in the temple, while the *bang* ² of the Mesjid was silent. Where the *Koran* was read, the *Purán* was now heard, and the Mindra took the place of the Mosque. The Kazi made way for the Brahmin, and the pit of burnt sacrifice (*homa*) was dug, where the sacred kine were slain. He took possession of the salt lakes of Sambhur and Didwanoh, and the records were always moist with inserting fresh conquests. Ajít ascended his own throne ; the umbrella of supremacy he waved over his head. He coined in his own name, established his own *guz* (measure), and *seer* (weight), his own courts of justice, and a new scale of rank for his chiefs, with nalkees and mace-bearers, nobuts and standards, and every emblem of sovereign rule. Ajmal in Ajmér, was equal to Aspati in Dehli.³ The intelligence spread over the land ; it reached even Mecca and Irán, that Ajít had exalted his own faith, while the rites of Islám were prohibited throughout the land of Maroo.

" In 1778, the king determined to regain Ajmér. He gave the command to Mozuffur, who in the rains advanced towards Marwar. Ajít entrusted the conduct of this war to his son, the ' shield of Maroo,' the ' fearless ' (*Abhye*), with the eight great vassals, and thirty thousand horse ; the Champawuts on the right, the Koompawuts on the left, while the Kurumsotes, Mairteas, Jodas, Eendos, Bhattis, Sonigurras, Deoras, Kheechies, Dhonduls and Gogawuts,⁴ composed the main body. At Ambér, the Rahtores and imperialists came in sight ; but Mozuffur disgraced himself,

¹ The *Star Fort*, the castle of Ajmér.

² The call to prayer of the Mooslem.

³ This exact imitation of the manners of the imperial court is still strictly maintained at Jodpoor. The account of the measures which followed the possession of Ajmér is taken from the chronicle *Surya Prakash* ; the only part not entirely translated from the *Raj Roopac Akhéat*. Ajmal is a license of the poet, where it suits his rhyme, for Ajít. Aspati, ' lord of steeds,' is the common epithet applied to the emperors of Dehli. It is, however, but the second degree of paramount power—Gujpati, ' lord of elephants ' is the first.

⁴ The two latter tribes are amongst the most ancient of the allodial chieftains of the desert ; the Dhonduls being descendants of Rao Gango : the Gogawuts, of the famous Goga the Chohan, who defended the Sutlege in the earliest Mooslem invasion recorded. Both Goga and his steed *Jowadia* are immortal in Rajast'han. The author had a chestnut Cattiawar, called *Jowadia* ; he was perfection, and a piece of living fire when mounted, scorning every pace but the antelope's bounds and curvets.

and retired within that city without risking an encounter. Abhye Sing, exasperated at this display of pusillanimous bravado, determined to punish the king. He attacked Shahjehanpoor, sacked Narnol, levied contributions on Patun (*Tuārvati*) and Rewari. He gave the villages to the flames, and spread conflagration and consternation even to Aliverdi's Serai. Dehli and Agra trembled with affright; the Asoors fled without their shoes at the deeds of Abhye, whom they styled *Dhionkul*, 'the exterminator.' He returned by Sambhur and Ludhana, and here he married the daughter of the chief of the Narooocas.¹

"In 1779, Abhye Sing remained at Sambhur, which he strengthened, and hither his father Ajít came from Ajmér. The meeting was like that between 'Casyapa and Surya'; for he had broken the bow of Mozuffur and made the Hindu happy. The king sent his *Chélah*, Nahur Khan, to expostulate with Ajít; but his language was offensive, and the field of Sambhur devoured the tiger lord (Nahur Khan) and his four thousand followers. The son of Choramún the Ját,² now claimed sanctuary with Ajít. Sick of these dissensions, the unhappy Mahomed Shah determined to abandon his crown and retire to Mecca. But determined to revenge the death of Nahur Khan, he prepared a formidable army. He collected [the contingents of] the twenty-two Satraps³ of the empire, and placed at their head Jey Sing of Ambér, Hyder Kooli, Eradut Khan Bungush, etc. In the month of Sawun (*July*), Tarragurh was invested; Abhye Sing marched out and left its defence to Umra Sing. It had held out four months, when through the prince of Ambér (Jey Sing), Ajít listened to terms, which were sworn to on the *Kordn* by the nobles of the king; and he agreed to surrender Ajmér. Abhye Sing then accompanied Jey Sing to the camp. It was proposed that in testimony of his obedience he should repair to the presence. The prince of Ambér pledged himself; but the Fearless (*Abhye*) placed his hand on his sword, saying, 'This is my surety!'"

The heir of Marwar was received by the king with the utmost honour; but being possessed of a double portion of that arrogance which forms the chief characteristic of his race (more especially of the Rahtore and Chohan, from which he sprang), his reception nearly produced at Dehli a repetition of the scene recorded in the history of his ancestor Umra at Agra. Knowing that his father held the first place on the king's right hand, he considered himself, as his representative, entitled to the same honour; and little heeding the unbending etiquette of the proudest court in the world, he unceremoniously hustled past all the dignitaries of the state, and had even ascended a step of the throne, when, checked by one of the nobles Abhye's hand was on his dagger, and but for the presence of mind of the monarch "who threw his own chaplet round his neck" to restrain him, the Divan would have been deluged with blood.

We shall now drop the chronicles, and in recording the murder of Ajít, the foulest crime in the annals of Rajast'han, exemplify the mode in which their poetic historians gloss over such events. It was against Ajít's will that his son went to court, as if he had a presentiment of the fate which awaited him, and which has been already circumstantially related.⁴ The authors from whose records this narrative is chiefly compiled, were too

¹ One of the great clans of Ambér; of whom more hereafter.

² Founder of the Bhurtpore state.

³ The Bycesa, or 'twenty-two' viceroys of India.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 583.

polite to suffer such a stigma to appear in their chronicles, 'written by desire' and under the eye of the parricide, Ajít's successor. The *Súrya Prakás* merely says, "at this time Ajít went to heaven"; but affords no indication of the person who sent him there. The *Raj Roopaca*, however, not bold enough to avow the mysterious death of his prince, yet too honest altogether to pass it over, has left an expressive blank leaf at this part of his chronicle, certainly not accidental, as it intervenes between Abhye Sing's reception at court, and the incidents following his father's death, which I translate *verbatim*, as they present an excellent picture of the results of a Rajpoot potentate's demise.

"Abhye, a second Ajít, was introduced to the *Aspatí*; his father heard the news and rejoiced. But this world is a fable—a lie. Time will sooner or later prey on all things. What king, what raja can avoid the path leading to extinction? The time allotted for our sojourn here is predetermined; prolong it we cannot. The decree penned by the hand of the Creator is engraven upon each forehead at the hour of birth. Neither addition nor subtraction can be made. Fate (*honhár*) must be fulfilled. It was the command of *Govinda*¹ that Ajít (the Avatar of Indra) should obtain immortality, and leave his renown in the world beneath. Ajít, so long a thorn in the side of his foe, was removed to *Purloca*.² He kept afloat the faith of the Hindu, and sunk the Mooslem in shame. In the face of day, the lord of Maroo took the road which leads to Paradise (*Vaicoonta*). Then dismay seized the city; each looked with dread in his neighbour's face as he said, 'Our sun has set!' But when the day of *Yama-raj*³ arrives, who can retard it? Were not the five *Pandús* enclosed in the mansion of Himala?⁴ Harchund escaped not the universal decree; nor will gods, men, or reptiles avoid it, not even *Vicrama* or *Carna*; all fall before *Yama*. How then could Ajít hope to escape?

"On *Asár*, the 13th, the dark half of the moon of 1780, seventeen hundred warriors of the eight ranks of Maroo, for the last time marched before their lord.⁵ They placed his body in a boat,⁶ and carried him to the pyre,⁷ made of sandal-wood and perfumes, with heaps of cotton, oil, and camphor. But this is a subject of grief: how can the bard enlarge on such a theme? The Nazir went to the *Rawula*⁸ and as he pronounced the words '*Rao siddóe*,' the Chohaní queen, with sixteen damsels in her suite, came forth: 'This day,' said she, 'is one of joy; my race shall be illustrated; our lives have passed together, how then can I leave him?'⁹

"Of noble race was the Bhattiani queen, a scion (*sac'ha*) of Jessul, and daughter of Birjung. She put up a prayer to the Lord who wields the discus.¹⁰ 'With joy I accompany my lord; that my fealty (*sati*) may be accepted, rests with thee.' In like manner did the Gazelle (*Mirgavati*) of

¹ The sovereign judge of mankind.

² 'The other world'; lit. 'another place.'

³ 'Lord of hell.'

⁴ *Him*, 'ice,' and *álá*, 'an abode.'

⁵ Both head and feet are uncovered in funeral processions.

⁶ *Id est* a vehicle formed like a boat, perhaps figurative of the sail crossing the 'Voiturna,' or Styx of the Hindu.

⁷ For the mode of conveying princes to their final abode, I refer the reader to a description at vol. i. p. 152, *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*.

⁸ The queen's palace.

⁹ This is the lady whom Ajít married in his non-age, the mother of the parricide.

¹⁰ Crishna.

Derawul,¹ and the Tuár queen of pure blood,² the Chaora Rani,³ and her of Shekhavati, invoke the name of Heri, as they determined to join their lord. For these six queens death had no terrors ; but they were the affianced wives of their lord : the curtain wives of affection, to the number of fifty-eight, determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agní.⁴ 'Such another opportunity,' said they, 'can never occur, if we survive our lord ; disease will seize and make us a prey in our apartments. Why then quit the society of our lord, when at all events we must fall into the hands of Yama, for whom the human race is but a mouthful ? Let us leave the iron age (*Kal-yuga*) behind us.' 'Without our lord, even life is death,' said the Bhattiani, as she bound the beads of Toolsi round her neck, and made the *tilac* with earth from the Ganges. While thus each spoke, Nat'hoo, the Nazir,⁵ thus addressed them : 'This is no amusement ; the sandal-wood you now anoint with is cool : but will your resolution abide, when you remove it with the flames of Agní ? When this scorches your tender frames, your hearts may fail, and the desire to recede will disgrace your lord's memory. Reflect, and remain where you are. You have lived like *Indrani*,⁶ nursed in softness amidst flowers and perfumes ; the winds of heaven never offended you, far less the flames of fire.' But to all his arguments they replied : 'The world we will abandon, but never our lord.' They performed their ablutions, decked themselves in their gayest attire, and for the last time made obeisance to their lord in his car. The ministers, the bards, the family priests (*Purohīts*), in turn, expostulated with them. The chief queen (*Pátráñi*) the Chohaní, they told to indulge her affection for her sons, Abhye and Bukhta ; to feed the poor, the needy, the holy, and lead a life of religious devotion. The queen replied : 'Koonti, the wife of Pandú, did not follow her lord ; she lived to see the greatness of the *five brothers*, her sons ; but were her expectations realised ? This life is a vain shadow ; this dwelling one of sorrow ; let us accompany our lord to that of fire, and there close it.'

'The drum sounded ; the funeral train moved on ; all invoked the name of *Heri*.⁷ Charity was dispensed like falling rain, while the countenances of the queens were radiant as the sun. From heaven Umia⁸ looked down ; in recompense of such devotion she promised they should enjoy the society of Ajit in each successive transmigration. As the smoke, emitted from the house of flame, ascended to the sky, the assembled multitudes shouted *Khaman ! Khaman !* 'Well done ! Well done !' The pile flamed

¹ Ancient capital of the Bhattis.

² Descended from the ancient dynasty of the Hindu kings of Dehli.

³ Tribe of the first dynasty of Anhulwarra Pattun.

⁴ The fire.

⁵ The Nazir (A Mooslem epithet) has the charge of the harem.

⁶ The queen of heaven.

⁷ Heri Crishna is the mediator and preserver of the Hindu Triad ; his name alone is invoked in funeral rites (see vol. i. p. 424). The following extract from Dr. Wilkins' translation of the *Geeta* will best disclose his attributes :—Crishna speaks :

"I am the journey of the good ; the comforter ; the creator ; the witness ; the resting-place ; the asylum ; and the friend. I am generation and dissolution ; the place where all things are deposited, and the inexhaustible soul of all nature. I am death and immortality ; I am never-failing time ; the preserver, whose face is turned on all sides. I am all grasping death ; and I am the resurrection of those who are about to die."

⁸ A name of Doorga, the Hindu Juno.

battle of Sambhur, in S. 1765, fought against the Syeds, which ended in a union of interests, was one of these ; and, for the rest of Ajít's life, kept him in close contact with the court, where he might have taken the lead had his talent for intrigue been commensurate with his boldness. From this period until his death, Ajít's agency was recognised in all the intrigues and changes amongst the occupants of Timoor's throne, from Ferochsér to Mahomed. He inherited an invincible hatred to the very name of Mooslem, and was not scrupulous regarding the means by which he was likely to secure the extirpation of a race so inimical to his own. Viewing the manifold reasons for this hatred, we must not scrutinise with severity his actions when leagued with the Syeds, even in the dreadful catastrophe which overwhelmed Ferochsér, to whom he owed the two-fold duty of fealty and consanguinity.

There is one stain on the memory of Ajít which, though unnoticed in the chronicle, is too well ascertained to be omitted in a summary of his character, more especially as it illustrates that of the nation and of the times, and shows the loose system which holds such governments together. The heroic Doorgadas, the preserver of his infancy, the instructor of his youth the guide of his manhood, lived to confirm the proverb, "Put not thy faith in princes." He, who by repeated instances of exalted self-denial, had refused wealth and honours that might have raised himself from his vassal condition to an equality with his sovereign, was banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom, and valour had preserved. Why, or when, Ajít loaded himself with this indelible infamy was not known ; the fact was incidentally discovered in searching a collection of original newspapers written from the camp of Bahadoor Shah,¹ in one of which it was stated, that "Doorgadas was encamped with his household retainers on the banks of the Peshola Lake at Oodipoor, and receiving daily five hundred rupees for his support from the Rana ; who when called on by the king (Bahader Shah) to surrender him, magnanimously refused." Imagining that Ajít had been compelled to this painful sacrifice, which is not noticed in the annals, the compiler mentioned it to a *Yati* deeply versed in all the events and transactions of this state. Aware of the circumstance, which is not overlooked by the bards, he immediately repeated the couplet composed on the occasion—

*"Doorga, dés-sá kar-jéa
Golá, Gangani !"*

"Doorga was exiled, and Gangani given to a slave."

Gangani, on the north bank of the Looni, was the chief town of the Kurnote fief, of which clan Doorga was the head. It is now attached to the *Khalisa*, or fisc, but whether recently, or ever since Doorga, we know not. The Kurnotes still pay the last rites to their dead at Gangani, where they have their cenotaphs (*chehtris*). Whether that of the noble Doorga stands there to serve as a memorial of princely ingratitude, the writer cannot say ; a portrait of the hero, in the autumn of his days, was given to him by the last lineal descendant of Ajít, as the reader is already aware.² Well may we repeat, that the system of feudality is the parent of the most brilliant virtues and the darkest crimes ? Here, a long life of uninterrupted fidelity could not preserve Doorga from the envenomed breath of

¹ Discovered by the author amongst the Rana's archives.

² Vol. i. p. 308.

slander, or the serpent-tooth of ingratitude : and whilst the mind revolts at the crime which left a blank leaf in the chronicle, it is involuntarily carried back to an act less atrocious, indeed, than one which violates the laws of nature, but which in diminishing none of our horror for Abhye Sing, yet lessens our sympathy for the persecutor of Doorgadas.

CHAPTER X

The parricidal murder of Ajit, the cause of the destruction of Marwar—The parricide, Abhye Sing, invested as Raja by the Emperor's own hand—He returns from court to Jodpoor—His reception—He distributes gifts to the bards and priests—The bards of Rajpootana—Kurna, the poetic historian of Marwar—Studies requisite to form a *Bardai*—Abhye Sing reduces Nagore—Bestows it in appanage upon his brother Bukhta—Reduces the turbulent allodialists—Commanded to court—Makes a tour of his domain—Seized by the small-pox—Reaches the court—Rebellion of the viceroy of Guzzerat, and of prince Jungali in the Dekhan—Picture of the Mogul court at this time—The *beera* of foreign service against the rebels described—Refused by the assembled nobles—Accepted by the Rahtore prince—He visits Ajmér, which he garrisons—Meeting at Pooshkur with the Raja of Ambér—Plan the destruction of the empire—At Mairta is joined by his brother Bukhta Sing—Reaches Jodpoor—The *khér*, or feudal levies of Marwar, assemble—Consecration of the guns—The Meenas carry off the cattle of the train—Rajpoot contingents enumerated—Abhye reduces the Meena strongholds in Sirohi—The Sirohi prince submits, and gives a daughter in marriage as a peace-offering—The Sirohi contingent joins Abhye Sing—Proceeds against Ahmedabad—Summons the viceroy to surrender—Rajpoot council of war—Bukhta claims to lead the van—The Rahtore prince sprinkles his chiefs with saffron water—Sirbullund's plan of defence—His guns manned by Europeans—His bodyguard of European musketeers—The storm—Victory gained by the Rajpoots—Surrender of Sirbullund—He is sent prisoner to the emperor—Abhye Sing governs Guzzerat—Rajpoot contingents enumerated—Conclusion of the chronicles, the *Raj Roopaca* and *Surya Prakas*—Abhye Sing returns to Jodpoor—The spoils conveyed from Guzzerat.

THE parricidal murder of Ajit is accounted the germ of destruction, which, taking root in the social edifice of Marwar, ultimately rent it asunder. Bitter has been the fruit of this crime, "even unto the third and fourth generation" of his unnatural sons, whose issue, but for this crime, would in all human probability have been the most potent princes in India, able single-handed to have stopped Mahratta aggrandisement.

"It was in 1781 (says the bard), Ajit went to heaven. With his own hand did the emperor Mahomed Shah put the *teeka* on the forehead of Abhye Sing, girded him with the sword, bound the *toorah* on his head, placed a daggar set with gems in his girdle, and with Chaoris, Nobuts, and Nakarras, and many valuable gifts, invested the young prince in all the dignities of his father. Even Nagore was resumed from the son of Umra and included in his sunnud. With these marks of royal favour, he took leave of the court, and returned to his paternal dominions. From village to village, as he journeyed homeward, the *kullas* was raised on the head.¹ When he reached Jodpoor, he distributed gifts to all his chiefs,

¹ The *kullas* is a brazen vessel, of household use. A female of each family, filling one of these with water, repairs to the house of the head of the village,

and to the *Bardais* (bards) and Charuns, and lands to the family priests (*Purohits*)."

A day at the court of the desert king, related in the phraseology of the chronicle, would be deemed interesting as a picture of manners. It would also make the reader more familiar with Kurna, the most celebrated bard in the latter days of Rajpoot independence : but this must be reserved for an equally appropriate vehicle,¹ and we shall at present rest satisfied with a slight sketch of the historian of Maroo.

Carna-Cavya, or simply Kurna, who traced his descent from the last household bard of the last emperor of Canouj, was at once a politician, a warrior, and a scholar, and in each capacity has left ample proofs of his abilities. In the first, he took a distinguished part in all the events of the civil wars ; in the second, he was one of the few who survived a combat almost without parallel in the annals even of Rajpoot chivalry ; and as a scholar, he has left us, in the introduction to his work,² the most instructive proof, not only of his inheriting the poetic mantle of his fathers, but of the course he pursued for the maintenance of its lustre. The bare enumeration of the works he had studied evinces that there was no royal road to Parnassus for the Rajpoot 'Caviswar,'³ but that, on the contrary, it was beset with difficulties not a little appalling. The mere nomenclature of works on grammar and historical epics, which were to be mastered ere he could hope for fame, must have often made Kurna exclaim, "How hard it is to climb the steep" on which from afar he viewed her temple. Those who desire to see, under a new aspect, an imperfectly known but interesting family of the human race, will be made acquainted with the qualifications of our bardic historians, and the particular course of studies which fitted Kurna "to sit in the gate" of Jodagir,⁴ and add a new book to the chronicles of its kings.

These festivities of the new reign were not of long duration, and were succeeded by warlike preparations against Nagore, which, during the contentions between Ajit and the emperor, had been assigned to the descendant of the ancient princes of Mundore.

"When Ajmér was invested by the collective force of the empire,⁵ Eradut Khan (Bungush), collector of the *Jezeya*,⁶ took the *Eendo* by the

when, being all convened, they proceed in a body to meet the person to whom they render honour, singing the *suhaile*, or 'song of joy.' The presenting water is a token of homage and regard, and one which the author has often had paid to him, especially in Méwar, where every village met him in this way.

¹ I hope some day to present a few of the works of the great bard Chund, with a dissertation on the Bardais, and all the 'sons of song.'

² Entitled the *Surya Prakás*, of 7500 stanzas.

³ *Caviswar*, or *cavya-iswara*, 'lord of verse,' from *cavya*, 'poesy,' and *iswara*, 'lord.'

⁴ The portal of the palace appears to have been the bard's post. Pope gives the same position to his historic bards in 'the Temple of Fame':

"Full in the passage of each spacious gate,
The sage historians in white garments wait;
Grav'd o'er the seats the form of Time was found,
His scythe remov'd, and both his pinions bound."

⁵ In the original, "by the *byéésd*," the 'twenty-two,' meaning the collective force of the twenty-two *soobahdars*, 'or satraps of the provinces,'

⁶ Capitation tax.

arm, and seated him in Nagore.¹ But as soon as the *Hooli*² was past, the 'Avatars of Jowala-mookhi'³ were consecrated: goats were sacrificed, and the blood, with oil and vermilion, was sprinkled upon them. The tents were moved out. Hearing this, Rao Indra produced the imperial patent, with the personal guarantee of Jey Sing of Ambér. Abhye heeded not, and invested Nagore; but Indra left his honour and his castle to the *Fearless*,⁴ who bestowed it on Bukhta his brother. He received the congratulations of Méwar, Jessulmér, Bikanér, and Ambér, and returned to his capital amidst the rejoicings of his subjects. This was in S. 1781.

"In S. 1782 he was employed in restraining the turbulent Bhomias on the western frontiers of his dominions; when the Sindils, the Deoras, the Balas, the Borás, the Baléchas, and the Sodas were compelled to servitude.

"In S. 1783, a firmán of summons arrived, calling the prince to attend the Presence at Dehli. He put it to his head, assembled all his chiefs, and on his passage to court made a tour of his dominions, examining his garrisons, redressing wrongs, and adjusting whatever was in disorder. At Purbutsir he was attacked by the small-pox: the nation called on *Jug-Rani*⁵ to shield him from evil.

"In 1784 the prince reached Dehli. Khandowran, the chief noble of the empire, was deputed by the emperor to conduct him to the capital; and when he reached the Presence, his majesty called him close to his person, exclaiming, 'Welcome, *Khooshbukhi*,⁶ *Maharaja Rajéswar*,⁷ it is long since we met; this day makes me happy; the splendour of the Aum-khás is redoubled.' When he took leave, the king sent to his quarters, at Abhyepoor, choice fruits of the north, fragrant oils, and rose-water."

The prince of Maroo was placed at the head of all the nobility. About the end of S. 1784, Sirbullund Khan's rebellion broke out, which gave ample scope for the valour of the Rahtores and materials for the bard, who thus circumstantially relates it:

"The troubles in the Dekhan increased. The *Shahzada Jungali*⁸ rebelled, and forming an army of sixty thousand men, attacked the provincial governors of Malwa, Surat, and Ahmedpoor, slaying the king's

¹ The poet calls it by its classic appellation, *Nágadoorga*, the 'castle of the serpent.'

² For this festival, see vol. i. p. 480.

³ *Jowala-mookhi*, the 'mouth of flame,' the cannon, which are thus consecrated before action. They are called *avatars*, or 'incarnations of Jowala-mookhi, the Etna of India, at the edge of whose crater the Hindu poet very properly places the temple of *Jowali Rani*, 'the terrific' *Kali-má*, the Hindu Hecate.

⁴ *A'bhye*, the name of the prince, means 'fearless,' from *bhye*, 'fear,' and privative prefix.

⁵ *Jug-Rani* (I write all these phrases exactly as pronounced in the western dialect), 'Queen of the world.' *Silla Mata* is the common name for the goddess who presides over this scourge of infancy.

⁶ 'Of happy fortune.'

⁷ *Maharaja-Rajéswar*, the pompous title of the kings of Maroo; 'great Raja, lord of Rajas.'

⁸ In none of the Mahomedan histories of this period is it mentioned, that there was an imperial prince at the head of the first Mahratta irruption; probably he was a mere tool for the purposes of others.

lieutenants, Geerdhur Buhadoor, Ibrahim Kooli, Roostum Alli, and the Moghul Shujaf.

"Hearing this, the king appointed Sirbullund Khan to quash the rebellion. He marched at the head of fifty thousand men, having a crore of rupees for their subsistence; but his advanced army of ten thousand men being defeated in the first encounter, he entered into terms with the rebels, and agreed to a partition of the country."

It was at this time the prince of Marwar begged permission to retire to his hereditary dominions. The bard's description of the court, and of the emperor's distress on this occasion, though prolix, deserves insertion:

"The king was seated on his throne, attended by the seventy-two grand Omras of the empire, when tidings reached him of the revolt of Sirbullund. There was the vizier Kumur-oo-Dín Khan, Itimád-oo-Doulah, Khandowran, commander-in-chief (Meer Bukshee), Shumsam-oo-Doulah, the Ameer-ool-Omrah, Munsoor Alli, Roshan-oo-Doulah, Toora Báaz Khan, the Lord Marcher (*Seem Ka Bukshee*); Roostum Jung, Afghan Khan, Khwaja Syed-oo-Dín, commandant of artillery (*Meer Atush*); Saadut Khan,¹ grand chamberlain (*Daroga Khowas*), Boorhan-ool-Moolk, Abdool Summud Khan, Dellil Khan, Zuffiriah Khan, governor of Lahore, Dulail Khan, Meer Júmá, Khánkhánán; Zuffar Jung, Eradut Khan, Moorshid Kooli Khan, Jaffier Khan, Aliverdi Khan,² Mozuffur Khan, governor of Ajmér. Such and many more were assembled in the Presence.

"It was read aloud that Sirbullund had reduced Guzzerat, and proclaimed his own '*án*'; that he had ground the Kolis to dust; that he had vanquished the Mandillas, the Jhalas, the Chaurasimas, the Bhagails and the Gohils, and had nearly exterminated the Balas; that Hallar had agreed to pay tribute, and that such was the fire of this Yavan, that the Bhomias of themselves abandoned their strongholds to seek sanctuary with him whom the 'seventeen thousand'³ now called sovereign; that he had set himself up a king in Ahmedabad, and made a league with the 'Southron.'

"The emperor saw that if this defection was not quelled, all the viceroys would declare themselves independent. Already had Jugureah Khan in the north, Saadut Khan in the east, and the *Mieteh* Nizam-ool-Moolk in the south, shown the blackness of their designs. The *tup'h* (verve) of the empire had fled.

"The *beera* was placed on a golden salver, which the Meer Tojuk bore in his extended arms, slowly passing in front of the nobles ranged on either side of the throne, mighty men, at the sight of whose faces the rustic would tremble: but in vain he passed both lines; no hand was stretched forth; some looked awry; some trembled; but none cast an eye upon the *beera*.

"The 'almighty monarch' (*Purméswar Padshah*), who could make the beggar an Omra of twelve thousand, and the noble of twelve thousand a beggar, was without resource. 'Who,' said one, 'would grasp the

¹ Afterwards Vizier of Oude, a state founded and maintained by consummate treason.

² Nawáb of Bengal, another traitor.

³ This number of cities, towns, and villages, constituted the kingdom of Guzzerat under its ancient sovereigns.

forked lightning, let him engage Sirbullund !' Another exclaimed, 'Who would seize the vessel, and plunge with her in the whirlpool, he may contend with Sirbullund.' And a third, 'Whoever dare seize the forked tongue of the serpent, let him engage Sirbullund.' The king was troubled ; he gave a sign to the Meer Tojuk to return the *beera* to him.

"The Rahtore prince saw the monarch's distress, and as he was about to leave the aum-khás, he stretched forth his hand, and placed the *beera* in his turban, as he said, 'Be not cast down, O king of the world ; I will pluck down this Sirbullund : ¹ leafless shall be the boughs of his ambition, and his head (*sir*) the forfeit of his arrogant exaltation (*boolund*).'

"When Abhye Sing grasped the *beera*, the breasts of the mighty were ready to burst with the fulness of envy, even like the ripe pomegranate, as the king placed the grant of Guzzerat into the hands of the Rahtore. The Shah's heart was rejoiced, as he said, 'Thus acted your ancestors in support of the throne ; thus was quelled the revolt of Khoorm and Bheem in the time of Jehangir ; that of the Dekhan settled ; and in like manner do I trust that, by you the honour and the throne of Mahomed Shah will be upheld.'

"Rich gifts, including seven gems of great price, were bestowed upon the Rahtore ; the treasury was unlocked and thirty-one lakhs of coin were assigned for the troops. The guns were taken from the arsenals, and with the patent of the vice-royalties of Ahmedabad and Ajmér, in the month of Asar (1786), Abhye took leave of the king." ²

The political arrondissement of Marwar dates from this period ; for the rebellion of Sirbullund was the forerunner of the disintegration of the empire. It was in June A.D. 1730, that the prince of Marwar left the court of Dehli. He had a double motive in proceeding direct to Ajmér, of which province he was viceroy ; first, to take possession of his stronghold (the key not only of Marwar but of every state in Rajpootana) ; and second, to consult with the prince of Ambér on the affairs of that critical conjuncture. What was the cause of Jey Sing's presence at Ajmér the chronicle says not ; but from circumstances elsewhere related, it may be conjectured that it was for the purpose of celebrating 'the rites of the *Pitriswara*' (manes of his ancestors) at Pooshkur. The bard gives a most prolix account of the meeting, even to the *pigtur*, 'or foot-clothes' spread for "the kings of the Hindus" to walk on, "who feasted together, and together plotted the destruction of the empire" : from which we perceive that Kurna, the bard, had a peep behind the curtain.

Having installed his officers in Ajmér, Abhye Sing proceeded to Mairta, when he was met by his brother, Bukhta Sing, on which occasion the grant of Nagore was bestowed upon the latter. The brothers continued their route to the capital, when all the chiefs were dismissed to their homes with injunctions to assemble their vassals for the ensuing campaign against Sirbullund. At the appointed time, the *khér* (feudal array) of Marwar assembled under the walls of Jodpoor. The occasion is a delightful one to the bard, who revels in all 'the pomp and circumstance of war' : from the initiatory ceremony, the moving out the tents, to the consecra-

¹ *Sir*, 'the head,' *boolund*, 'exalted, high, arrogant.' I write the name *Sirbullund*, being the orthography long known.

² In the original, the emperor is called the *Aspati*, 'lord of swords,' or perhaps *Aswapati*, 'lord of steeds.'

tion of the 'mighty tubes' (*balwa-nāl*), the 'volcanos of the field,' or, as he terms them, the 'crocodile-mouths' (*mugur-mookhan*), 'emblems of Yama,' which were sprinkled abundantly with the blood of goats slain under their muzzles. He describes each clan as it arrives, their steeds, and caparisons.

Instead, however, of proceeding direct to the main object of the war, Abhye Sing took advantage of the immense army thus placed under his command, as viceroy of Guzzerat, to wreak his own vengeance upon his neighbour, the gallant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to his native strength, had spurned every compromise which involved his independence. This resolution he maintained by his natural position, strengthened by alliances with the aboriginal races who hemmed his little state on all sides, excepting that towards Marwar.

These *Meenas*, the mountaineers of the Aravulli, had given offence to Abhye Sing; for while the prince, between his arrival at Jodpoor and the assemblage of the *khér*, gave himself up to indolence and opium, they carried off the whole cattle of the train to the mountains. When this was reported to Abhye Sing, he coolly said, "Let them go, they knew we were short of forage, and have only taken them to their own pastures in the mountains." Strange to say, they did return them, and in excellent condition, as soon as he prepared to march. When he heard of this, he observed, "Did I not tell you these *Meenas* were faithful subjects?"

The order to march was now given, when the bard enumerates the names and strength of the different Rajpoor princes, whose contingents formed this array, in which there were only two Mahomedan leaders of distinction:—"The Haras of Kotah and Boondí; the Keechies of Gaggrown; the Gores of Seopoor; the Cuchwahs of Ambér, and [even] the Sodas of the desert, under their respective princes or chiefs, were under the command of the Marwar prince. His native retainers, the united clans of Marwar, formed the right wing of the whole army, headed by his brother Bukhta.

"On the 10th Cheit (Sood) S. 1786, Abhye marched from Jodpoor, by Bhadratoon and Malgaurh, Sewanoh and Jhalore. Rewarro was assaulted; the swords of the enemy showered, and the Champawut fell amidst heaps of slain. The Deoras abandoned the hill and fled. The trees were levelled to the summit; a garrison was posted, and the array moved on to Possalio. Then, Aboo shook with affright. Affliction seized Sirohi; its prince was in despair when he heard Rewarro and Possalio were destroyed.¹ The Chohan preferred decking his daughter in the bridal vestments, to arraying his army to oppose Abhémal."

¹ Both these places are famous in the Mewasso, or fastnesses of Sirohi, and gave the author, who was intrusted with its political affairs, much trouble. Fortunately for the Deora prince, descendant of Rao Narrain Das, the author knew their history, and was enabled to discriminate the claims which Jodpoor asserted over her in virtue of such attacks as this; in short, between the claims of 'the princes of Marwar,' and the king's lieutenants of Guzzerat. In these negotiations wherein Jodpoor advanced its pretensions to *suzeraineté* over Sirohi, which as stoutly denied the right, he clearly distinguished the claims of the princes of Jodpoor, in their capacities of viceroys of the empire, and argued that claims conceded by Sirohi in that character guaranteed none to them, in their individual capacity, as chiefs of Marwar a distinction which they affected not to comprehend, but which was at length fully recognised and acted on by the paramount

Rao Narrain Das, through the intervention of a Rajpoot chieftain, named Myaram, of the Chaora tribe, made overtures to the Rahtore, proposing his niece (daughter of Maun Sing his predecessor) in marriage. "In the midst of strife, 'the coco-nut,' with eight choice steeds and *the price* of four elephants, were sent and accepted. The drum of battle ceased; the nuptials were solemnised, and in the tenth month Ram Sing was born at Jodpoor." The bard, however, lets us into the secret, and shows that the Rajpoots had 'secret articles,' as well as the more polished diplomacy of Europe; for besides the fair Chohani, the Rao consented to pay *Pësh-âch'hâni*, a 'concealed tribute.'

The Deora chiefs united their contingents to the royal army, for the subjugation of Sirbullund, and the march recommenced by Palhanpoor and Sidpoor, on the Sarasvati. Here they halted, and "an envoy was dispatched to Sirbullund, summoning him to surrender the imperial equipments, cannons, and stores; to account for the revenues, and to withdraw his garrisons from Ahmedabad and all the strongholds of the province." The reply was laconic and dignified; "that he himself was king, and his head was with Ahmedabad."

A grand council of war was convened in the Rajpoot camp, which is described *con amore* by the bard. The overture and its reception were communicated, and the debates and speeches which ensued thereon, as to the future course of proceeding, are detailed. The bard is, however, satisfied with recording the speeches of 'the chiefs of the eight grades of Maroo.'

"First spoke the chief of the children of Champa, Koosul, son of Hurnat of Ahwa, whose seat is on the right of the throne. Then Kunnéram of Asope, leader of the Koompawuts, whose place is on the left: 'let us, like the *Kilkila*,¹ dive into the waters of battle.' He was followed by Kesuri, the Mairtea Sirmor—then by the veteran who led the Oodawuts: old and brave, many a battle had he seen. Then the chief of Khanwa, who led the clan of Joda, protested he would be the first to claim the immortal garland from the hand of the Apsaras:² 'let us stain our garments with saffron, and our lances with crimson, and play at ball with this Sirbullund.'³ Futteh the Jaitawut, and Kurnavat Abbi-mal, re-echoed his words. All shouted 'battle!' 'battle!' while some put on the coloured garments, determined to conquer *Bhanloca*. Kurna, the Champawut, said aloud, 'with sparkling cup the Apsaras will serve us in the mansion of the sun.'⁴ Every clan, every chief, and every bard re-echoed 'battle!'

power. Sirohi is maintained in its ancient independence, which but for this previous knowledge must have been inevitably lost.

¹ The *kilkila* is the bird we call the kingfisher.

² The maids of war, the *Valkyris* of Rajpoot mythology.

³ Another *jeu-de-mots* on the name Sirbullund, with whose head (*sir*) the Joda chief proposes to play at ball.

⁴ The young chieftain of Saloombra, the first of the nobles of Méwar, was sitting with me, attentively listening as I was translating the war against Sirbullund, read by my old tutor. His family possess an hereditary aversion to "the cup," which is under solemn prohibition from some cause which I forget, and so far did his grandfather carry his antipathy, that a drop falling upon him at an entertainment, he cut out the contaminated part with his dagger. Aware of this, I turned round to the young chief and said: "Well, Rawut-ji, would you accept the cup from the hand of the Apsara, or would you refuse the *munwâr*

"Then Bukhta stood up to claim the onset, to lead the van in battle against Sirbullund, while his brother and prince should await the result in his tents. A jar of saffron-water was placed before the prince, with which he sprinkled each chief, who shouted, 'they would people Umra-poor.' " ¹

The bard then describes the steeds of the Rajpoot chivalry, in which the Beemrat'halli of the Dekhan takes precedence; he is followed by the horses of Dhat and Rardurro in Marwar, and the Kattiawar of Saurashtra.

Sirbullund's plans of defence are minutely detailed. At each gate he posted two thousand men and five guns, "manned by Europeans," of whom he had a body of musketeers round his person. The cannonade had been kept up three days on both sides, in which the son of Sirbullund was killed. At length, Bukhta led the storm, when all the *otes* and *awuts* performed prodigies of valour. The Champawut Koosul was the first to be carried to the "immortal abode"; but though "the sun stood still to see the deeds of the son of Hurnat," we cannot particularise the bard's catalogue of heroes transferred to Suraloca ² on this day, when the best blood of Rajpootana was shed on the walls of Ahmedabad. Both the princely brothers had their share in "the play of swords," and each slew more than one leader of note. Umra, who had so often defended Ajmér, slew five chiefs of the grades of two and three thousand horse.

"Eight ghurries of the day remained, when Sirbullund fled; but Ulyar, the leader of his vanguard, made a desperate resistance, until he fell by the hand of Bukhta Sing. The drum of victory sounded. The Nawab left his *pani* in the *Rincoond*.³ The "would-be-king" was wounded; his elephant showed the speed of the deer. Four thousand four hundred and ninety-three were slain, of whom one hundred were *Palki Nusheens*, eight *Hati Nusheens*,⁴ and three hundred entitled to the *Tazeem* on entering the *Díwán Aum*.⁵

"One hundred and twenty of Abhye Sing's chieftains of note, with five hundred horse, were slain, and seven hundred wounded.

"The next morning, Sirbullund surrendered with all his effects. He was escorted towards Agra, his wounded Moguls dying at every stage; but the soul of the 'Fearless' was sad at the loss of his kin.⁶ Abhi-Mal

(pledge)? " "Certainly I would take it; these are very different cups from ours," was his reply. "Then you believe that the heavenly fair carry the souls of those who fall in battle to the *mandal of Surya*?" "Who dare doubt it? When my time comes, I will take *that* cup!" a glorious creed for a soldier! He sat for hours listening to my old tutor and friend; for none of their bards expounded like him the *bhojunga* (serpentine verse) of the poet. I have rated the Rawut for being unable to repeat the genealogy of his house from Chonda to himself; but the family bard was dead and left no progeny to inherit his mantle. This young chief is yet (A.D. 1820) but twenty-two, and promises to be better prepared.

¹ 'The city of immortality.'

² The abode of heroes, the Valhalla of the Rajpoot mythology.

³ *Rincoond* is the 'fountain of battle,' and *pani* is applied, as we use the word water, to the temper or spirit of a sword: a play on words.

⁴ Chiefs entitled to ride in palkis and on elephants.

⁵ A long list of names is given, which would only fatigue the reader; but amongst them we select a singular one, *Nolakh Khan Anglez*, 'Nolakh the Englishman.'

⁶ The bard enumerates with the meed of praise each vassal who fell, whether Rahtore or of the contingents of the other principalities serving under the prince of Marwar. The Champawuts bore the brunt, and lost Kurrún of Pally, Kishen

ruled over the seventeen thousand towns of Guzzerat, and the nine thousand of Marwar, besides one thousand elsewhere. The princes of Edur, of Bhooj, of Parkur, of Sinde, and of Sirohi, the Chalook Ran of Futtehpoor, Jhoojooonoo, Jessulmér, Nagore, Dongerpoor, Bhanswarra, Lunawarra, Hulwad, every morning bowed the head to Abhi-Mal.

"Thus, in the enlightened half of the moon, on the victorious tenth¹ (S. 1787, A.D. 1731), the day on which Ramachundra captured Lanka, the war against Sirbullund, an *Omra* (lord) of twelve thousand, was concluded."²

Having left a garrison of seventeen thousand men for the duties of the capital and province, Abhye Sing returned to Jodpoor with the spoils of Guzzerat, and there he deposited four crores of rupees, and one thousand four hundred guns of all calibres, besides military stores of every description. With these, in the declining state of the empire, the desert king strengthened his forts and garrisons, and determined, in the general scramble for dominion, not to neglect his own interests.

CHAPTER XI

Mutual jealousies of the brothers—Abhye Sing dreads the military fame of Bukhta—His policy—Prompted by the bard Kurna, who deserts Jodpoor for Nagore—Scheme laid by Bukhta to thwart his brother—Attack of Bikanér by Abhye Sing—Singular conduct of his chiefs, who afford supplies to the besieged—Bukhta's scheme to embroil the Ambér prince with his brother—His overture and advice to attack Jodpoor in the absence of his brother—Jey Sing of Ambér—His reception of this advice, which is discussed and rejected in a full council of the nobles of Ambér—The envoy of Bukhta obtains an audience of the prince of Ambér—Attains his object—His insulting letter to Raja Abhye Sing—The latter's laconic reply—Jey Sing calls out the *Khér*, or feudal army of Ambér—Obtains foreign allies—One hundred thousand men muster under the walls of his capital—March to the Marwar frontier—Abhye Sing raises the siege of Bikanér—Bukhta's strange conduct—Swears his vassals—Marches with his personal retainers only to combat the host of Ambér—Battle of Gangaria—Desperate onset of Bukhta Sing—Destruction of his band—With sixty men charges the Ambér prince, who avoids him—Eulogy of Bukhta by the Ambér bards—Kurna the bard presents a third charge—Bukhta's distress at the loss of his men—The Rana mediates a peace—Bukhta loses his tutelary divinity—Restored by the Ambér prince—Death of Abhye Sing—Anecdotes illustrating his character.

THE tranquillity which for a while followed the campaign in Guzzerat was of no long duration. The love of ease and opium, which increased with the years of Abhye Sing, was disturbed by a perpetual apprehension of the active courage and military genius of his brother, whose appanage of

Sing of Sindri, Gordhan of Jalore, and Kulian. The Koompawuts lost also several leaders of clans, as Nursing, Soortan Sing, Pudma, son of Doorjun. The Joda tribe lost three leaders, namely, Heatmul, Goman, and Jogidas. The brave Mairteas also lost three: Bhom Sing, Koosul Sing, and Golab, son of Hatti. The allodial chieftains, the Jadoons, the Sonigurras, the Dhonduls, and Kheechies, had many brave men "carried to Bhanaloca," and even bards and purohits were amongst the slain.

¹ *Vijya daswá*.

² With this battle the *Raj Roopaca* and *Surya Prakas* terminate.

Nagore was too restricted a field for his talents and ambition. Bukhta was also aware that his daring nature, which obtained him the suffrages, as it would the swords, of his turbulent and easily excited countrymen, rendered him an object of distrust, and that without great circumspection, he would be unable to maintain himself in his *imperium in imperio*, the castle and three hundred and sixty townships of Nagore. He was too discreet to support himself by foreign aid, or by fomenting domestic strife; but with the aid of the bard he adopted a line of policy, the relation of which will develop new traits in the Rajpoot character, and exemplify its peculiarities. Kurna, after finishing his historical chronicle, concluding with the war against Sirbullund, abandoned "the gate of Jodpoor, for that of Nagore." Like all his tribe, the bard was an adept in intrigue, and his sacred character forwarded the secret means of executing it. His advice was to embroil their common sovereign with the prince of Ambér, and an opportunity was not long wanting.

The prince of Bikanér, a junior but independent branch of Marwar, had offended his yet nominal suzerain Abhye Sing, who, taking advantage of the weakness of their common liege lord the emperor, determined to resent the affront, and accordingly invested Bikanér, which had sustained a siege of some weeks, when Bukhta determined to make its release subserve his designs; nor could he have chosen a better expedient. Although the prince of Marwar had led his united vassalage against Bikanér, they were not only lukewarm as to the success of their own arms, but, anomalous as it must appear in the annals even of feudal warfare, they furnished the besieged with the means of defence, who, but for the supplies of opium, salt, and ammunition, would soon have been compelled to surrender. We can account for this: Bikanér was of their own kin, a branch of the great tree of which Séôji was the root, and to which they could cling in emergency; in short, Bikanér balanced the power between themselves and their head.

The scheme being approved, its execution and mode of development to Jey Sing were next canvassed. "Touch his pride," said Kurna; "tell him the insult to Ambér, which your ancestor invested, has never been balanced, and that he will never find a time like the present to fling a few shot at Jodpoor."

Bukhta addressed a letter to Jey Sing, and at the same time sent instructions to the envoy of Bikanér at his court how to act.

The prince of Ambér, towards the close of his career, became partial to 'the cup'; but, aware of the follies it involved him in, an edict prohibited all official intercourse with him while he was under its influence. The direct overture of Bukhta was canvassed, and all interference between the kindred belligerents was rejected in a full council of the chiefs of Ambér. But the envoy had a friend in the famous Vidyadhur,¹ the chief civil minister of the state, through whose means he obtained permission to make 'a verbal report, standing.' "Bikanér," he said, "was in peril, and without his aid must fall, and that his master did not consider the sovereign of Marwar, but of Ambér, as his suzerain." Vanity and wine did the rest. The prince took up the pen and wrote to Abhye Sing,

¹ Vidyadhur was a Brahmin of Bengal, a scholar and man of science. The plan of the modern city of Ambér, named Jeipoor, was his: a city as regular as Darmstadt. He was also the joint compiler of the celebrated genealogical tables which appear in the first volume of this work.

"That they all formed one great family ; to forgive Bikanér and raise his batteries " : and as he took another cup, and curled his moustache, he gave the letter to be folded. "Mahraja," said the envoy, "put in two more words : 'or, my name is Jey Sing.'" They were added. The overjoyed envoy retired, and in a few minutes the letter was on transit to its destination by the swiftest camel of the desert. Scarcely had the envoy retired, when the chief of Bhansko, the Mentor of Jey Sing, entered. He was told of the letter, which "would vex his *Sagga*."¹ The old chief remonstrated ; he said, "unless you intend to extinguish the Cuchwahs, recall this letter." Messenger after messenger was sent, but the envoy knew his duty. At the dinner hour, all the chiefs had assembled at the (*Rusora*) banquet-hall, when the spokesman of the vassalage, old Deep Sing, in reply to the communication of his sovereign, told him he had done a cruel and wanton act, and that they must all suffer for his imprudence.

The reply, a laconic defiance, was brought back with like celerity ; it was opened and read by Jey Sing to his chiefs : "By what right do you dictate to me, or interfere between me and my servants ? If your name is 'Lion of Victory' (Jey Sing), mine is 'the Lion without Fear' (Abhye Sing)."²

The ancient chief, Deep Sing, said : "I told you how it would be ; but there is no retreat, and our business is to collect our friends." The *Khér*, or 'levy *en masse*,' was proclaimed ! Every Cuchwaha was commanded to repair to the great standard planted outside the capital. The home-clans came pouring in, and aid was obtained from the Haras of Boondí, the Jadoons of Kerowli, the Seesodias of Shahpoora, the Kheechies, and the Játs, until one hundred thousand men were formed beneath the castle of Ambér. This formidable array proceeded, march after march, until they reached Gangwani, a village on the frontier of Marwar. Here they encamped, and, with all due courtesy, awaited the arrival of the 'Fearless Lion.'

They were not long in suspense. Mortally offended at such wanton interference, which compelled him to relinquish his object on the very eve of attainment, Abhye Sing raised his batteries from besieging Bikanér and rapidly advanced to the encounter.

Bukhta now took alarm. He had not calculated the length to which his intrigues would involve his country ; he had sought but to embroil the border princes, but had kindled a national warfare. Still his fears were less for the discovery of his plot, than for the honour of Marwar, about to be assailed by such odds. He repaired to his brother and liege lord, and implored him not to raise the siege ; declaring that he alone, with the vassals of Nagore, would receive the *Bugtea's*³ battle, and, by God's blessing, would give a good account of him. Abhye Sing, not averse to see his brother punished for his conduct, though determined to leave him to the brunt of the battle, rejected with scorn the intriguing proposition.

"The *Nakarva* sounded the assembly for the chivalry of Nagore. Bukhta took post on the balcony over the Dehli gate, with two brazen

¹ *Sagga* is a term denoting a connection by marriage.

² I write the names as pronounced, and as familiar to the readers of Indian history. *Jya*, in Sanscrit, is 'victory,' *A'bhaye*, 'fearless.'

³ *Bugtea* is 'a devotee' ; the term is here applied reproachfully to Jey Sing, on account of his very religious habits.

vessels ; in the one was an infusion of opium, in the other saffron-water. To each Rajpoot as he entered he presented opium, and made the impress of his right hand on his heart with the saffron-water. Having in this manner enrolled eight thousand Rajpoots, sworn to die with him, he determined to select the most resolute ; and marching to the edge of an extensive field of luxuriant Indian corn (*bajra*), he halted his band, and thus addressed them : " Let none follow me who is not prepared for victory or death : if there be any amongst you who desire to return, let them do so in God's name." As he spoke, he resumed the march through the luxuriant fields, that it might not be seen who retired. More than five thousand remained, and with these he moved on to the combat.

The Ambér prince awaited them at Gangwani : soon as the hostile lines approached, Bukhta gave the word, and, in one dense mass, his gallant legion charged with lance and sword the deepened lines of Ambér, carrying destruction at every pass. He passed through and through this host ; but when he pulled up in the rear, only sixty of his band remained round his person. At this moment, the chief of Gujsingpoora, head of all his vassals, hinted there was a jungle in the rear : " and what is there in front," said the intrepid Rahtore, " that we should not try the road we came ? " and as he espied the *panchranga*, or five-coloured flag, which denoted the headquarters of Ambér, the word again was given. The cautious Khoombani¹ advised his prince to avoid the charge : with some difficulty he was made to leave the field, and as a salvo to his honour, by a flank movement towards Kundailah north, that it might not be said he turned his back on his foe. As he retreated, he exclaimed, " seventeen battles have I witnessed, but till this day never one decided by the sword." Thus, after a life of success, the wisest, or at least the most learned and most powerful prince of Rajwarra, incurred the disgrace of leaving the field in the face of a handful of men, strengthening the adage " that one Rahtore equalled ten Cuchwahas."

Jey Sing's own bards could not refrain from awarding the meed of valour to their foes, and composed the following stanzas on the occasion : " Is it the battle cry of Cali, or the war-shout of Hanowanta, or the hissing of Schésnag, or the denunciation of Kapil'swar ? Is it the incarnation of Nursing, or the darting beam of Surya ? or the death-glance of the Dakuní ?² or that from the central orb of Trinetra ?³ Who could support the flames from this volcano of steel, when Bukhta's sword became the sickle of Time ? "

But for Kurna the bard, one of the few remaining about his person, Bukhta would a third time have plunged into the ranks of the foe ; nor was it till the host of Ambér had left the field that he was aware of the extent of his loss.⁴ Then, strange inconsistency ! the man, who but a few minutes before had affronted death in every shape, when he beheld the paucity of survivors, sat down and wept like an infant. Still it was more the weakness of ambition than humanity ; for, never imagining that his brother would fail to support him, he thought destruction had overtaken Marwar ; nor was it until his brother joined and assured him

¹ The clan of the Bhansko chief.

² The witch of India is termed *Dakuní*.

³ A title of Siva, god of destruction, the ' three-eyed.'

⁴ Though the bard does not state, it is to be supposed that the main body came up and caused this movement.

he had left him all the honour of the day, that he recovered his port. Then "he curled his whiskers and swore an oath, that he would yet drag the 'Bhuggut' from his castle of Ambér."

Jey Sing, though he paid dear for his message, gained his point, the relief of Bikanér; and the Rana of Oodipoor mediated to prevent the quarrel going further, which was the less difficult since both parties had gained their ends, though Jey Sing obtained his by the loss of a battle.

It is related that the tutelary deity of Bukhta Sing fell into the hands of the Ambér prince, who carried home the sole trophy he could boast, married the Rahtore deity to a female divinity of Ambér, and returned him with his compliments to Bukhta. Such were the courteous usages of Rajpoot chivalry. The triple alliance of the chief Rajpoot princes followed this battle, cemented by the union of the rival houses to daughters of Méwar. There they met, attended by their vassalage, and, in the nuptial festivities and the 'cup,' forgot this bitter strife, while enmity and even national jealousy were banished by general courtesy. Such is the Rajpoot, who can be judged after no known standard: he stands alone in the moral history of man.¹

This is the last conspicuous act of Abhye Sing's life on record. He died in S. 1806 (A.D. 1750) at Jodpoor. His courage, which may be termed ferocious, was tempered only by his excessive indolence, regarding which they have preserved many amusing anecdotes; one of these will display the exact character of the man. The chronicle says: "When Ajit went to marry the Chohani, he found two lions in his path—the one asleep, the other awake. The interpretation of the *sooguni* (augur) was, that the Chohani would bear him two sons, that one would be a *sooti khan* (sluggard), the other an active soldier." Could the augur have revealed that they would imbrue their hands in a father's blood, he might have averted the ruin of his country, which dates from this black deed.

The Rahtores profess a great contempt for the Cuchwahs as soldiers; and Abhye Sing's was not lessened for their prince, because he happened to be father-in-law to the prince of Ambér, whom he used to mortify, even in the "Presence," with such sarcasm as, "You are called a Cuchwa, or properly *Cúsua*, from the *Cúsa*; and your sword will cut as deep as one of its blades": alluding to the grass thus called. Irritated, yet fearing to reply, he formed a plan to humble his arrogance in his only vulnerable point, the depreciation of his personal strength. While it was the boast of Jey Sing to mingle the exact sciences of Europe with the more ancient of India, Abhye's ambition was to be deemed the first swordsman of Rajwarra. The scientific prince of Ambér gave his cue to Kirparam, the paymaster-general, a favourite with the king, from his skill at chess, and who had often the honour of playing with him while all the nobles were standing. Kirparam praised the Rahtore prince's dexterity in smiting off a buffalo's head; on which the king called out, "Rajeswar, I have heard much of your skill with the sword." "Yes, Huzrit, I can use it on an occasion." A huge animal was brought into the area, fed in the luxuriant pastures of Heriana. The court crowded out to see the Rahtore exhibit; but when he beheld the enormous bulk, he turned to the king and begged

¹ This singular piece of Rajpoot history, in the annals of Marwar, is confirmed by every particular in the "one hundred and nine acts" of the Great Jey Sing of Ambér. The foe does ample justice to Rahtore valour.

permission to retire to his post, the imperial guardroom, to refresh himself. Taking a double dose of opium, he returned, his eyes glaring with rage at the trick played upon him, and as he approached the buffalo they fell upon Jey Sing, who had procured this monster with a view to foil him. The Ambér chief saw that mischief was brewing, and whispered his majesty not to approach too near his son-in-law. Grasping his sword in both hands, Abhye gave the blow with such force that the buffalo's head "dropped upon his knees," and the raja was thrown upon his back. All was well; but, as the chronicle says, "the king never asked the raja to decollate another buffalo."

It was during the reign of Abhye Sing that Nadir Shah invaded India; but the summons to the Rajpoot princes, to put forth their strength in support of the tottering throne of Timoor, was received with indifference. Not a chief of note led his myrmidons to the plains of Kurnâl; and Delhi was invested, plundered, and its monarch dethroned, without exciting a sigh. Such was their apathy in the cause, when the imbecility of Mahomed Shah succeeded to the inheritance of Arungzéb, that with their own hands these puppets of despotism sapped the foundations of the empire.

Unfortunately for Rajpootana, the demoralisation of her princes prevented their turning to advantage this depression of the empire, in whose follies and crimes they participated.

With the foul and monstrous murder of the Raja Ajít (A.D. 1750) commenced those bloody scenes which disgrace the annals of Marwar; yet even in the history of her crimes there are acts of redeeming virtue, which raise a sentiment of regret that the lustre of the one should be tarnished by the presence of the other. They serve, however, to illustrate that great moral truth, that in every stage of civilisation crime will work out its own punishment; and grievously has the parricidal murder of Ajít been visited on his race and country. We shall see it acting as a blight on that magnificent tree, which, transplanted from the native soil of the Ganges, took root and flourished amidst the arid sands of the desert, affording a goodly shade for a daring race, who acquired fresh victories with poverty—we shall see its luxuriance checked, and its numerous and widely spread branches, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven, wither and decay; and they must utterly perish, unless a scion, from the uncontaminated stem of Edur,¹ be grafted upon it: then it may revive, and be yet made to yield more vigorous fruit.

¹ The Heir of Edur is heir presumptive to the *gadh* of Marwar.

CHAPTER XII

Ram Sing succeeds—His impetuosity of temper—His uncle, Bukhta Sing, absents himself from the rite of inauguration—Sends his nurse as proxy—Construed by Ram Sing as an insult—He resents it, and resumes the fief of Jhalore—Confidant of Ram Sing—The latter insults the chief of the Champawuts, who withdraws from the court—His interview with the chief bard—Joins Bukhta Sing—The chief bard gives his suffrage to Bukhta—Civil war—Battle of Mairta—Ram Sing defeated—Bukhta Sing assumes the sovereignty—The Bagri chieftain girds him with the sword—Fidelity of the Purohit to the ex-prince, Ram Sing—He proceeds to the Dekhan to obtain aid of the Mahrattas—Poetical correspondence between Raja Bukhta and the Purohit—Qualities, mental and personal, of Bukhta—The Mahrattas threaten Marwar—All the clans unite round Bukhta—He advances to give battle—Refused by the Mahrattas—He takes post at the pass of Ajmer—Poisoned by the queen of Ambér—Bukhta's character—Reflections on the Rajpoot character—Contrasted with that of the European nobles in the dark ages—Judgment of the bards on crimes—Improvised stanza on the princes of Jodpoor and Ambér—Anathema of the *Sati*, wife of Ajit—Its fulfilment—Opinions of the Rajpoot of such inspirations.

RAM SING succeeded at that dangerous age, when parental control is most required to restrain the turbulence of passion. Exactly twenty years had elapsed since the nuptials at Sirohi, when Hymen extinguished the torch of discord, and his mother was the bearer of the olive branch to Abhye Sing, to save her house from destruction. The Rajpoot, who attaches everything to pedigree, has a right to lay an interdict on the union of the race of *Agni*,¹ with the already too fiery blood of the Rahtore. Ram Sing inherited the arrogance of his father, with all the impetuosity of the Chohans; and the exhibition of these qualities was simultaneous with his coronation. We are not told why his uncle, Bukhta Sing, absented himself from the ceremony of his prince's and nephew's installation, when the whole kin and clans of Maroo assembled to ratify their allegiance by their presence. As the first in blood and rank, it was his duty to make the first mark of inauguration on the forehead of his prince. The proxy he chose on the occasion was his *dhaé*, or 'nurse,' a personage of no small importance in those countries. Whether by such a representative the haughty warrior meant to insinuate that his nephew should yet be in leading strings, the chronicle affords us no hint; but it reprehends Ram Sing's conduct to this venerable personage, whom, instead of treating, according to usage, with the same respect as his mother, he asked, "if his uncle took him for an ape, that he sent an old hag to present him with the *teeka*?" and instantly dispatched an express desiring the surrender of Jhalore. Ere his passion had time to cool, he commanded his tents to be moved out, that he might chastise the insult to his dignity. Despising the sober wisdom of the counsellors of the state, he had given his confidence to one of the lowest grade of these hereditary officers, by name Umiah, the *nakharchi*,² a man headstrong like himself. The old chief of the Champawuts, on hearing of this act of madness repaired to the castle to remonstrate; but scarcely had he taken his seat

¹ The Deora of Sirohi is a branch of the Chohans, one of the four *Agniculas*, a race sprung from *fire*. See vol. i.

² The person who summons the nobles by beat of the state *nakharra*, or 'great kettledrum.'

before the prince assailed him with ridicule, desiring "to see his frightful face as seldom as possible." "Young man," exclaimed the indignant chief, as with violence he dashed his shield reversed upon the carpet, "you have given mortal offence to a Rahtore, who can turn Marwar upside down as easily as that shield." With eyes darting defiance, he arose and left the Presence, and collecting his retainers, marched to *Moondhiavar*. This was the residence of the *Pât-Bardai*, or 'chief bard,' the lineal descendant of the *Barud* Roéra, who left Canouj with Séôji. The esteem in which his sacred office was held may be appreciated by his estate, which equalled that of the first noble, being one lakh of rupees (£10,000) of revenue.

The politic Bukhta, hearing of the advance of the chief noble of Maroo on the border of his territory, left Nagore, and though it was midnight, advanced to welcome him. The old chief was asleep; Bukhta forbade his being disturbed, and placed himself quietly beside his pallet. As he opened his eyes, he called as usual for his pipe (*hooka*), when the attendant pointing to the prince, the old chief scrambled up. Sleep had cooled his rage, and the full force of his position rushed upon him; but seeing there was now no retreat, that the Rubicon was crossed, "Well, there is my head," said he; "now it is yours." The bard, who was present at the interview, was sounded by being requested to bring the chief's wife and family from Ahwa to Nagore; and he gave his assent in a manner characteristic of his profession: "farewell to the gate of Jodpoor," alluding to the station of the bard. The prince immediately replied, "there was no difference between the gate of Jodpoor and Nagore; and that while he had a cake of *bajra* he would divide it with the bard."

Ram Sing did not allow his uncle much time to collect a force; and the first encounter was at Kheyrlic. Six actions rapidly followed; the last was at Loonawas, on the plains of Mairta, with immense loss of life on both sides. This sanguinary battle has been already related,¹ in which Ram Sing was defeated, and forced to seek safety in flight; when Jodpoor was surrendered, and Bukhta invested with the *Rajtilac* and sword by the hands of the Jaitawut chief of Bagri, whose descendants continue to enjoy this distinction, with the title of *Marwar ca bar Kéwâr*, 'the bar to the portal of Marwar.'

With the possession of the seat of government, and the support of a great majority of the clans, Bukhta Sing felt secure against all attempts of his nephew to regain his lost power. But although his popularity with his warlike kindred secured their suffrages for his maintenance of the throne which the sword had gained him, there were other opinions which Bukhta Sing was too politic to overlook. The adhesion of the hereditary officers of the state, especially those personal to the sovereign, is requisite to cloak the crime of usurpation, in which light only, whatever the extent of provocation, Bukhta's conduct could be regarded. The military premier, as well as the higher civil authorities, were won to his cause, and of those whose sacred office might seem to sanctify the crime, the chief bard had already changed his post "for the gate of Nagore." But there was one faithful servant, who, in the general defection, overlooked the follies of his prince, in his adherence to the abstract rules of fidelity; and who, while his master found refuge at Jeipoor, repaired to the Dekhan to obtain the aid of the Mahrattas, the mercenaries of Rajpootana. Jaggo was the

¹ See vol. i. p. 586 et seq.

name of this person ; his office, that of *Purohit*, the ghostly adviser of his prince and tutor to his children. Bukhta, at once desirous to obtain his suffrage, and to arrest the calamity of foreign invasion, sent a couplet in his own hand to the *Purohit* :

"The flower, O bee, whose aroma regaled you, has been assailed by the blast ; not a leaf of the rose-tree is left ; why longer cling to the thorns ? "

The reply was in character : "In this hope does the bee cling to the denuded rose-tree ; that spring may return, and fresh flowers bud forth." ¹

Bukhta, to his honour, approved the fidelity which rejected his overtures.

There was a joyousness of soul about Bukhta which, united to an intrepidity and a liberality alike unbounded, made him the very model of a Rajpoot. To these qualifications were superadded a majestic mien and Herculean frame, with a mind versed in all the literature of his country, besides poetic talent of no mean order ; and but for that one damning crime, he would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest princes Rajwarra ever knew. These qualities not only riveted the attachment of the household clans, but secured the respect of all his exterior relations, so that when the envoy of the expatriated prince obtained Sindia's aid for the restoration of Ram Sing, the popularity of Bukhta formed an army which appalled the "Southron," who found arrayed against him all the choice swords of Rajwarra. The whole allodial power of the desert, "the sons of Sôji" of every rank, rose to oppose this first attempt of the Mahrattas to interfere in their national quarrels, and led by Bukhta in person, advanced to meet Madaji, the *Patél*. But the Mahratta, whose object was plunder rather than glory, satisfied that he had little chance of either, refused to measure his lance (*birchi*) with the *sang* and *sirohi* ² of the Rajpoot.

Poison effected what the sword could not accomplish. Bukhta determined to remain encamped in that vulnerable point of access to his dominions, the passes near Ajmér. Hither, the Rahtore queen of Madhú Sing, prince of Ambér, repaired to compliment her relative, and to her was entrusted the task of removing the enemy of her nephew, Ram Sing. The mode in which the deed was effected, as well as the last moments of the heroic but criminal Bukhta, have been already related. ³ He died in S. 1809 (A.D. 1753), leaving a disputed succession, and all the horrors of impending civil strife, to his son, Beejy Sing.

During his three years of sovereignty, Bukhta had found both time and resources to strengthen and embellish the strongholds of Marwar. He completed the fortifications of the capital, and greatly added to the palace of Joda, from the spoils of Ahmedabad. He retaliated the injuries on the intolerant Islamite, and threw down his shrines and his mosques in his own fief of Nagore, and with the wrecks restored the edifices of ancient days. It was Bukhta also who prohibited, under pain of death, the Islamite's

¹ That beautiful simile of Ossian, or of Macpherson, borrowed from the canticles of the Royal Bard of Jerusalem, will be brought to mind in the reply of the *Purohit*—"I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches around me," etc.

² *Sang* is a lance about ten feet long, covered with plates of iron about four feet above the spike. The *sirohi* is the sword made at the city, whence its name, and famous for its temper.

³ See vol. i. p. 589.

call to prayer throughout his dominions, and the order remains to this day unrevoked in Marwar. Had he been spared a few years to direct the storm then accumulating, which transferred power from the haughty Tatar of Dehli to the peasant soldier of the Kistna, the probability was eminently in favour of the Rajpoots resuming their ancient rights throughout India. Every principality had the same motive for union in one common cause, the destruction of a power inimical to their welfare: but crimes, moral and political, rendered an opportunity, such as never occurred in their history, unavailing for their emancipation from temporal and spiritual oppression.

We will here pause, and anticipating the just horror of the reader, at finding crime follow crime—one murder punished by another—prevent his consigning all the Rajpoot dynasties to infamy, because such foul stains appear in one part of their annals. Let him cast his eyes over the page of western history; and commencing with the period of Séôji's emigration in the eleventh century, when the curtain of darkness was withdrawn from Europe, as it was simultaneously closing upon the Rajpoot, contrast their respective moral characteristics. The Rajpoot chieftain was imbued with all the kindred virtues of the western cavalier, and far his superior in mental attainments. There is no period on record when these Hindu princes could not have signed their names to a charter; many of them could have drawn it up, and even invested it, if required, in a poetic garb; and although this consideration perhaps enhances, rather than palliates, crime, what are the instances in these states, we may ask, compared to the wholesale atrocities of the 'Middle Ages' of Europe?

The reader would also be wrong if he leaped to the conclusion that the bardic chronicler passed no judgment on the princely criminal. His "empoisoned stanzas" (*viswa sloca*), transmitted to posterity by the mouth of the peasant and the prince, attest the reverse. One couplet has been recorded, stigmatising Bukhta for the murder of his father; there is another of the chief bard, *improvised* while his prince Abhye Sing, and Jey Sing of Ambér, were passing the period devoted to religious rites at the sacred lake of Poshkur. These ceremonies never stood in the way of festivity; and one evening, while these princes and their vassals were in the height of merriment, the bard was desired to contribute to it by some extemporaneous effusion. He rose, and vociferated in the ears of the horror-struck assembly the following quatrain:—

"Jodpoor, aur Ambér,
Doono tháp oot'háp
Koorma mára deekro,
Kamd'huj mára báp."

"[The princes of] Jodpoor and Ambér can dethrone the enthroned. But the Koorma¹ slew his son; the Kamd'huj² murdered his father."

The words of the poetic seer sank into the minds of his hearers, and passed from mouth to mouth. They were probably the severest vengeance either prince experienced in this world, and will continue to circulate

¹ *Koorma* or *Cuchwa* (the tribe of the princes of Ambér), slew his son, Seo Sing.

² *Kamd'huj*, it must be remembered, is a titular appellation of the Rahtore kings, which they brought from Canouj.

down to the latest posterity. It was the effusion of the same undaunted Kurna, who led the charge with his prince against the troops of Ambr.

We have also the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, wife of Ajit, who, as she mounted the pyre with her murdered lord, pronounced that terrific sentence to the ears of the patriotic Rajpoot: "May the bones of the murderer be consumed out of Maroo!"¹ In the value they attach to the fulfilment of the prophecy, we have a commentary on the supernatural power attached to these self-devoted victims. The record of the last moments of Bukhta, in the dialogue with his doctor,² is a scene of the highest dramatic and moral interest; and, if further comment were required, demonstrates the operations of the hell within, as well as the abhorrence the Rajpoot entertains for such crimes.

CHAPTER XIII

Accession of Beejy Sing—Receives at Mairta the homage of his chiefs—Proceeds to the capital—The ex-prince Ram Sing forms a treaty with the Mahrattas and the Cuchwahas—Junction of the confederates—Beejy Sing assembles the clans on the plains of Mairta—Summoned to surrender the *raja*—His reply—Battle—Beejy Sing defeated—Destruction of the Rahtore *Camaras*—Ruse de guerre—Beejy Sing left alone—His flight—Eulogies of the bird—Fortresses surrender to Ram Sing—Assassination of the Mahratta commander—Compensation for the murder—Ajmer surrendered—Tribute or *chout* established—Mahrattas abandon the cause of Ram Sing—Couplet commemorative of this event—Cenotaph to Jey Appa—Ram Sing dies—His character—Anarchy reigns in Marwar—The Rahtore oligarchy—Laws of adoption in the case of Pokurna fief—Insolence of its chief to his prince, who entertains mercenaries—This innovation accelerates the decay of feudal principles—The Raja plans the diminution of the aristocracy—The nobles confederate—Gordhan Kheechue—His advice to the prince—Humiliating treaty between the Raja and his vassals—Mercenaries disbanded—Death of the prince's *guru* or priest—His prophetic words—*Keras-carmi* or funeral rites, made the expedient to entrap the chiefs, who are condemned to death—Intrepid conduct of Dêvi Sing of Pokurna—His last words—Reflections on their defective system of government—Sacrifice of the law of primogeniture—Its consequences—Subbala Sing arms to avenge his father's death—Is slain—Power of the nobles checked—They are led against the robbers of the desert—Amerkote seized from Sinder—Golwar taken from Mewar—Marwar and Jeypoor unite against the Mahrattas, who are defeated at Tonga—De Boigne's first appearance—Ajmer recovered by the Rahtores—Battles of Patun and Mairta—Ajmer surrenders—Suicide of the governor—Beejy Sing's concubine adopts Maun Sing—Her insolence alienates the nobles, who plan the deposal of the Raja—Murder of the concubine—Beejy Sing dies.

BEEJY SING, then in his twentieth year, succeeded his father, Bukhta. His accession was acknowledged not only by the emperor, but by all the princes around him, and he was inaugurated at the frontier town of Marote, when proceeding to Mairta, where he passed the period of *maham* or mourning. Hither the independent branches of his family, of Bikaner, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, came simultaneously with their condolence and congratulations. Thence he advanced to the capital, and concluded the rites on death and accession with gifts and charities which gratified all expectations.

¹ See vol. i. p. 590.

² See vol. i. p. 549.

The death of his uncle afforded the ex-prince, Ram Sing, the chance of redeeming his birthright ; and in conjunction with the prince of Ambér, he concluded a treaty ¹ with the Mahrattas, the stipulations of which were sworn to by their leaders. The "Southrons" advanced by Kotah and Jeipoor, where Ram Sing, with his personal adherents and a strong auxiliary band of Ambér, united their forces, and they proceeded to the object in view, the dethronement of Beejy Sing.

Beejy Sing was prepared for the storm, and led his native chivalry to the plains of Mairta, where, animated with one impulse, a determination to repel foreign interference, they awaited the Mahrattas, to decide the rival claims to the throne of the desert. The bard delights to enumerate the clans who mustered all their strength ; and makes particular allusion to the allodial *Pattawuts*, who were foremost on this occasion. From Poshkur, where the combined army halted, a summons was sent to Beejy Sing "to surrender the gadí of Maroo." It was read in full convention and answered with shouts of "Battle ! Battle !" "Who is this Happa," thus to scare us, when, were the firmament to fall, our heads would be pillars of support to preserve you ?" Such is the hyperbole of the Rajpoot when excited, nor does his action fall far short of it. The numerical odds were immense against the Rahtores ; but they little esteemed the Cuch-wahas, and their courage had very different aliment to sustain it, from the mercenary Southron. The encounter was of the most desperate description, and the bard deals out a full measure of justice to all.

Two accidents occurred during the battle, each sufficient to turn victory from the standard of Beejy Sing, on the very point of fruition. One has elsewhere been related,² namely, the destruction of the "Silleh-poshians," or cuirassiers, the chosen cohort of the Rahtores, when returning from a successful charge, who were mistaken for the foe, and mowed down with discharges of grape-shot. This error, at a moment when the courage of the Mahrattas was wavering, might have been retrieved, notwithstanding the superstitious converted the disaster into an omen of evil. Sindia had actually prepared to quit the field, when another turn of the wheel decided the event in his favour : the circumstance exhibits forcibly the versatile character of the Rajpoot.

The Raja of Kishengurh had deprived his relative of Roopnagurh of his estates ; both were junior branches of Marwar, but held direct from the emperor. Sawunt Sing, chieftain of Roopnagurh, either from constitutional indifference or old age, retired to the sanctuary of Vindrabun on the Jumna, and, before the shrine of the Hindu Apollo, poured forth his gratitude for "his escape from hell," in the loss of his little kingdom. But it was in vain he attempted to inspire young Sirdar with the like contempt of mundane glory ; to his exhortations the youth replied, "It is well for you, Sire,³ who have enjoyed life, to resign its sweets so tranquilly ; but I am yet a stranger to them." Taking advantage of the

¹ This treaty is termed *huldi*, or *bul-patra*, 'a strong deed.' The names of the chiefs who signed it were Jankoji Sindia, Santoji Bolia, Danto Patel, Rana Borteo, Atto-Jeswunt Rae, Kano, and Jewa, Jadoons ; Jeewa Powar, Pelooji and Sutwa, Sindia Malji, Tantia Cheetoo, Raghú Pagia, Ghosulia Jadoon, Moolla Yar Alli, Feeroz Khan ; all great leaders amongst the 'Southrons' of that day.

² The *A*, to the Rajpoot of the north-west, is as great as Shibboleth as to the Cockney—thus *Appa* becomes *Happa*.

³ See vol. i. p. 591.

⁴ *Baup-ji*.

This arrangement being made, the Mahrattas displayed the virtue common to such mercenary allies ; they abandoned Ram Sing to his 'evil star,' and took possession of this stronghold, which, placed in the very heart of Rajast'han, perpetuated their influence over its princes.

With this gem, thus rudely torn from her diadem, the independence of Marwar from that hour has been insecure. She has struggled on, indeed, through a century of invasions, rebellions, and crimes, all originating, like the blank leaf in her annals, from the murder of Ajít. In the words of the Doric stanza of the hostile bards on this memorable chastisement:

*"Eâd ghunnâ dîn âosi
Hâppâ wâlâ hêl
Bhâgâ tîn-ô bú-pati
Mâl kazânâ mél."*

"For many a day will they remember the time (*hêl*) of Appa, when the three sovereigns fled, abandoning their goods and treasures": alluding to the princes of Marwar, Bikanér, and Kishengurh, who partook in the disasters and disgrace of that day.

The youthful heir of Roopnagurh claimed, as he justly might, the victory to himself ; and going up to Appa to congratulate him, said, in the metaphorical language of his country, "You see I sowed mustard-seed in my hand as I stood": comparing the prompt success of his stratagem to the rapid vegetation of the seed. But Sirdar was a young man of no ordinary promise ; for when Sindia, in gratitude, offered immediately to put him in possession of Roopnagurh, he answered, "No ; that would be a retrograde movement," and told him to act for his master Ram Sing, "whose success would best insure his own." But when treachery had done its worst on Jey Appa, suspicion, which fell on every Rajpoot in the Mahratta camp, spared not Sirdar: swords were drawn in every quarter, and even the messengers of peace, the envoys, were everywhere assailed, and amongst those who fell ere the tumult could be appeased, was Rawut Kober Sing, the premier noble of Méwar, then ambassador from the Rana with the Mahrattas.¹ With his last breath, Jey Appa protected and exonerated Sirdar, and enjoined that his pledge of restoration to his patrimony should be redeemed. The body of this distinguished commander was burned at the *Taôs-sir*, or 'Peacock pool,' where a cenotaph was erected, and in the care which the descendants even of his enemies pay to it, we have a test of the merits of both victor and vanquished.

This was the last of twenty-two battles, in which Ram Sing was prodigal of his life for the recovery of his honours. The adversity of his later days had softened the asperity of his temper, and made his early faults be forgotten, though too late for his benefit. He died in exile at Jeipoor in A.D. 1773. His person was gigantic ; his demeanour affable and courteous ; and he was generous to a fault. His understanding was excellent and well cultivated, but his capricious temperament, to which he gave vent with an unbridled vehemence, disgusted the high-minded nobles of Maroo, and involved him in exile and misery till his death. It

¹ I have many original autograph letters of this distinguished Rajpoot on the transactions of this period ; for it was he who negotiated the treaty between Raja Madhu Sing, of Jeipoor, the 'nephew of Méwar,' and the Mahrattas. At this time, his object was to induce Jey Appa to raise the siege of Nagore.

is universally admitted that, both in exterior and accomplishments, not even the great Ajít could compare with Ram Sing, and witchcraft, at the instigation of the chieftain of Asope, is assigned to account for his fits of insanity, which might be better attributed to the early and immoderate use of opium. But in spite of his errors, the fearless courage he displayed, against all odds, kept some of the most valiant of the clans constant to his fortunes, especially the brave Mairteas, under the heroic Shere Sing of Réah, whose deeds can never be obliterated from the recollections of the Rahtore. Not the least ardent of his adherents was the allodial chief Roop Sing, of the almost forgotten clan, Pattawut ; who held out in Filodi against all attempts, and who, when provisions failed, with his noble associates, slew and ate their camels. The theme is a favourite one for the *Kamrea* minstrel of Maroo, who sings the fidelity of Roopa and his band to the notes of his *rheháb*, to their ever attentive descendants.

We may sum up the character of Ram Sing in the words of the bard, as he contrasts him with his rival. " Fortune never attended the stirrup of Beejy Sing, who never gained a battle, though at the head of a hundred thousand men ; but Ram Sing, by his valour and conduct, gained victories with a handful."

The death of Ram Sing was no panacea to the griefs of Marwar or of its prince. The Mahrattas, who had now obtained a *point-d'appui* in Rajwarra, continued to foster disputes which tended to their advantage, or when opportunity offered, to scour the country in search of pay or plunder. Beejy Sing, young and inexperienced, was left without resources ; ruinous wars and yet more ruinous negotiations had dissipated the hoards of wealth accumulated by his predecessors. The crown-lands were uncultivated, the tenantry dispersed ; and commerce had diminished, owing to insecurity and the licentious habits of the nobles, who everywhere established their own imposts, and occasionally despoiled entire caravans. While the competitor for the throne was yet living, the Raja was compelled to shut his eyes on these inroads upon his proper power, which reduced him to insignificance even in his own palace.

The aristocracy in Marwar has always possessed more power than in any of the sister principalities around. The cause may be traced to their first settlement in the desert ; and it has been kept in action by the peculiarities of their condition, especially in that protracted struggle for the rights of the minor Ajít, against the despotism of the empire. There was another cause, which, at the present juncture, had a very unfortunate influence on the increase of this preponderance, and which arose out of the laws of adoption.

The fief of Pokurna, the most powerful (although a junior) branch of the Champawut clan, adopted a son of Raja Ajít as their chief ; his name was Dévi Sing. The right of adoption, as has been already explained, rests with the widow of the deceased and the elders of the clan. Why they exercised it as they did on this occasion does not appear ; but not improbably at the suggestion of the dying chief, who wished to see his sovereign's large family provided for, having no sons of his own : or, the immediate claimants may not have possessed the qualities necessary to lead a clan of Maroo. Although the moment such adoption takes place, when " the turban of the late incumbent encircled the newlord of Pokurna," he ought to forget he had any other father than him he succeeded, yet we

can easily imagine that, in the present case, his propinquity to the throne, which under other circumstances he might soon have forgotten, was continually forced upon his recollection by the contentions of his parricidal brothers and their offspring for the 'cushion' of Marwar. It exemplifies another feature in Rajpoot institutions, which cut off this son (guiltless of all participation in the treason) from succession, because he was identified with the feudality; while the issue of another, and junior brother, at the same period adopted into the independent house of Edur,¹ were heirs presumptive to Marwar; nay, must supply it with a ruler on failure of heirs, though they should have but one son and be compelled to adopt in his room.²

The Champawuts determined to maintain their influence over the sovereign and the country; and Dévi Sing leagued with Ahwa and the other branches of this clan to the exclusion of all competitors. They formed of their own body a guard of honour for the person of the prince, one half remaining on duty in the castle, the other half being in the town below. While the Raja would lament the distracted state of his country, the inroads of the Hill tribes, and the depredations of his own chiefs, Dévi Sing of Pokurna would reply, "Why trouble yourself about Marwar? it is in the sheath of my dagger." The young prince used to unburthen his griefs to his foster-brother Jaggo, a man of caution and experience, which qualities he instilled into his sovereign. By dissimulation, and an apparent acquiescence in their plans, he not only eluded suspicion, but, availing himself of their natural indolence of character, at length obtained leave not only to entertain some men of Sinde as guards for the town, but to provide supplies for their subsistence: the first approximation towards a standing mercenary force, till then unknown in their annals. We do not mean that the Rajpoot princes never employed any other than their own feudal clans; they had foreign Rajpoots in their pay, but still on the same tenure, holding lands for service; but never till this period had they soldiers entertained on monthly stipend. These hired bands were entirely composed of infantry, having a slight knowledge of European tactics, the superiority of which, even over their high-minded cavaliers, they had so severely experienced in their encounters with the Mahrattas. The same causes had operated on the courts of Oodipoor and Jeipoor to induce them to adopt the like expedient; to which, more than to the universal demoralisation which followed the breaking up of the empire, may be attributed the rapid decay of feudal principles throughout Rajpootana. These guards were composed either of Poorbea³ Rajpoots, Sindies, Arabs, or Rohillas. They received their orders direct from the prince, through the civil officers of the state, by whom they were entrusted with the execution of all duties of importance or dispatch. Thus they soon formed a complete barrier between the prince and his vassals, and consequently became objects of jealousy and of strife. In like manner did all the other states make approaches towards a standing army; and though the motive in all cases was the same, to curb, or even to extinguish, the strength of the feudal chiefs, it has failed throughout, except in the

¹ It will be remembered that Edur was conquered by a brother of Séôji's.

² We shall explain this by a cutting of the genealogical tree: it may be found useful should we be called on to arbitrate in these matters.

³ *Poorbéas*, 'men of the east,' as the *Mugrabies* are 'of the west.'

solitary instance of Kotah, where twenty well-disciplined battalions, and a hundred pieces of artillery, are maintained chiefly from the feudal sequestrations.

To return : the Dhabhae, having thus secured a band of seven hundred men, and obtained an aid (which we may term *scutage*) from the chiefs for their maintenance, gradually transferred them from their duties above to the gates of the castle. Somewhat released from the thralldom of faction, the Raja concerted with his foster-brother and the Dêwân, Futteh Chund, the means of restoring prosperity and order. So destitute was the prince of resources, that the Dhabhae had recourse to threats of suicide to obtain 50,000 rupees from his mother, acquired as the nurse (*dhaë*) of his sovereign ; and so drained was the country of horses, that he was compelled to transport his cavaliers (who were too proud to walk) on cars to Nagore. There, under the pretence of curbing the hill tribes, he formed an army, and dismounting the guns from the walls of the town, marched an ill-equipped force against the border-mountaineers, and being successful, he attacked on his return the castle of Seel-Bukri. This was deemed a sufficient indication of his views ; the whole feudality of Maroo took alarm, and united for mutual safety at Birsilpoor, twenty miles east of the capital.

There was a foreign Rajpoot, whose valour, fidelity, and conduct had excited the notice and regard of Bukhta Sing, who, in his dying hour, recommended him to the service of his son. To Gordhun, the Keechie, a name of no small note in the subsequent history of this reign, did the young Raja apply in order to restrain his chiefs from revolt. In the true spirit of Rajpoot sentiment, he advised his prince to confide in their honour, and, unattended, to seek and remonstrate with them, while he went before to secure him a good reception. At daybreak, Gordhun was in the camp of the confederates ; he told them that their prince, confiding in their loyalty, was advancing to join them, and besought them to march out to receive him. Deaf, however, to entreaty and to remonstrance, not a man would stir, and the prince reached the camp uninvited and unwelcomed. Decision and confidence are essential in all transactions with a Rajpoot. Gordhun remained not a moment in deliberation, but instantly carried his master direct to the tent of the Ahwa chief, the premier noble of Marwar. Here the whole body congregated, and silence was broken by the prince, who demanded why his chiefs had abandoned him ?

"Mahraja," replied the Champawut, "our bodies have but one pin-nacle ; were there a second, it should be at your disposal." A tedious discussion ensued ; doubts of the future, recriminations respecting the past ; till wearied and exhausted, the prince demanded to know the conditions on which they would return to their allegiance, when the following articles were submitted :

1. To break up the force of the Dhabhae ;
2. To surrender to their keeping the records of fiefs (*puttâ-buhye*) ;
3. That the court should be transferred from the citadel to the town.

There was no alternative but the renewal of civil strife or compliance ; and the first article, which was a *sine quâ non*, the disbanding of the obnoxious guards, that anomalous appendage to a Rajpoot prince's person, was carried into immediate execution. Neither in the first nor last stipulation could the prince feel surprise or displeasure ; but the second sapped the very foundation of his rule, by depriving the crown of

its dearest prerogative, the power of dispensing favour. This shallow reconciliation being effected, the malcontent nobles dispersed, some to their estates, and the Chondawut oligarchy to the capital with their prince, in the hope of resuming their former influence over him and the country.

Thus things remained, when Atmaram, the *gúrú* or 'ghostly comforter,' of Beejy Sing, fell sick, and as he sedulously attended him, the dying priest would tell him to be of good cheer, for when he departed, he "would take all his troubles with him." He soon died, and his words, which were deemed prophetic, were interpreted by the Dhabhae. The Raja feigned immoderate grief for the loss of his spiritual friend, and in order to testify his veneration, an ordinance was issued commanding that the *kereacarma*, or 'rites for the dead,' should be performed in the castle, while the queens, on pretence of paying their last duty to his remains, descended, carrying with them the guards and retainers as their escort. It was an occasion on which suspicion, even if awake, could not act, and the chiefs ascended to join in the funereal rites to the saint. As they mounted the steps cut out of the rock which wound round the hill of Joda, the mind of Dévi Sing suddenly misgave him, and he exclaimed, that "the day was unlucky"; but it passed off with the flattering remark, "you are the pillar of Maroo; who dare even look at you?" They paced slowly through the various barriers, until they reached the *alarum gate*.¹ It was shut! "Treachery!" exclaimed the chief of Ahwa, as he drew his sword, and the work of death commenced. Several were slain; the rest were overpowered. Their captivity was a sufficient presage of their fate; but, like true Rajpoots, when the *Dhabhae* told them they were to die, their last request was, "that their souls might be set at liberty by the sword, not by the unsanctified ball of the mercenary." The chronicle does not say whether this wish was gratified, when the three great leaders of the Champawuts, with Jaet Sing of Ahwa; Dévi Sing of Pokurna; the lord of Hursola; Chuttur Sing, chief of the Koompawuts; Késurí Sing of Chandrain; the heir of Neemaj; and the chief of Raus, then the principal fief of the Oodawuts, met their fate. The last hour of Dévi Sing was marked with a distinguished peculiarity. Being of the royal line of Maroo, they would not spill his blood, but sent him his death-warrant in a jar of opium. On receiving it, and his prince's command to make his own departure from life, "What!" said the noble spirit, as they presented the jar, "shall Dévi Sing take his *umul* (opiate) out of an earthen vessel? Let his gold cup be brought, and it shall be welcome." This last vain distinction being denied, he dashed out his brains against the walls of his prison. Before he thus enfranchised his proud spirit, some ungenerous mind, repeating his own vaunt, demanded, "where was then the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar?" "In Subbula's girdle at Pokurna," was the laconic reply of the undaunted Chondawut.

This was a tremendous sacrifice for the maintenance of authority, of men who had often emptied their veins in defence of their country. But even ultra patriotism, when opposed to foreign aggression, can prove no palliative to treason or mitigate its award, when, availing themselves of

¹ The *nakarra durwaza*, where the grand kettledrum is stationed, to give the alarm or summons to the chieftains to repair to the Presence. To this gate Raja Maun advanced to meet the author, then the representative of the Governor-General of India.

the diminished power of the prince, an arrogant and imperious oligarchy presumes to enthrall their sovereign. It is the mode in which vengeance was executed, at which the mind recoils, and which with other instances appears to justify the imputation of perfidy, amongst the traits of Rajpoot character. But if we look deeply into it, we shall find reason to distrust such conclusion. The Rajpoot abhors, in the abstract, both perfidy and treason; but the elements of the society in which he lives and acts, unfortunately too often prompt the necessity of sacrificing principles to preservation: but this proceeds from their faulty political constitution; it is neither inculcated in their moral code, nor congenial to their moral habits.

The perpetual struggle between the aristocracy and the sovereign, which is an evil inherent in all feudal associations, was greatly aggravated in Marwar, as well as in Méwar, by the sacrifice of that corner-stone even of constitutional monarchy, the rights of primogeniture. But in each case the deviation from custom was a voluntary sacrifice of the respective heirs-apparent to the caprices of parental dotage. In no other country in the world could that article of the Christian decalogue, "Honour thy father and thy mother," be better illustrated than in Rajpootana, where, if we have had to record two horrid examples of deviation from, we have also exhibited splendid proofs of, filial devotion, in Chonda of Méwar, and Champa of Marwar, who resigned the "rods" they were born to wield; and served, when they should have swayed, to gratify their fathers' love for the fruit of their old age. These are instances of self-denial hardly to be credited; from such disinterested acts, their successors claimed an importance which, though natural, was totally unforeseen, and which the extent of compensation contributed to foster. They asserted the right, as hereditary premiers of the state, to be the advisers, or rather the tutors, of their sovereigns, more especially in non-age, and in allusion to this surrender of their birthright, arrogantly applied the well-known adage, *Pat ca malik myn ho, Raj ca malik ooa*, 'He is sovereign of the state, but I am the master of the Throne'; and insisted on the privilege of being consulted on every gift of land, and putting their autograph symbol to the deed or grant.¹ These pretensions demanded the constant exertions of the sovereign to resist them; for this purpose, he excited the rivalry of the less powerful members of the federated vassalage, and thus formed a kind of balance of power, which the monarch, if skilful, could always turn to account. But not even the jealousies thus introduced would have so depreciated the regal influence in Marwar, nor even the more recent adoption of a son of the crown into the powerful fief of Pokurna, had not the parricidal sons of Ajit degraded the throne in the eyes of their haughty and always overreaching vassals, who, in the civil strife which followed, were alternately in favour or disgrace, as they adhered to or opposed the successful claimant for power. To this foul blot, every evil which has since overtaken this high-minded race may be traced, as well as the extirpation of that principle of devoted obedience which, in the anterior portion of these annals, has been so signally recorded. To this hour it has perpetuated dissensions between the crown and the oligarchy, leading to deposal and violence to the princes, or sequestration, banishment, and death to the nobles. To break the bonds of this tutelage, Ram Sing's intemperance lost him the crown, which sat uneasy on the head of

¹ See vol. i. p. 164.

CHAPTER XIV

Raja Bheem seizes upon the *gadî*—Discomfiture of his competitor, Zalim Sing—Bheem destroys all the other claimants to succession, excepting Maun Sing—Blockaded in Jhalore—Sallies from the garrison for supplies—Prince Maun heads one of them—Incurs the risk of capture—Is preserved by the Ahore chief—Raja Bheem offends his nobles—They abandon Marwar—The fief of Neemaj attacked—Jhalore reduced to the point of surrender—Sudden and critical death of Raja Bheem—Its probable cause—The Védyas, or 'cunning-men,' who surround the prince—Accession of Raja Maun—Rebellion of Sowaé Sing of Pokurna—Conspiracy of Champasuni—Declaration of the pregnancy of a queen of Raja Bheem—Convention with Raja Maun—Posthumous births—Their evil consequences in Rajwarra—A child born—Sent off by stealth to Pokurna, and its birth kept a secret—Named Dhonkul—Raja Maun evinces indiscreet partialities—Alienates the Champawuts—Birth of the posthumous son of Raja Bheem promulgated—The chiefs call on Raja Maun to fulfil the terms of the convention—The mother disclaims the child—The Pokurna chief sends the infant Dhonkul to the sanctuary of Abhye Sing of Khetri—Sowaé opens his underplot—Embroids Raja Maun with the courts of Ambér and Méwar—He carries the pretender Dhonkul to Jeipoor—Acknowledged and proclaimed as Raja of Marwar—The majority of the chiefs support the pretender—The Bikanér prince espouses his cause—Armies called in the field—Baseness of Holcar, who deserts Raja Maun—The armies approach—Raja Maun's chiefs abandon him—He attempts suicide—Is persuaded to fly—He gains Jodpoor—Prepares for defence—Becomes suspicious of all his kin—Refuses them the honour of defending the castle—They join the allies, who invest Jodpoor—The city taken and plundered—Distress of the besiegers—Meer Khan's conduct causes a division—His flight from Marwar—Pursued by the Jeipoor commander—Battle—Jeipoor force destroyed, and the city invested—Dismay of the Raja—Breaks up the siege of Jodpoor—Pays £200,000 for a safe passage to Jeipoor—The spoils of Jodpoor intercepted by the Rahtores, and wrested from the Cuchwahs—Meer Khan formally accepts service with Raja Maun, and repairs to Jodpoor with the four Rahtore chiefs.

THE intelligence of Beejy Sing's death was conveyed by express to his grandson Bheem, at Jessulmér. In "twenty-two hours" he was at Jodpoor, and ascending directly to the citadel, seated himself upon the *gadî*, while his rival, Zalim Sing, the rightful heir, little expecting this celerity, was encamped at the Mairta gate, awaiting the "lucky hour" to take possession. That hour never arrived; and the first intelligence of Bheem being on "the cushion of Joda," was conveyed to the inhabitants by the *nakarras* of his rival on his retreat from the city, who was pursued to Bhilara, attacked, defeated, and forced to seek shelter at Oodipoor, where, with an ample domain from the Rana, he passed the rest of his days in literary pursuits. He died in the prime of life: attempting to open a vein with his own hand, he cut an artery and bled to death. He was a man of great personal and mental qualifications; a gallant soldier, and no mean poet.¹

Thus far successful, Raja Bheem determined to dismiss "compunctious visitings," and be a king *de facto* if not *de jure*. Death had carried off three of his uncles, as well as his father, previous to this event; but there were still two others, Shere Sing, his adopted father, and Sirdar Sing,

¹ My own venerable tutor, Yati Gyanchandra, who was with me for ten years, said he owed all his knowledge, especially his skill in reciting poetry (in which he surpassed all the bards at Oodipoor), to Zalim Sing.

but for the prowess of the chief of Ahore, who took him up behind him and bore him off in safety. Nothing but the turbulence of the chiefs who supported Raja Bheem saved young Maun's life. A disputed succession has always produced an odious faction; and Bheem, who was not disposed to bend to this oligarchy, appears to have had all the imprudence of the dethroned Ram Sing: he threatened those entrusted with the siege to give them "oxen to ride instead of horses." The chiefs fired at the insult, and retired to Ganorah, the principal fief in Godwar; but, disgusted with both parties, instead of obeying the invitation of young Maun, they abandoned their country altogether, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states. Many fiefs were sequestered, and Neemaj, the chief seat of the Oodawuts, was attacked, and after a twelve months' defence, taken; its battlements were ignominiously destroyed, and the victors, chiefly foreign mercenaries, reinforced the blockade of Jhalore.

With the exile of his partisans and daily diminishing resources, when the lower town was taken, there appeared no hope for young Maun. A small supply of millet-flour was all the provision left to his half-famished garrison, whose surrender was now calculated upon, when an invitation came from the hostile commander for Maun to repair to his camp, and adding "he was now the master; it was *his* duty to serve." On that day (the 2d Kartik S. 1860, Dec. 1804), after eleven years of defence, his means exhausted, his friends banished, and death from starvation or the sword inevitable, intelligence came of Raja Bheem's demise! This event, as unlooked-for as it was welcome, could scarcely at first be credited; and the tender of the homage of the commander to Maun as his sovereign, though accompanied by a letter from the prime minister Induraj, was disregarded till the *gúrú* Deonat'h returned from the camp with confirmation of the happy news, that "not a moustache was to be seen in the camp."¹ Thither the prince repaired, and was hailed as the head of the Rahtores.

It is said that the successor of the *gúrú* Atmaram, "who carried all the troubles of Beejy Sing with him to heaven," had predicted of young Maun Sing, when at the very zero of adversity, that "his fortunes would ascend." What were the means whereby the ghostly comforter of Raja Bheem influenced his political barometer, we know not; but prophetic *gúrús*, bards, astrologers, physicians, and all the *Védya*s or 'cunning-men,'² who beset the persons of princes, prove dangerous companions when, in addition to the office of compounders of drugs and expounders of dreams, they are invested with the power of realising their own prognostications.

On the 5th of Megsir, 1860 (A.D. 1804), Raja Maun, released from his perils, succeeded to the honours and the feuds of Beejy Sing. He had occupied the 'cushion of Maroo' but a very short period, when the Pokurna chief "took offence," and put himself in hostility to his sovereign. The name of this proud vassal, the first in power though only of secondary rank amongst the Champawuts, was Sowae Sing, with whom now remained "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Maroo." If the fulfilment of vengeance be a virtue, Sowae was the most virtuous son on

¹ This mark of mourning is common to all India. Where this evidence of manhood is not yet visible, the hair is cut off; often both.

² *Védya*, or 'science': the term is also used to denote cunning, magic, or knowledge of whatever kind.

earth. The dagger of Dévi Sing, bequeathed to Subbula, was no imaginary weapon in the hands of his grandson Sowaé, who held it suspended over the head of Raja Maun from his enthronement to his death-hour. Soon after Raja Maun's accession, Sowaé retired with his partisans to Champasuni, a spot about five miles from the capital, where the conspiracy was prepared. He told the chiefs that the wife of Raja Bheem was pregnant, and prevailed on them to sign a declaration, that if a son was born, he should be installed on the *gadi* of Joda. They returned in a body to the capital, took the pregnant queen from the castle, and placed her in a palace in the city, under their own protection. Moreover, they held a council, at which the Raja was present, who agreed to recognise the infant, if a male, as the heir-apparent of Maroo, and to enfeoff him in the appanage of Nagore and Sewanoh; and that if a female, she should be betrothed to a prince of Dhoondar.

Posthumous births are never-failing germs of discord in these states; and the issue is inevitably branded by one party with the title of 'supposititious.' It is likewise a common saying, almost amounting to a proverb, that a male child is the uniform result of such a position. In due course, a male infant was born; but, alarmed for its safety, the mother concealed both its birth and sex, and placing it in a basket, conveyed it by a faithful servant from the city, whence it soon reached Sowaé Sing at Pokurna. He bestowed upon it the inauspicious name of 'Dhonkul,' that is, one born to tumult and strife. It is said that, during two years he kept the birth a profound secret, and it is even added, that it might have remained so, had Raja Maun forgot the history of the past, and dispensed even-handed justice. Wanting, however, the magnanimity of the Fourth Henry of France, who scorned "to revenge the wrongs of the prince of Navarre," he reserved his favours and confidence for those who supported him in Jhalore, whilst he evinced his dislike to others who, in obedience to their sovereign, served against him. Of these adherents, only two chiefs of note were of his kin and clan; the others were Bhatti Rajpoots, and a body of those religious militants called *Bishenswamis*, under their Mehunt, or leader, Kaimdas.¹

At the expiration of two years, Sowaé communicated the event to the chiefs of his party, who called upon Raja Maun to redeem his promise and issue the grant for Nagore and Sewanoh. He promised compliance if, upon investigation, the infant proved to be the legitimate offspring of his predecessor. Personal fear overcame maternal affection, and the queen, who remained at Jodpoor, disclaimed the child. Her reply being communicated to the chiefs, it was for a time conclusive, and the subject ceased to interest them, the more especially as her concealed *accouchement* had never been properly accounted for.

Though Sowaé, with his party, apparently acquiesced, his determination was taken; but instead of an immediate appeal to arms, he adopted a deeper scheme of policy, the effects of which he could not have con-

¹ They follow the doctrines of Vishnú (Bishen). They are termed *goséus*, as well as the more numerous class of church militants, devoted to Siva. Both are *edibataires*, as *gosén* imports, from mastery (*sén*) over the sense (*gó*). They occasionally come in contact, when their sectarian principles end in furious combats. At the celebrated place of pilgrimage, Heridwar (Hurdwar), on the Ganges, we are obliged to have soldiers to keep the peace, since a battle occurred, in which they fought almost to extirpation, about twenty years ago. They are the *Templars* of Rajast'han.

templated, and which involved his own destruction, and with it the independence of his country, which was transferred to strangers, their very antipodes in manners, religion, and every moral quality. His first act was to procure a more powerful protection than Pokurna afforded; and under the guarantee of Chutter Sing Bhatti, he was sent to the *sirna* (sanctuary) of Abhye Sing of Khetri.¹ Having so far succeeded, he contrived an underplot, in which his genius for intrigue appears not below his reputation as a soldier.

The late prince Bheem had made overtures to the Rana of Méwar for the hand of his daughter, but he died before the preliminaries were adjusted. This simple circumstance was deemed sufficient by the Champawut for the ground-work of his plot. He contrived to induce the voluptuous Juggut Sing, the prince of Jeipoor, to put himself in the place of Raja Bheem, and to propose for the fair hand of Kishna. This being accomplished, and nuptial presents, under a guard of four thousand men, being dispatched to Oodipoor, Sowaé intimated to Raja Maun that he would be eternally disgraced if he allowed the prince of Ambér to carry off "the betrothed"; that "it was to the throne of Maroo, not its occupant, she was promised." The bait was greedily swallowed, and the summons for the *khér* (or levy *en masse*) of the Rahtores was immediately proclaimed. Maun instantly assembled three thousand horse, and joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing, then on the frontier of Méwar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Ambér. Indignant at this outrage, Juggut Sing took to arms, and the muster-book was declared open to all who would serve in the war which was formally declared against Maroo.

Having thus opened the drama, Sowaé threw off the mask, and repaired to Khetri, whence he conveyed the pretender, Dhonkul, to the court of Juggut Sing at Jeipoor. Here his legitimacy was established by being admitted 'to eat from the same platter' with its prince; and his claims, as the heir of Marwar, were publicly acknowledged and advocated, by his 'placing him in the lap of his aunt,' one of the wives of the deceased Raja Bheem. His cause thus espoused, and being declared the nephew of Ambér, the nobles of Marwar, who deemed the claims of the pretender superior to those of Raja Maun, speedily collected around his standard. Amongst these was the prince of Bikanér, whose example (he being the most powerful of the independents of this house) at once sanctioned the justice of Dhonkul's cause, and left that of Raja Maun almost without support. Nevertheless, with the hereditary valour of his race, he advanced to the frontiers to meet his foes, whose numbers, led by the Jeipoor prince and the pretender, exceeded one hundred thousand men. This contest, the ostensible object of which was the princess of Méwar, like the crusades of ancient chivalry, brought allies from the most remote parts of India. Even the cautious Mahratta felt an unusual impulse in this rivalry, beyond the stimulants of pay and plunder which ordinarily rouse him, and corps after corps left their hordes so support either cause. The weightier purse of Jeipoor was the best argument for the justice of his cause and that of the pretender; while Raja Maun had only the gratitude of Holcar to reckon upon for aid, to whose wife and family he had given sanctuary when pursued by Lord Lake to the Attoc. But here Sowaé again foiled him; and the Mahratta, then only eighteen miles from Maun, and who had

¹ One of the principal chiefs of the Shekhawut confederation.

promised to join him next day, made a sudden movement to the south. A bribe of £100,000, in bills upon Kotah, to be paid on Holcar's reaching that city, effected this desertion; which being secured, Juggut Sing and the pretender advanced to overwhelm their antagonist, who was posted at Geengolf. As the armies approached each other, Raja Maun's chiefs rode up to salute him, preparatory, as he thought, to head their clans for the combat; but it was their farewell obeisance. The cannonade opened, they rallied under the standard of the pretender, and on Sowaé advancing on the right of the allied line, so entire was the defection, that even the Mairtea clan, whose virtue and boast it is "to adhere to the throne, whoever is the occupant," deserted, with the Champawuts, Jaitawuts, and minor chiefs. Four chieftains alone abided the evil hour of Raja Maun, namely, Koochamun, Ahore, Jhalore, and Neemaj; and with their quotas alone, and the auxiliary bands of Boondl, he would have rushed into the battle. Hindered from this, he attempted his own life: but the design was frustrated by Seonath of Koochamun, who dismounted him from his elephant, and advised his trusting to the fleetness of his steed, while they covered his flight. The Raja remarked, he was the first of his race who ever disgraced the name of Rahtore by showing his back to a Cuchwaha. The position he had taken that morning was favourable to retreat, being a mile in advance of the pass of Parbutsir: this was speedily gained, and nobly defended by the battalions of Boondl, and those of Hundall Khan, in the pay of Raja Maun, which retarded the pursuit, headed by the Rao of Ooniara. Raja Maun reached Mairta in safety; but deeming it incapable of long resistance, he continued his flight by Peeapar to the capital, which he reached with a slender retinue, including the four chiefs, who still shared his fortunes. The camp of Raja Maun was pillaged. Eighteen guns were taken by Balla Rao Ingolia, one of Sindia's commanders, and the lighter effects, the tents, elephants, and baggage, were captured by Meer Khan; while Parbutsir, and the villages in the neighbourhood, were plundered.

Thus far, the scheme of Sowaé and the pretender advanced with rapid success. When the allied army reached Mairta, the prince of Jeipoor, whose object was the princess of Méwar, proposed to Sowaé to follow up their good fortune, while he repaired to Oodipoor, and solemnised the nuptials. But even in the midst of his revenge, Sowaé could distinguish "between the cause of Maun Sing and the *gadi* of Marwar"; and to promote the success of Jeipoor, though he had originated the scheme to serve his own views, was no part of his plan. He was only helped out of this dilemma by another, which he could not anticipate. Not dreaming that Raja Maun would hold out in the capital, which had no means of defence, but supposing he would fly to Jhalore, and leave Jodpoor to its fate and to the pretender, Sowaé, desirous to avoid the further advance of the allies into the country, halted the army for three days at Mairta. His foresight was correct: the Raja had reached Birsilpoor in full flight to Jhalore, when, at the suggestion of Gaenmul Singwi, a civil officer in his train, he changed his intention. "There," said the Singwi, "lays Jodpoor only nine coss to the right, while Jhalore is sixteen further; it is as easy to gain the one as the other, and if you cannot hold out in the capital, what chance have you elsewhere? while you defend your throne your cause is not lost." Raja Maun followed the advice, reached Jodpoor in a few hours, and prepared for his defence. This unexpected change,

and the halt of the allied army, which permitted the dispersed bands to gain the capital, defeated the schemes of Sowaé.

With a body of three thousand men, selected from Hundall Khan's brigade, the corps of Bishenswamis, under Kaimdas, and one thousand foreign Rajpoots, consisting of Chohans, Bhattis, and Eendos (the ancient lords of Mundore), Raja Maun formed a garrison of five thousand men, on whom he could depend. So ample did he deem this number, that he dispatched strong garrisons from Hundall's brigade, with some Deora Rajpoots, to garrison Jhalore, and preserve the distant castle of Amerkote from surprise by the Sindies. Having thus provided against the storm, he fearlessly awaited the result. But so alienated was his mind from his kindred, that he would not even admit to the honour of defending his throne the four faithful chieftains who, in the general desertion, had abided by his fortunes. To all their entreaties to be received into the castle, that "they might defend the *hangras* (battlements) of Joda," he replied, they might defend the city if they pleased; and disgusted with such a return for their fidelity, they increased the train of his opponents, who soon encompassed Jodpoor.

The town, little capable of defence, was taken and given up to unlicensed plunder; and with the exception of Filodi, which was gallantly defended for three months, and given to Bikanér as the reward of its alliance, the *án* of the pretender was proclaimed throughout Marwar, and his allies only awaited the fall of the capital, which appeared inevitable, to proclaim him king. But a circumstance occurred, which, awakening the patriotism of the Rahtores, thwarted these fair prospects, relieved Raja Maun from his peril, and involved his adversaries in the net of destruction which they had woven for him.

The siege had lasted five months without any diminution of the ardour of the defenders; and although the defences of the north-east angle were destroyed, the besiegers, having a perpendicular rock of eighty feet to ascend before they could get to the breach, were not nearer their object, and, in fact, without shells, the castle of Joda would laugh a siege to scorn. The numerous and motley force under the banners of Jeipoor and the pretender, became clamorous for pay; the forage was exhausted, and the partisan horse were obliged to bivouac in the distant districts to the south. Availing himself of their separation from the main body, Ameer Khan, an apt pupil of the Mahratta school, began to raise contributions on the fiscal lands, and Palli, Peepar, Bhilara; with many others, were compelled to accede to his demands. The estates of the nobles who espoused the cause of the pretender, fared no better, and they complained to the Xerxes of this host of the conduct of this unprincipled commander.

The protracted defence having emptied the treasury of Ambér, the arch-intriguer of Pokurna was called upon to contribute towards satisfying the clamour of the troops. Having exhausted the means of his own party, he applied to the four chieftains who had been induced to join the cause of the pretender by the suspicions of Raja Maun, to advance a sum of money. This appeal proved a test of their zeal. They abandoned the pretender, and proceeded direct to the camp of Ameer Khan. It required no powerful rhetoric to detach him from the cause and prevail upon him to advocate that of Raja Maun; nor could they have given him better counsel towards this end, than the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country:

to attack and plunder Jeipoor, now left unguarded. At this critical moment, the Jeipoor prince, in consequence of the representation of the Marwar chiefs, had directed his commander-in-chief, Seolall, to chastise Meer Khan for his lawless conduct. Seolall put a stop to their deliberations, attacked and drove them across the Looni, surprised them at Govingurh, again in a night attack at Hursoori, and pursued the Khan to Phaggi, at the very frontier of Jeipoor. Astonished at his own success, and little aware that the chase was in the direction projected by his enemy, Seolall deemed he had accomplished his orders in driving him out of Marwar; halted, and leaving his camp, repaired to Jeipoor to partake of its festivities. The Khan, who with his allies had reached Peeploo near Tonk, no sooner heard of this, than he called to his aid the heavy brigades of Mahomed Shah Khan and Raja Buhader (then besieging Iserdoh, and availed himself of the imprudent absence of his foe to gain over the Hyderabad *Rásála*, a legion well known in the predatory wars of that period. Having effected this object, he assailed the Jeipoor force, which, notwithstanding this defection and the absence of its commander, fought with great valour, the battalions of Heera Sing being nearly cut to pieces. The action ended in the entire defeat of the Jeipooreans, and the capture of their camp, guns, and equipage. Prompted by the Rahtore chieftains, whose valour led to this result, Meer Khan rapidly followed up his success, and Jeipoor was dismayed by the presence of the victor at her gates. The generalship of the Khan was the salvation of Raja Maun; it dissolved the confederacy, and fixed the doom of Sowaé, its projector.

The tempest had been some time gathering; the Rajas of Bikanér and Shapoorá had already withdrawn from the confederacy and marched home, when, like a clap of thunder, the effeminate Cuchwaha, who had in the outset of this crusade looked to a full harvest both of glory and of love, learned that his army was annihilated, and his capital invested by the Khan and a handful of Rahtores. Duped by the representations of Sowaé, Raé Chund, *Déwán* or prime minister of Jeipoor, concealed for some days these disasters from his sovereign, who received the intelligence by a special messenger sent by the queen-mother. Enraged, perplexed, and alarmed for his personal safety, he broke up the siege, and sending on in advance the spoils of Jodpoor (including forty pieces of cannon), with his own chieftains, he sent for the Mahratta leaders,¹ and offered them £120,000 to escort him in safety to his capital; nay, he secretly bribed, with a bond of £90,000 more, the author of his disgrace, Ameer Khan, not to intercept his retreat, which was signally ignominious, burning his tents and equipage at every stage, and at length with his own hand destroying his favourite elephant, which "wanted speed for the rapidity of his flight."

But the indignities he had to suffer were not over. The chieftains whose sagacity and valour had thus diverted the storm from Raja Maun, determined that no trophies of Rahtore disgrace should enter Jeipoor, united their clans about twenty miles east of Mairta, on the line of retreat, appointing Induraj Singwi their leader. This person, who had held the

¹ Bapoo Sindia, Balla Rao Ingliá, with the brigade of Jean Baptiste, all Sindia's dependents. This was early in 1806. The author was then in Sindia's camp and saw these troops marched off; and in 1807, in a geographical tour, he penetrated to Jeipoor, and witnessed the wrecks of the Jeipoor army. The sands round the capital were white with the bones of horses, and the ashes of their riders, who had died in the vain expectation of getting their arrears of pay.

office of *Dewan* under two predecessors of Raja Maun, was driven to a temporary defection from the same suspicions which made the chiefs join the pretender. But they resolved to wash away the stain of this brief alienation from Raja Maun with the blood of his enemies, and to present as the token of returning fidelity the recaptured trophies. The encounter took place on the joint frontier. It was short, but furious; and the Cuch-wahas, who could not withstand the Rahtores, were defeated and dispersed, and the spoils of the spoiler, including the forty cannon, were safely lodged in Kochamun. Flushed with success, the victors addressed the Raja of Kishengurh, who, though a Rahtore, had kept aloof, to advance funds to secure the continuance of Meer Khan's aid. Two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) effected this object; and the Khan, pledging himself to continue his support to Raja Maun, repaired to Jodpoor. The four chiefs who had thus signalised themselves, preceded him, and were received with open arms: their offences were forgiven, and their estates restored, while Induraj was appointed Bukshee or commander of the forces.

CHAPTER XV

Meer Khan's reception at Jodpoor—Engages to extirpate Sowaé's faction—Interchanges turbans with the Raja—The Khan repairs to Nagore—Interview with Sowaé—Swears to support the Pretender—Massacre of the Rajpoot chiefs—Pretender flies—The Khan plunders Nagore—Receives £100,000 from Raja Maun—Jeipoor over-run—Bikanér attacked—Meer Khan obtains the ascendancy in Marwar—Garrisons Nagore with his Pat'hans—Partitions lands amongst his chiefs—Commands the salt lakes of Nowah and Sambhur—The minister Induraj and high priest Deonat'h assassinated—Raja Maun's reason affected—His seclusion—Abdication in favour of his son Chuttur Sing—He falls the victim of illicit pursuits—Madness of Raja Maun increased—Its causes—Suspensions of the Raja having sacrificed Induraj—The oligarchy, headed by Salim Sing of Pokurna, son of Sowaé, assumes the charge of the government—Epoch of British universal supremacy—Treaty with Marwar framed during the regency of Chuttur Sing—The oligarchy, on his death, offer the *gadi* of Marwar to the house of Edur—Rejected—Reasons—Raja Maun entreated to resume the reins of power—Evidence that his madness was feigned—The Raja dissatisfied with certain stipulations of the treaty—A British officer sent to Jodpoor—Akhi Chund chief of the civil administration—Salim Sing of Pokurna chief minister—Opposition led by Futteh Raj—British troops offered to be placed at the Raja's disposal—Offer rejected—Reasons—British agent returns to Ajmér—Permanent agent appointed to the court of Raja Maun—Arrives at Jodpoor—Condition of the capital—Interviews with the Raja—Objects to be attained described—Agent leaves Jodpoor—General sequestrations of the fiefs—Raja Maun apparently relapses into his old apathy—His deep dissimulation—Circumvents and seizes the faction—Their wealth sequestrated—Their ignominious death—Immense resources derived from sequestrations—Raja Maun's thirst for blood—Fails to entrap the chiefs—The Neemaj chief attacked—His gallant defence—Slain—The Pokurna chief escapes—Futteh Raj becomes minister—Raja Maun's speech to him—Neemaj attacked—Surrender—Raja Maun's infamous violation of his pledge—Noble conduct of the mercenary commander—Voluntary exile of the whole aristocracy of Marwar—Received by the neighbouring princes—Maun's gross ingratitude to Anar Sing—The exiled chiefs apply to the British Government, which refuses to mediate—Raja Maun loses the opportunity of fixing the constitution of Marwar—Reflections.

AMEER KHAN was received by Raja Maun with distinguished honours; a palace in the castle was assigned as his residence; valuable gifts were

presented to him and great rewards held in perspective, if, through his agency, the rebellion should be completely subdued. He swore to extirpate Sowaé's faction, and in token of identity of views with Raja Maun, he was admitted to the honour of that last proof of devotion to his cause, "an interchange of turbans," with an advance of three lakhs, or £30,000, for the immediate payment of his bonds.

On the raising of the siege of Jodpoor, Sowaé conducted the pretender to the appanage of the heirs of Marwar, the city of Nagore. There they were deliberating as to their future plans, when a message was brought from Ameer Khan from Moondihawur, ten miles distant, begging permission to perform his devotions at the shrine of the Mooslem saint, Peer Tarkeen, the sole relic of the Islamite, which Bukhta Sing had spared. His request being complied with, he with a slight cavalcade left his camp, and having gone through the mummeries of devotion, paid his respects to Sowaé. When about to take leave, he threw out hints of Raja Maun's ungrateful return for his services, and that his legions might have been better employed. Sowaé greedily caught at the bait; he desired the Khan to name his terms, and offered £200,000 on the day that Dhonkul should possess the *gadi* of Jodpoor. The Khan accepted the conditions and ratified the engagement on the Korán, and to add to the solemnity of the pledge, he exchanged turbans with Sowaé. This being done, he was introduced to the pretender, received the usual gifts, pledged his life in his cause, took leave, and returned to his camp, whither he invited the prince and his chiefs on the following day to accept of an entertainment.

On the morning of the 19th of Cheit, S. 1864 (A.D. 1808), Sowaé, attended by the chief adherents of the pretender and about five hundred followers, repaired to the camp of the Khan, who had made every preparation for the more effectual perpetration of the bloody and perfidious deed he meditated. A spacious tent was pitched in the centre of his camp for the reception of his guests, and cannon were loaded with grape ready to be turned against them. The visitors were received with the most distinguished courtesy; turbans were again exchanged; the dancing-girls were introduced, and nothing but festivity was apparent. The Khan arose, and making an excuse to his guests for a momentary absence, retired. The dancing continued, when at the word "*dugga*," pronounced by the musicians, down sunk the tent upon the unsuspecting Rajpoots, who fell an easy prey to the ferocious Pat'hans. Forty-two chieftains were thus butchered in the very sanctuary of hospitality, and the heads of the most distinguished were sent to Raja Maun. Their adherents, taken by surprise, were slaughtered by the soldiery, or by cannon charged with grape, as they fled. The pretender escaped from Nagore, which was plundered by the Khan, when not only all the property of the party, but the immense stores left by Bukhta Sing, including three hundred pieces of cannon, were taken, and sent to Sambhur and other strongholds held by the Khan. Having thus fulfilled his instructions, he repaired to Jodpoor, and received ten lakhs or £100,000, and two large towns, Moondhiawur and Koochiláwás, of thirty thousand rupees annual rent, besides one hundred rupees daily for table-allowance, as the reward of his signal infamy.

Thus, by the murder of Sowaé and his powerful partisans, the confederacy against Raja Maun was extinguished; but though the Raja had thus, miraculously as it were, defeated the gigantic schemes formed against

him, the mode by which it was effected entailed upon him and upon his country unexampled miseries. The destruction of the party of the pretender was followed by retaliation on the various members of the league. The Jeipoor territory was laid waste by the troops of Meer Khan, and an expedition was planned against Bikanér. An army consisting of twelve thousand of Raja Maun's feudal levies, under the command of Induraj, with a brigade of Meer Khan, and that of Hundall Khan with thirty-five guns, marched against the chief of the independent Rahtores. The Bikanér Raja formed an army little inferior in numbers, and gave his suzerain the meeting at Bapri; but after a partial encounter, in which the former lost two hundred men, he fell back upon his capital, pursued by the victors, who halted at Gujnair. Here terms were offered; two lakhs as the expenses of the war, and the surrender of the bone of contention, the town of Filodi, which had been assigned to Bikanér as the price of joining the confederacy.

The Khan was now the arbiter of Marwar. He stationed Ghufoor Khan with a garrison in Nagore, and partitioned the lands of Mairta amongst his followers. He likewise placed his garrison in the castle of Nowah, which gave him the command of the salt-lakes of Nowah and Sambhur. Induraj and the high-priest Deonat'h were the only counsellors of Raja Maun, and all the oppressions which the chieftains suffered through this predominant foreign interference, were attributed to their advice. To cut them off, the chiefs in their turn applied to Amcer Khan, who for seven lakhs (£70,000), readily consented to rid them of their enemies. A plot was laid, in which some of his Pat'hans, under pretence of quarrelling with Induraj for their arrears, put this minister and the high-priest to death.

The loss of Deonat'h appeared to affect the reason of Raja Maun. He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious, until at length he was recommended to name his only son Chuttur Sing as his successor. To this he acceded, and with his own hand made the mark of inauguration on his forehead. But youth and base panders to his pleasure seduced him from his duties, and he died, some say the victim of illicit pursuits, others from a wound given by the hand of one of the chieftains, whose daughter he attempted to seduce.

The premature death of his only son, before he had attained the years of majority, still more alienated the mind of Raja Maun from all state affairs, and his suspicions of treacherous attempts on his person extended even to his wife. He refused all food, except that which was brought by one faithful menial. He neglected his ablutions, allowed his face to be covered with hair, and at length either was, or affected to be insane. He spoke to no one, and listened with the apathy of an idiot to the communications of the ministers, who were compelled to carry on the government. By many it is firmly believed that the part he thus acted was feigned, to escape the snares laid for his life; while others think that it was a melancholy mania, arising from remorse at having consented to the murder of Induraj, which incidentally involved that of the *Gúrú*.¹ In short, his alliance with the atrocious Khan exposed him to the suspicion of a participation in his crimes, which the bent of his policy too much favoured.

¹ For the character of this priest, see vol. i. p. 563.

In this condition—the government being managed by an oligarchy headed by Salim Sing (son of Sowaé)—did Raja Maun remain, until the tide of events carried the arms of Britain even to the desert of Maroc.

When, in 1817, we invited the Rajpoots to disunite from the predatory powers, and to join us in establishing order throughout India, the young son of Raja Maun, or rather his ministers, sent envoys to Dehli. But ere the treaty was ratified, this dissipated youth was no more. On this event, the Pokurna faction, dreading Raja Maun's resumption of the government, made an application to Edur for a son to adopt as their sovereign. But splendid as was the offer, the Raja, who had but one son, rejected it, unless the demand were sustained by the unanimous suffrages of the nobles. Unanimity being unattainable, the faction had no alternative save the restoration of Raja Maun; but it was in vain they explained the new position of Marwar, the alliance with the English, which awaited his sanction, and the necessity that he, as the last prop of the royal family, should resume the reins of power. He listened to all with the most apathetic indifference. But although he saw in this new crisis of the political condition of his country, motives for effecting his escape from bondage, his mind was so tutored by bitter experience that he never for an instant betrayed its workings. When at length he allowed himself to comprehend the full nature of the changes which made even the faction desire his egress from solitude, so far from expressing any joy, he even disapproved of part of the treaty, and especially the article relating to the armed contingent of his vassals to be at the disposal of the protecting power, in which he wisely saw the germ of discord, from the certainty of interference it would lead to.

✓ It was in December 1817 that the treaty¹ was negotiated at Dehli by a Brahmin named Beas Bishen Ram, on the part of the regent prince, and in December 1818, an officer of the British government² was deputed to report on its actual condition. Notwithstanding the total disorganisation of the government, from the combination of causes already described, the court had lost nothing of its splendour or regularity; the honour of all was concerned in preserving the dignity of the '*gadi*,' though its incumbent was an object of distrust and even detestation. The ministry at this period was conducted by Akhi Chund (*Déwán*), and Salim Sing of Pokurna, as the representative of the aristocracy, with the title of *bhanjgur*. All the garrisons and offices of trust throughout the country were held by the creatures of a junto, of which these were the heads. There was, however, already the nucleus of an opposition in the brother of the murdered minister, named Futteh Raj, who was entrusted with the care of the city. The instructions of the agent were to offer the aid of the British Government towards the settlement of Raja Maun's affairs; and at a private interview, three days after the agent's arrival, troops were offered to be placed at his disposal. But the wariness of his character will be seen in the use he made of this offer. He felt that the lever was at hand to crush faction to the dust; and with a Machiavellian caution, he determined that the existence of this engine should suffice; that its power should be felt, but never seen; that he should enjoy all the advantages this influence would give, without risking any of its dangers if called into action. Thus, while he rejected,

¹ See treaty, Appendix, No. II.

² Mr. Wilder, superintendent of the district of Ajmér.

though with thanks, the essential benefit tendered, qualifying his refusal with a sufficient reason—"reliance on himself to restore his state to order"—he failed not to disseminate the impression amongst his chiefs, which was enough for his purpose, and which besides checked the dictation and interference that uniformly result from such unequal alliances.

Energetic councils and rapid decision are unknown to Asiatic governments, whose subjects are ever prone to suspicion whenever unusual activity is visible; and Raja Maun had been schooled into circumspection from his infancy. He appeared anxious to bury the past in oblivion, by choosing men of both parties for the inferior duties of the ministry; and the blandness of his manners and his conciliatory address, lulled the most suspicious into security. After a short residence, the agent returned to Ajmér, having in vain tried to convince Raja Maun that his affairs were irretrievable without the direct aid of the paramount power, which he persisted in repudiating, assigning as his reason that he felt convinced, from "the measures then in train," he should accomplish the task himself: of these measures conciliation appeared to be the basis.

At this period¹ an envoy was appointed, with powers direct from the Governor-General to Raja Maun, but he was for some months prevented from proceeding to his court, from various causes.²

The agent, who reached Jodpoor early in the month of November,

¹ In February 1819, the author had the political duties of Marwar added to those of the States of Oodipoor, Kotah, Boondí, and Sirohi.

² One of these was an unpleasant altercation, which took place between the townspeople of the Commercial Mart of Palli and an English gentleman, sent unofficially to feel his way as to the extension of commercial enterprise, carrying specimens of the staple commodities of our trade. This interference with the very fountain-head of their trade alarmed the monopolists of Palli, who, dreading such competition, created or took advantage of an incident to rid themselves of the intruder. The commercial men of these regions almost all profess the Jain religion, whose first rule of faith is the preservation of life, in beast as in man. By them, therefore, the piece-goods, the broad-cloths and metals of the Christian trader, were only less abhorred than his flesh-pots, and the blood of the goats sworn to have been shed by his servants within the bounds of Palli, rose in judgment against their master, of whom a formal complaint was laid before Raja Maun. It lost none of its acrimony in coming through the channel of his internuncio at Oodipoor, the Brahmin, Bishen Ram. Mr. Rutherford rebutted the charge, and an investigation took place at the capital on oath, upon which, as the merchants and the governor of Palli (a nephew of the minister), could not substantiate their charge, the latter was severely reprimanded for his incivility. But whether the story was true or false, it was quite enough for their purpose. The interdict between Mr. Rutherford and the inhabitants of Palli was more effectual than the *sanitary cordon* of any prince in Christendom. The feeling of resentment against him reached the agent of government, who was obliged to support what appeared the cause of truth, even according to the deposition made before their own judgment-seat, and he was consequently deemed inimical to the prince and the faction which then guided his councils. Mr. Rutherford proceeded afterwards to Kotah, to exhibit the same wares; but he was there equally an object of jealousy, though from letters of recommendation from the agent, it was less strongly manifested. It furnished evidence that such interference would never succeed. It is well his mission did not appear to be sanctioned by the government. What evil might not be effected by permitting unrestricted and incautious intercourse with such people, who can, and do obtain all they require of our produce without the presence of the *producers*, who, whether *within* or *without* the pale of the Company's service, will not, I trust, be prematurely *forced* on Rajpootana, or it will assuredly hasten the day of inevitable separation!

found matters in nearly the same state as on his predecessor's departure in February. The same faction kept the prince and all the officers of government at their disposal. The Raja interfered but little with their measures, except to acquiesce in or confirm them. The mercenary bands of Sindies or Pat'hans were in miserable plight and clamorous for their pay, not having been accounted with for three years; and they were to be seen begging in the streets of the capital, or hawking bundles of forage on their heads to preserve them from starvation. On the approach of the agent of the British Government, the forms of accounts were gone through, and they gave in acquittances in full of demands, on condition of receiving thirty per cent. of their arrears; but this was only a form, and with his departure (in about three weeks), they despaired even of that.

The name of justice was unknown:—though, in allusion to the religion of the men in power, it was common to hear it said, "You may commit murder and no one will notice it; but woe to him who beats or maims a brute, for dogs are publicly fed while the soldier starves." In short, the sole object of the faction was to keep at a distance all interposition that might lead the prince to emancipate himself from their control. During the agent's stay of nearly three weeks, he had several private interviews with Raja Maun. The knowledge he had of the history of his ancestry and his own situation, and of the causes which had produced it, failed not to beget a corresponding confidence; and these interviews were passed in discussions on the ancient history of the country as well as on his own immediate affairs. The agent took leave with these words: "I know all the perils through which you have passed; I am aware how you surmounted them. By your resolution, your external enemies are now gone: you have the British Government as a friend; rely upon it with the same fortitude, and, in a very short time, all will be as you could desire."

Raja Maun listened eagerly to these observations. His fine features, though trained to bear no testimony to the workings within, relaxed with delight as he rapidly replied, "In one twelvemonths, my affairs will be as friendship could wish." To which the agent rejoined, "In half the time, Mahraja, if you are determined": though the points to which he had to direct his mind were neither few nor slight, for they involved every branch of government; as

1. Forming an efficient administration.
2. Consideration of the finances; the condition of the crown lands; the feudal confiscations, which, often unjust, had caused great discontent.
3. The reorganisation and settlement of the foreign troops, on whose service the Raja chiefly depended.
4. An effective police on all the frontiers, to put down the wholesale pillage of the Mairs in the south, the Larkhanis in the north, and the desert Sâhrâés and Khosas in the west; reformation of the tariff, or scale of duties on commerce, which were so heavy as almost to amount to prohibition; and at the same time to provide for its security.

Scarcely had the agent left Jodpoor, before the faction, rejoiced at the removal of the only restraint on their narrow-minded views, proceeded in the career of disorder. Whether the object were to raise funds, or to gratify ancient animosities, the course pursued by the Dêwân and his junto was the same. Ganorah, the chief fief of Godwar, was put under sequestration, and only released by a fine of more than a year's revenue.

All the minor chiefs of this rich tract suffered in the same manner, besides the indignity of having their lands placed under the control of a brother of the minister. Chandawul was put under sequestration, and only released on a very heavy fine. At length the Dêwân had the audacity to put his hand on Ahwa, the chief fief of Marwar ; but the descendant of Champa replied, "My estate is not of to-day, nor thus to be relinquished." Gloom, mistrust, and resentment, pervaded the whole feudal body. They saw a contemptible faction sporting with their honour and possessions, from an idea they industriously propagated, that an unseen but mighty power was at hand to support their acts, given out as those of the prince. If the Raja did dictate them, he took especial care it should not be seen ; for in the absence of the British agent, he once more resumed his sequestered habits, and appeared to take no interest in the government further than to promote a coalition between Akhi Chund and Futteh Raj, who was supported by a strong party of the chiefs, and the influence of the favourite queen. But Akhi Chund, who commanded, through his creatures, all the resources of the country, and its strongholds, even to the castle of Jodpoor, rejected these overtures, and feigning that there were plots against his personal safety, left the city ; and the better to exclude his adversaries from the prince, resided entirely in the citadel.

Six months had thus fled. The fiat of Akhi Chund was supreme ; he alone was visible ; his orders alone were obeyed. Raja Maun was only heard of as an automaton, moving as the Dêwân pleased. But while the latter was thus basking in the full sunshine of prosperity, enriching himself and his dependents, execrated by the nobles and envied by his fellow-citizens, they heard of his fall ! Then, the insanity of his master proved to be but a cloak to the intensity of his resentment. But a blind revenge would not have satisfied Raja Maun. The victims of his deep dissimulation, now in manacles, were indulged with hopes of life, which, with the application of torture, made them reveal the plunder of prince and subject. A schedule of forty lakhs, or £400,000, was given in by the Dêwân and his dependents, and their accounts being settled in this world, they were summarily dismissed to the other, with every mark of ignominy which could add to the horrors of death. Nugji, the *Kellêdâr*, and misleader of the late regent prince, with Moolji Dandul, one of the old allodial stock, had each a cup of poison, and their bodies were thrown over the 'Gate of Victory' (*Futlêh Pol*). Jevaraj, a brother of the Dandul, with Bêharri-das Kheechie, and the tailor, had their heads shaved, and their bodies were flung into the cascade beneath. Even the sacred character of "expounder of the *Vêdas*," and that of "revealer of the secrets of heaven," yielded no protection ; and Beâs Seodâs, with Sri-Kishen, *Jotishê*, the astrologer, were in the long list of proscriptions. Nugji, commandant of the citadel, and Moolji, had retired on the death of the regent-prince ; and with the wealth they had accumulated, while administering to his follies, had erected places of strength. On the restoration of Raja Maun, and the general amnesty which prevailed, they returned to their ancient offices in the castle, rose into favour, and forgot they had been traitors. Having obtained their persons, Maun secured the ancient jewels of the crown, bestowed on these favourites during the ephemeral sway of his son. Their condemnation was then passed, and they were hurled over the battlements of the rock which it was their duty to guard. With such con-

summate skill was the plot contrived, that the creatures of the minister, in the most remote districts, were imprisoned simultaneously with himself. Of the many subordinate agents thus confined, many were liberated on the disclosure of their wealth ; and by these sequestrations, Raja Maun obtained abundant supplies. The enormous sum of a crore, or near one million sterling, was stated ; but if they yielded one-half (and this was not unlikely), they gave the means, which he was not slow to use, for the prosecution of what he termed a just punishment, though it better deserves the name of a savage revenge. Had he been satisfied with inflicting the last penalty of the law on the nefarious Akhi Chund, and some of the household officers whose fidelity ought ever to be firm, and with the sequestration of the estates of some two or three of the vassals whose power had become dangerous, or their treason too manifest to be overlooked, he would have commanded the services of the rest, and the admiration of all conversant with these events. But this first success added fuel to his revenge, and he sought out more noble victims to glut it. His circumspection and dissimulation were strengthened, not relaxed, by his success. Several of the chiefs, who were marked out for death, had received, only a few days before, the highest proof of favour in additional lands to their rent-roll, and accident alone prevented a group of the most conspicuous from falling into the snare which had inveigled Akhi Chund. Salim Sing of Pokurna, and his constant associate Soortan of Neemaj, with Anar Sing of Ahore, and the minors of their clans, whose duty daily carried them to the court, as the chief advisers of the prince, formed a part of the administration of the D  w  n, and they naturally took alarm upon his confinement. To obviate this, a deputation was sent by the prince to tranquillise them by the assurance that, in the confinement of the minister, whose rapacity and misconduct deserved punishment, the Raja had attained all his ends. Thus, in order to encompass the destruction of the Pokurna chief, he would not have scrupled to involve all the rest. The prince, with his own mouth, desired the confidential servant of Anar Sing, who was his personal friend, to attend with the others. Their distrust saved him. The same night, the mercenary bands, to the number of eight thousand men, with guns, attacked Soortan Sing in his dwelling. With one hundred and eighty of his clan, he defended himself against great guns and small arms, as long as the house was tenable, and then sallied out sword in hand, and, with his brother and eighty of his kin, fell nobly in the midst of his foes. The remainder retreated with their arms to defend Neemaj and their infant chief. This gallant defence, in which many of the townspeople were slain, prevented a repetition of the attempt against the Pokurna chief, who remained on the defensive ; until, seeing an opportunity, he fled to his asylum in the desert, or he would that day have renounced " the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar," and which now contained the accumulated revenge of four generations : of Deo Sing, of Subbula, of Sowa  , and his own. His death would have terminated this branch of Ajit's issue, adopted into the house of Pokurna, in the history of which we have a tolerable picture of the precariousness of existence in Marwar.¹

¹ In a letter addressed to the Government on these events, dated July 7, 1820, I observed, " The danger is, that success may tempt him to go beyond the line of necessity, either for the ends of justice or security. If he stops with the

What better commentary can be made on Raja Maun's character, than the few recorded words addressed to Futteh Raj, whom he sent for to the Presence, on the day succeeding these events? "Now you may perceive the reasons why I did not sooner give you office." This individual, the brother of the late Induraj, was forthwith installed in the post of Dêwân; and with the sinews of war provided by the late sequestrations, the troops were satisfied, while by the impression so sedulously propagated and believed, that he had only to call on the British power for what aid he required, the whole feudal body was appalled: and the men, who would have hurled the tyrant from his throne, now only sought to avoid his insidious snares, more dangerous than open force.

Neemaj was besieged and nobly defended; but at length the son of Soortan capitulated, on receiving the sign-manual of his prince promising pardon and restoration, guaranteed by the commander of the mercenary bands. To the eternal disgrace of the Raja, he broke this pledge, and the boy had scarcely appeared in the besieging camp, when the civil officer produced the Raja's mandate for his captivity and transmission to the Presence. If it is painful to record this fact, it is pleasing to add, that even the mercenary commander spurned the infamous injunction. "No," said he; "on the faith of my pledge (*buchun*) he surrendered; and if the Raja breaks his word, I will maintain mine, and at least place him in security." He kept his promise, and conveyed him to the Aravulli mountains, whence he passed over to, and received protection in Méwar.

This and similar acts of treachery and cold-blooded tyranny completely estranged all the chiefs. Isolated as they were, they could make no resistance against the mercenary battalions, amounting to ten thousand men, exclusive of the quotas; and they dared not league for defence, from the dreaded threat held over them, of calling in the British troops; and in a few months the whole feudal association of Marwar abandoned their homes and their country, seeking shelter in the neighbouring states from the Raja's cruel and capricious tyranny. To his connection with the British Government alone he was indebted for his being able thus to put forth the resources of his policy, which otherwise he never could have developed either with safety or effect; nor at any former period of the history of Marwar could the most daring of its princes have undertaken, with any prospect of success, what Raja Maun accomplished under this alliance.

These brave men found asyla in the neighbouring states of Kotah, Méwar, Bikanér, and Jeipoor. Even the faithful Anar Sing, whose fidelity no gratitude could ever repay, was obliged to seek refuge in exile. He had stood Maun's chief shield against the proscription of Raja Bheem, when cooped up in Jhalore, and sold his wife's ornaments, "even to her nose-ring," to procure him the means of subsistence and defence. It was Anar Sing who saved him when, in the attempt upon Palli, he was unhorsed and nearly made prisoner. He was among the four chiefs who Pokurna chief, and one or two inferior, concerned in the coalition of 1806 and the usurpation of his son, with the condign punishment of a few of the civil officers, it will afford a high opinion of his character; but if he involves Ahwa, and the other principal chiefs, in these proscriptions, he may provoke a strife which will yet overwhelm him. He has done enough for justice, and even for revenge, which has been carried too far as regards Soortan Sing, whose death (which I sincerely regret) was a prodigal sacrifice."

remained by his fortunes when the rest deserted to the standard of the pretender; and he was one of the same body, who rescued the trophies of their disgrace from the hands of their enemies when on the road to Jeipoor. Last of all, he was mainly instrumental in the Raja's emancipation and in his resumption of the reins of government. Well might the fury of his revenge deserve the term of madness! In A.D. 1821, the greater chieftains of Marwar, thus driven into exile, were endeavouring to obtain the mediation of the British authorities; but another year had elapsed without the slightest advance to accommodation. Their conduct has been exemplary, but their degrading position, dependent on the scanty resources of others, must of itself work a cure. Their manly remonstrance addressed to the British functionary is already before the reader.¹ He did not hesitate to tell them, that if in due time no mediation was held out, they must depend on themselves for redress!

Such was the political condition of Marwar until the year 1823. Had a demoniacal spirit of revenge not blinded Raja Maun, he had a fine opportunity to lay the principles of order on a permanent basis, and to introduce those reforms necessary for his individual welfare as well as for that of the state. He had it in his power to modify the institutions, to curb without destroying the feudal chiefs, and to make the whole subservient to the altered condition of affairs. Instead of having the glory of fixing the constitution of his country, he has (reposing on external protection) broken up the entire feudal association, and rendered the paramount power an object of hatred instead of reverence.

Having thus rapidly sketched the history of this interesting branch of the Rajpoot race, from the destruction of their ancient seat of empire, Canouj, and their settlement in the Indian desert more than six centuries ago, to the present day, it is impossible to quit the subject without a reflection on the anomalous condition of their alliance with the British Government, which can sanction the existence of such a state of things as we have just described. It illustrates the assertions made in an early part of this work,² of the ill-defined principles which guide all our treaties with the Rajpoots, and which, if not early remedied, will rapidly progress to a state of things full of misery to them, and of inevitable danger to ourselves. These "men of the soil," as they emphatically designate themselves, cling to it, and their ancient and well-defined privileges, with an unconquerable pertinacity; in their endeavours to preserve them, whole generations have been swept away, yet has their strength increased in the very ratio of oppression. Where are now the oppressors? the dynasties of Ghizni, of Ghor, the Ghiljis, the Lodis, the Pat'hans, the Timoors, and the demoralising Mahratta? The native Rajpoot has flourished amidst these revolutions, and survived their fall; and but for the vices of their internal sway, chiefly contracted from such association, would have risen to power upon the ruin of their tyrants. But internal dissension invited the spoiler; and herds of avaricious Mahrattas and ferocious Pat'hans have reaped the harvest of their folly. Yet all these faults were to be redeemed, in their alliances with a people whose peculiar boast was, that wisdom, justice, and clemency were the corner-stones of their power: seeking nothing from them beyond the means for their defence, and an adherence to the virtues of order. How far the protecting power has

¹ Vol. i. p. 159.

² Vol. i. p. 102.

redeemed its pledge, in allowing years to pass away without some attempt to remedy the anarchy we have described, the reader is in a condition to judge. If it be said that we have tied up our hands by leaving them free agents in their internal administration, then let no offer of support be given to the head, for the oppression of the vassal and his rights, co-equal with those of the sovereign ; and if our mediation cannot be exerted, let us withdraw altogether the checks upon the operation of their own system of government, and leave them free agents in reality. A wiser, more humane, and liberal policy would be, to impose upon ourselves the task of understanding their political condition, and to use our just influence for the restoration of their internal prosperity, and with it the peace, present as well as prospective, of an important part of our empire. The policy which such views would suggest, is to support the opinion of the vast majority of the Rahtores, and to seize the first opportunity to lend at least our sanction to an adoption, from the Edur branch, of Rahtore blood, not only uncontaminated, but heirs-presumptive to Joda, and exclude the parricidal line which will continue to bring misery on the country. If, however, we apply only our own monarchical, nay, despotic principles, to this feudal society, and interfere but to uphold a blind tyranny, which must drive these brave chiefs to despair, it will be well to reflect and consider, from the acts we have related, of what they are capable. Very different, indeed, would be the deeds of proscribed Rajpoots from those of vagabond Pindarries, or desultory Mahrattas ; and what a field for aggression and retreat ! Rumour asserts that they have already done themselves justice ; and that, driven to desperation, and with no power to mediate, the dagger has reached the heart of Raja Maun ! If this be true, it is a retribution which might have been expected ; it was the only alternative left to the oppressed chiefs to do themselves justice. It is also said, that the 'pretended' son of Raja Bheem is now on the *gadî* of Joda. This is deeply to be lamented. Raja Dhonkul will see only the party who espoused his pretensions, and the Pokurna chief and faction will hold that place in the councils of his sovereign, which of right belongs to the head of his clan, the Champawut chief of Ahwa, an exile in Méwar.¹ Jealousy, feuds, and bloodshed will be the consequence, which would at once be averted by an adoption from Edur. Were a grand council of Rajpoots to be convened, in order to adjust the question, nine-tenths would decide as proposed ; the danger of interference would be neutralised, and peace and tranquillity would be the boon bestowed upon thousands, and, what is of some consequence, future danger to ourselves would be avoided.

¹ He was so when the author left India in 1823.

CHAPTER XVI

Extent and population of Marwar—Classification of inhabitants—Jits—Rajpoots, sacerdotal, commercial, and servile tribes—Soil—Agricultural products—Natural productions—Salt lakes—Marble and limestone quarries—Tin, lead, and iron mines—Alum—Manufactures—Commercial marts—Transit trade—Palli, the emporium of Western India—Mercantile classes—Khartras and Oswals—*Kuldrs*, or caravans—Imports and exports enumerated—*Charuns*, the guardians of the caravans—Commercial decline—Causes—Opium monopoly—Fairs of Moondhwa and Bhalotra—Administration of justice—Punishments—Raja Beejy Sing's clemency to prisoners, who are maintained by private charity—Gaol deliveries on eclipses, births, and accession of princes—*Sogün*, or ordeals: fire, water, burning oil—Punchaets—Fiscal revenues and regulations—*Bullaé*, or corn-rent—*Shenahs* and *Kunwarris*—Taxes—*Angah*, or capitation tax—*Gaswali*, or pasturage—*Kéwdri*, or door tax; how originated—*Sayer*, or imposts; their amount—*Dhannis*, or collectors—Revenues from the salt-lakes—*Tandas*, or caravans engaged in this trade—Aggregate revenues—Military resources—Mercenaries—Feudal quotas—Schedule of fiefs—Qualification of a cavalier.

THE extreme breadth of Marwar lies between two points in the parallel of the capital, namely, Girap, west, and Shamgurh, on the Aravulli range, east. This line measures two hundred and seventy British miles. The greatest length, from the Sirohi frontier to the northern boundary, is about two hundred and twenty miles. From the remote angle, N.N.E., in the Deedwanoh district, to the extremity of Sanchore, S.W., the diagonal measurement is three hundred and fifty miles. The limits of Marwar are, however, so very irregular, and present so many salient angles and abutments into other states, that without a trigonometrical process we cannot arrive at a correct estimate of its superficial extent: a nicety not, indeed, required.

The most marked feature that diversifies the face of Maroo, is the river Looni, which, rising on her eastern frontier at Poshkur, and pursuing a westerly course, nearly bisects the country, and forms the boundary between the fertile and sterile lands of Maroo. But although the tracts south of this stream, between it and the Aravulli, are by far the richest part of Marwar, it would be erroneous to describe all the northern part as sterile. An ideal line, passing through Nagore and Jodpoor, to Bhalotra, will mark the just distinction. South of this line will lie the districts of Deedwanoh, Nagore, Mairta, Jodpoor, Palli, Sojut, Godwar, Sewanoh, Jhalore, Beenmahl, and Sanchore, most of which are fertile and populous; and we may assign a population of eighty souls to the square mile. The space north of this line is of a very different character, but this requires a subdivision; for, while the north-east portion, which includes a portion of Nagore, the large towns of Filodi, Pokurna, etc., may be calculated at thirty, the remaining space to the south-west, as *Gogadeo-ca-thul*, or 'desert of Goga,' Sheo, Barmair, Kotra, and Chotun, can scarcely be allowed ten. In round numbers, the population of Marwar may be estimated at two millions of souls.

Classes of Inhabitants.—Of this amount, the following is the classification of the tribes. The Jits constitute five-eighths, the Rajpoots two-eighths, while the remaining classes, sacerdotal,¹ commercial, and servile

¹ The district of Sanchore is almost entirely Brahmin, forming a distinct tribe, called the Sanchora Brahmins.

of other districts. It is best adapted for barley, and that kind of wheat called *pattagēon* (the other is *katta-gēon*) ; also tabacco, onions, and other vegetables : the staple millets are seldom grown in this. The *suffēd* (white) is almost pure silex, and grows little or nothing, but after heavy falls of rain.

The districts south of the Looni, as Palli, Sojut, and Godwar, fertilised by the numerous petty streams flowing from the Aravulli, produce abundantly every species of grain with the exception of *bajra*, which thrives best in a sandy soil ; and in Nagore and Mairta considerable quantities of the richer grains are raised by irrigation from wells. The extensive western divisions of Jhalore, Sanchores, and Beenmahl, containing five hundred and ten towns and villages, which are *Khalisa*, or 'fiscal land,' possess an excellent soil, with the advantage of the rills from Aboo, and the great southern barrier ; but the demoralised government of Raja Maun never obtains from them one-third of their intrinsic capability, while the encroachment of the Sahrāes, and other robbers from the Sindie desert, encroach upon them often with impunity. Wheat, barley, rice, *joar* (millet), *moong* (pulse), *til* (sesamum), are the chief products of the richer lands ; while amidst the sandy tracts they are confined to *bajra*, *moong*, and *til*. With good government, Marwar possesses abundance of means to collect stores against the visitations which afflict these northern regions : but prejudice steps in to aid the ravages of famine, and although water is near the surface in all the southern districts, the number of wells bears no proportion to those in Méwar. The great district of Nagore, of five hundred and sixty towns and villages, the appanage of the heirs-apparent of Maroo, in spite of physical difficulties, is, or has been made, an exception ; and the immense sheet of sandstone, on which a humid soil is embedded, has been pierced throughout by the energies of ancient days, and contains greater aids to agriculture than many more fertile tracts in the country.

Natural productions.—Marwar can boast of some valuable productions of her sterile plains, which make her an object of no little importance in the most distant and more favoured regions of India. The salt lakes of Pachbhadra, Deedwanoh, and Sambhur, are mines of wealth, and their produce is exported over the greater part of Hindustan ; while to the marble quarries of Mokrano (which gives its name to the mineral), on her eastern frontier, all the splendid edifices of the imperial cities owe their grandeur. The materials used in the palaces of Dehli, Agra, their mosques, and tombs, have been conveyed from Marwar. The quarries, until of late years, yielded a considerable revenue ; but the age for palace-building in these regions is no more, and posterity will ask with surprise the sources of such luxury. There are also limestone quarries near Jodpoor and Nagore ; and the concrete called *kunkur* is abundant in many of the districts, and chiefly used for mortar. Tin and lead are found at Sojut ; alum about Palli, and iron is obtained from Beenmahl and the districts adjoining Guzerat.

Manufactures.—The manufactures of Marwar are of no great importance in a commercial point of view. Abundance of coarse cotton cloths, and blankets, are manufactured from the cotton and wool produced in the country, but they are chiefly used there. Matchlocks, swords, and other warlike implements, are fabricated at the capital and at Palli ; and

at the latter place they make boxes of iron, tinned, so as to resemble the tin boxes of Europe. Iron platters for culinary purposes are in such great demand as to keep the forges constantly going.

Commercial Marts.—None of these states are without traffic; each has her mart, or *entrepôt*; and while Méwar boasts of Bhilwara, Bikanér of Chooroo, and Ambér of Malpooora (the city of wealth), the Rahtores claim Palli, which is not only the rival of the places just mentioned, but may make pretensions to the title of *emporium* of Rajpootana. These pretensions we may the more readily admit, when we recollect that nine-tenths of the bankers and commercial men of India are natives of Maroodés, and these chiefly of the Jain faith. The laity of the *Khartra* sect send forth thousands to all parts of India, and the Oswals, so termed from the town of Osi, near the Looni, estimate one hundred thousand families whose occupation is commerce. All these claim a Rajpoot descent, a fact entirely unknown to the European enquirer into the peculiarities of Hindu manners. The wealth acquired in foreign lands, from the Sutlej to the ocean, returns chiefly to their native soil; but as neither primogeniture nor *majorats* are sanctioned by the Jain lawgivers, an equal distribution takes place amongst all the sons, though the youngest (as amongst the Getes of Asia, and the Júts of Kent), receives often a double portion. This arises when the division takes place while the parent is living, being the portion set apart for his own support, which ultimately falls to the youngest, with whom he probably resides. It would be erroneous to say this practice is extensive; though sufficient instances exist to suppose it once was a principle.¹ The bare enumeration of the tribes following commerce would fill a short chapter. A priest of the Jains (my own teacher), who had for a series of years devoted his attention to form a catalogue, which then amounted to nearly *eighteen hundred classes*, renounced the pursuit, on obtaining from a brother priest, from a distant region, one hundred and fifty new names to add to his list.

Palli was the *entrepôt* for the eastern and western regions, where the productions of India, Cashmere, and China, were interchanged for those of Europe, Africa, Persia, and Arabia. Caravans (*kutars*), from the ports of Cutch and Guzerat, imported elephant's teeth, copper, dates, gum-arabic, borax, coco-nuts, broadcloths, silks, sandal wood, camphor, dyes,

¹ There is nothing which so much employs the assessors of justice, in those tribunals of arbitration, the *punchâets*, as the adjudication of questions of property. The highest compliment ever paid to the author, was by the litigants of property amounting to half a million sterling, which had been going the rounds of various *punchâets* and appeals to native princes, alike unsatisfactory in their results. They agreed to admit as final the decision of a court of his nomination. It was not without hesitation I accepted the mediation propounded through the British superintendent of Ajmér (Mr. Wilder); but knowing *two* men, whose integrity as well as powers of investigation were above all encomium, I could not refuse. One of these had given a striking instance of independence in support of the award his penetration had led him to pronounce, and which award being set aside on appeal, through favoritism, he abjured every future call as an arbitrator. He was not a wealthy man, but such was the homage paid to his integrity and talents, that the greatest despot in India found it politic to re-assemble the court, have the case reconsidered, and permit justice to take its course. In like manner, his demand was, that, before he agreed to devote his time to unravelling all the intricacies of the case, both litigants should sign a *moochilka*, or 'bond,' to abide by the award. I have no recollection how it terminated.

drugs, oxide and sulphuret of arsenic, spices, coffee, etc. In exchange, they exported chintzes, dried fruits, *jeeroh*, assafoetida from Mooltan, sugar, opium (Kotah and Malwa), silks and fine cloths, potash, shawls, dyed blankets, arms, and salt of home manufacture.

The route of the caravans was by Soorie Bah, Sanchoore, Beenmahl, Jhalore to Palli, and the guardians of the merchandise were almost invariably Charuns, a character held sacred by the Rajpoot. The most desperate outlaw seldom dared to commit any outrage on caravans under the safeguard of these men, the bards of the Rajpoots. If not strong enough to defend their convoy with sword and shield, they would threaten the robbers with the *chandi*, or 'self-immolation'; and proceed by degrees from a gash in the flesh to a death-wound, or if one victim was insufficient a whole body of women and children was sacrificed (as in the case of the Bhamunia Bhats), for whose blood the marauder is declared responsible hereafter.

Commerce has been almost extinguished within these last twenty years; and paradoxical as it may appear, there was tenfold more activity and enterprise in the midst of that predatory warfare, which rendered India one wide arena of conflict, than in these days of universal pacification. The torpedo touch of monopoly has had more effect on the *Kutars* than the spear of the desert Sahrâe, or *barwuttea* (outlaw) Rajpoot—against its benumbing qualities the Charun's dagger would fall innocuous; it sheds no blood, but it dries up its channels. If the products of the salt-lakes of Rajpootana were preferred, even at Benares, to the sea-salt of Bengal, high impost duties excluded it from the market. If the opium of Malwa and Harouti competed in the China market with our Patna monopoly, again we intervened, not with high export duties, which we were competent to impose, but by laying our shackles upon it at the fountain-head. "*Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*," is our maxim in these regions; and in a country where our agents are established only to preserve political relations and the faith of treaties, the basis of which is non-interference in the internal arrangement of their affairs—albeit we have not a single foot of land in sovereignty—we set forth our *perwanas*, as peremptory as any Russian *ukase*, and command that no opium shall leave these countries for the accustomed outlets, under pain of confiscation. Some, relying on their skill in eluding our vigilance, or tempted by the high price which these measures produce, or perhaps reckoning upon our justice, and upon impunity if discovered, tried new routes, until confiscation brought them to submission.

We then put an arbitrary value upon the drug, and forced the grower to come to us, and even take credit to ourselves for consulting his interests. Even admitting that such price was a remunerating one, founded upon an average of past years, still it is not the less arbitrary. No allowance is made for plentiful or bad seasons, when the drug, owing to a scarcity, will bear a double price. Our legislation is for "all seasons and their change." But this virtual infraction of the faith of treaties is not confined to the grower or retailer; it affects others in a variety of ways; it injures our reputation and the welfare of those upon whom, for benevolent purposes, we have forced our protection. The transit duties levied on opium formed an item in the revenues of the princes of Rajpootana; but confiscation guards the passes of the Aravulli and Guzerat, and unless

the smuggler wrap up his cargo in ample folds of deceit, the Rajpoot may go without his '*uml-páni*,' the infusion of this poison, dearer to him than life. It is in vain to urge that sufficient is allowed for home consumption. Who is to be the judge of this ? or who is so blind as not to see that any latitude of this kind would defeat the monopoly, which, impolitic in its origin, gave rise in its progress to fraud, gambling, and neglect of more important agricultural economy. But this policy must defeat itself : the excess of quantity produced will diminish the value of the original (Patna) monopoly, if its now deteriorated quality should fail to open the eyes of the quick-sighted Chinese, and exclude it from the market altogether.¹

Fairs.—There were two annual fairs in his country, Moondhwa and Bhalotra ; the first chiefly for cattle. The merchandise of various countries was exposed and purchased by the merchants of the adjoining states. It commenced with the month of Magh, and lasted during six weeks. The other was also for cattle of all kinds, horses, oxen, camels, and the merchandise enumerated amongst the imports and exports of Palli. Persons from all parts of India frequented them ; but all these signs of prosperity are vanishing.

Administration of Justice.—The administration of justice is now very lax in these communities ; but at no time were the customary criminal laws of Rajpootana sanguinary, except in respect to political crimes, which were very summarily dealt with when practicable. In these feudal associations, however, such crimes are esteemed individual offences, and the whole power of the government is concentrated to punish them ; but when they are committed against the community, justice is tempered with mercy, if not benumbed by apathy. In cases even of murder, it is satisfied with fine, corporal punishment, imprisonment, confiscation, or banishment. Inferior crimes, such as larcenies, were punished by fine and imprisonment, and, when practicable, restitution ; or, in case of inability to pay, corporal punishment and confinement. But under the present lax system, when this impoverished government has to feed criminals, it may be supposed that their prisons are not overstocked. Since Raja Beejy Sing's death, the judgment-seat has been vacant. His memory is held in high esteem for the administration of justice, though he carried clemency to excess. He never confirmed a sentence of death ; and there is a saying of the criminals, yet extant, more demonstrative of his humanity than of good policy : " When at large we cannot even get *rabri* (porridge), but in prison we eat *ladoo* (sweetmeat)." Here, as at Jeipoor, confined criminals are maintained by individual charity ; and it is a well-known fact, that at the latter place, but for the humanity of the mercantile classes, especially those of the Jain persuasion, they might starve. Perhaps it is the knowledge of this circumstance, which holds back the hand of the government, or its agents, who may apply to their own uses the prison-fare. When once confined, the criminals are little thought of, and neglect answers all the ends of cruelty. They have, however, a source of consolation unknown to those who have passed " the bridge of sighs," or become

¹ The author learns that important modifications of this system have been made by the legislative authorities at home : of their extent he is ignorant, except that remuneration to chiefs for the loss of transit duties has not been omitted. This is as it should be !

inmates of the 'oubliettes' of more civilised regions. That fortitude and resignation which religion alone can bestow on the one, is obtained through superstition by the other ; and the prayers of the prison are poured forth for one of those visitations of Providence, which, in humbling the proud, prompts acts of mercy to others in order to ensure it to themselves. The celestial phenomena of eclipses, whether of the sun or moon, although predicted by the Pundits, who for ages have possessed the most approved theory for calculation, are yet looked upon with religious awe by the mass, and as "foreboding change to princes." Accordingly, when darkness dims the beams of Surya or Chandra, the face of the prisoner of Maroo is lighted up with smiles ; his deliverance is at hand, and he may join the crowd to hoot and yell, and frighten the monster Rahoo¹ from his hold of the "silver-moon."² The birth of a son to the prince, and a new reign, are events likewise joyful to him.

The trial by *sogun*, literally 'oath of purgation,' or ordeal, still exists, and is occasionally had recourse to in Maroo, as in other parts of Rajpootana ; and, if fallen into desuetude, it is not that these judgments of God (as they were styled in the days of European barbarism) are less relied on, but that society is so unhinged that even these appeals to chance find no subjects for practice, excepting by Zalim Sing ; and he to the last carried on his antipathy to the *dhakuns* (witches) of Harouti, who were always submitted to the process by 'water.' Trial by ordeal is of very ancient date in India : it was by 'fire' that Rama proved the purity of Seeta, after her abduction by Ravana, and in the same manner as practised by one of our Saxon kings, by making her walk over a red-hot ploughshare. Besides the two most common tests, by fire and water, there is a third, that of washing the hands in boiling oil. It should be stated, that, in all cases, not only the selection but the appeal to any of these ordeals is the voluntary act of the litigants, and chiefly after the Punctaets, or courts of arbitration, have failed. Where justice is denied, or bribery shuts the door, the sufferer will dare his adversary to the *sogun*, or submission to the judgment of God ; and the solemnity of the appeal carries such weight, that it brings redress of itself, though cases do occur where the challenge is accepted, and the author has conversed with individuals who have witnessed the operation of each of the ordeals.

Punctaets.—The Punctaets arbitrate in civil cases. From these courts of equity, there is an appeal to the Raja ; but as unanimity is required in the judges, and a fee or fine must be paid by the appellant, ere his case can come before the prince, litigation is checked. The constitution of this court is simple. The plaintiff lays his case before the Hakim of the district, or the Patél of the village where he resides. The plaintiff and defendant have the right of naming the villages (two, each), from whence the members of the Punctaet are to be drawn. Information is accordingly sent to the Patéls of the villages specified, who, with their respective Patwarris (Registers), meet at the *Al'haé* or 'village-court.' Witnesses are summoned and examined on oath, the most common of which is the *gadi-ca-ân*, 'allegiance to the throne,' resembling the ancient adjuration of the

¹ The Rajpoots and Hindus in general hold precisely the same idea, of the cause of eclipses, as the Getae of Scandinavia.

² *Chandra-ma*. The moon is represented by silver, which is called after her (or him) *chandî*.

Scythians as recorded by Herodotus. This oath is, however, more restricted to Rajpoots ; the other classes have various forms based upon their religious notions. When the proceedings are finished, and judgment is given, the Hakim puts his seal thereto, and carries it into effect, or prepares it for appeal. It is affirmed that, in the good times of Rajpootana, these simple tribunals answered every purpose.

Fiscal Revenues.—The fiscal revenues of Marwar are derived from various sources ; the principal are—

1. The *Khalisa*, or ' crown-lands.'
2. The salt lakes.
3. Transit and impost duties.
4. Miscellaneous taxes, termed *Hasil*.

The entire amount of personal revenue of the princes of Marwar does not at present exceed ten lakhs of rupees (£100,000 sterling), though in the reign of Beejy Sing, half a century ago, they yielded full sixteen lakhs, one-half of which arose from the salt lakes alone. The aggregate revenue of the feudal lands is estimated as high as fifty lakhs, or £500,000. It may be doubted whether at present they yield half this sum. The feudal contingents are estimated at five thousand horse, besides foot, the qualification being one cavalier and two foot-soldiers for every thousand rupees of income. This low estimate is to keep up the nominal value of estates, notwithstanding their great deterioration ; for a ' knight's fee ' of Marwar was formerly estimated at five hundred rupees.

The sum of ten lakhs, mentioned as the gross income of the prince, is what is actually realised by the treasury, for there are many public servants provided for out of the crown-lands, whose estates are not included.

The revenues are collected from the ryots in kind. A corn-rent, the only one recognised in ancient India, and termed *Buttaé*, or ' division,' is apportioned equally between the prince and the husbandman : a deviation from the more lenient practice of former times, which gave one-fourth, or one-sixth to the sovereign. Besides this, the cultivator has to pay the expense of guarding the crops, and also those who attend the process of division. An assessment of two rupees is made on every ten maunds,¹ which more than covers the salaries paid to the *Shenahs* (watchmen), and *Kunwaris*,² and leaves a surplus divided by the Patél and village register (*Patwarri*). A cart-load of *kurbi* (the stalks of *jooâr* and *bajra*) is exacted from every cultivator as fodder for the prince's cattle ; but this is commuted for a rupee, except in seasons of scarcity, when it is stored up. The other officers, as the *Patwaris* and *Patéls*, are paid out of the respective shares of the farmer and the crown, namely, one-fourth of a seer each, from every maund of produce, or an eightieth part of the gross amount. The cultivators of the *Pattawûts* or feudal chiefs, are much better off than those of the *Khalisa* : from them only two-fifths are exacted ; and in lieu of all other taxes and charges, a land-tax of twelve rupees is levied on every hundred beegas of land cultivated. The cultivators repay this mild assessment by attachment to the chiefs.

Angah is a poll-tax (from *anga*, ' the body ') of one rupee, levied on adults of either sex throughout Marwar.

Gasmali is a graduated tax on cattle, or, as the term imports, the right

¹ The maund is about seventy-five lbs. weight.

² *Kun*, ' corn.'

of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one ana (one-sixteenth of a rupee); a buffalo eight anas, or half a rupee; and each camel, three rupees.

Kéwári is a tax on doors (*kéwár*), and is considered peculiarly oppressive. It was first imposed by Beejy Sing, when, towards the latter end of his reign, his chiefs rebelled, and retired in a body to Palli to concert schemes for deposing him. Thither he fruitlessly followed in order to pacify them, and on his return found the gates (*kéwár*) of his capital shut in his face, and Bheem Sing placed upon the *gadi*. To supply the pecuniary exigencies consequent upon this embarrassing situation, he appealed to his subjects, and proposed a 'benevolence,' in aid of his necessities, of three rupees for each house, giving it a denomination from the cause whence it originated. Whether employed as a punishment of those who aided his antagonist, or as a convenient expedient of finance, he converted this temporary contribution into a permanent tax, which continued until the necessities of the confederacy against the present prince, Raja Maun, and the usurpation of the fiscal lands by the Pat'hans, made him raise it to ten rupees on each house. It is, however, not equally levied; the number of houses in each township being calculated, it is laid on according to the means of the occupants, and the poor man may pay two rupees, while the wealthy pays twenty. The feudal lands are not exempted, except in cases of special favour.

In estimating the amount of the *sayer*, or imposts of Marwar, it must be borne in mind that the schedule appended represents what they have been, and perhaps might again be, rather than what they now are. These duties are subject to fluctuation in all countries, but how much more in those exposed to so many visitations from predatory foes, civil strife, and famine! There is no reason to doubt that, in the "good old times" of Maroo, the amount, as taken from old records, may have been realised:—

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Jodpoor | . | . | . | . | . | Rs. 76,000 |
| Nagore | . | . | . | . | . | 75,000 |
| Deedwanoh | . | . | . | . | . | 10,000 |
| Purbutsir | . | . | . | . | . | 44,000 |
| Mairta | . | . | . | . | . | 11,000 |
| Koleah | . | . | . | . | . | 5,000 |
| Jhalore | . | . | . | . | . | 25,000 |
| Palli | . | . | . | . | . | 75,000 |
| Jessole and Bhalotra fairs | . | . | . | . | . | 41,000 |
| Beenmahl | . | . | . | . | . | 21,000 |
| San chore | . | . | . | . | . | 6,000 |
| Filodi | . | . | . | . | . | 41,000 |
| TOTAL | | | | | | 430,000 |

The *Dhannis*, or collectors of the customs, have monthly salaries at the large towns, while the numerous petty agents are paid by a *per centage* on the sums collected. The *sayer*, or imposts, include all those on grain, whether of foreign importation, or the home-grown, in transit from one district to another.

The revenue arising from the produce of the salt lakes has deteriorated with the land and commercial revenues; and, though affected by political

causes, is yet the most certain branch of income. The following schedule exhibits what has been derived from this lucrative source of wealth :—

| | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Pachbhadra | Rs. 200,000 |
| Filodi | 100,000 |
| Deedwanoh | 115,000 |
| Sambhur | 200,000 |
| Nowah | 100,000 |
| <hr/> | |
| TOTAL | 715,000 |

This productive branch of industry still employs thousands of hands, and hundreds of thousands of oxen, and is almost entirely in the hands of that singular race of beings called *Bunjarras*, some of whose *tandas*, or caravans, amount to 40,000 head of oxen. The salt is exported to every region of Hindustan, from the Indus to the Ganges, and is universally known and sold under the title of *Sambhur Loon*, or 'salt of Sambhur,' notwithstanding the quality of the different lakes varies, that of Pachbhadra, beyond the Looni, being most esteemed.¹ It is produced by natural evaporation, expedited by dividing the surface into pans by means of mats of the *Sirkunda* grass, which lessens the superficial agitation. It is then gathered and heaped up into immense masses, on whose summit they burn a variety of alkaline plants, such as the *saji*, by which it becomes impervious to the weather.

We may recapitulate what the old archives state of the aggregate fiscal revenues in past times, amounting to nearly thirty lakhs of rupees. It would be hazardous to say to what extent the amount was over-rated :

| | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. <i>Khalisa</i> , or fiscal land, from 1484 towns and villages | Rs. 1,500,000 |
| 2. <i>Sayer</i> or imposts | 430,000 |
| 3. Salt lakes | 715,000 |
| 4. <i>Hasil</i> , or miscellaneous taxes ; fluctuating and uncertain ; not less than | 300,000 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | 2,945,000 |
| Feudal and ministerial estates | 5,000,000 |
| <hr/> | |
| GRAND TOTAL | 7,945,000 |

Thus the united fiscal and feudal revenues of Marwar are said to have amounted almost to eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000). If they ever did reach this sum, which may be doubted, we do not err in affirming that they would not be overrated at half that amount. Large fortunes are said to centre in the families of the ex-ministers, especially the Singwi family, reported to be immensely rich. Their wealth is deposited in foreign capitals. But much bullion is lost to the currency of these countries by the habits of secreting money. A very large treasure was discovered in Nagore by Beej Singh, when demolishing some old buildings.

¹ The average selling price at Jodpoor, is two rupees the maund ; four at Sambhur and Deedwanoh, and five at Pachbhadra, Filodi, and Nowah. Why the price at the capital is fifty per cent. lower than elsewhere, I know not, even if this statement is correct.

Military Forces.—It only remains to state the military resources of the Rahtores, which fluctuate with their revenues. The Rajas maintain a foreign mercenary force upon their fiscal revenues to overawe their own turbulent vassalage. These are chiefly Rohilla and Afghan infantry, armed with muskets and matchlocks; and having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body, they are formidable to the Rajpoot cavaliers. Some years ago, Raja Maun had a corps of three thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse, with twenty-five guns, commanded by Hundall Khan, a native of Panniput. He has been attached to the family ever since the reign of Beejy Sing, and is (or was) familiarly addressed *kaka*, or 'uncle,' by the prince. There was also a brigade of those monastic militants, the *Bishenswamis*, under their leader, Kaimdas, consisting of seven hundred foot, three hundred horse, and an establishment of rockets (*bhan*), a very ancient instrument of Indian warfare, and mentioned long before gunpowder was used in Europe. At one period, the Raja maintained a foreign force amounting to, or at least mustered as, eleven thousand men, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry, with fifty-five guns, and a rocket establishment. Besides a monthly pay, lands to a considerable amount were granted to the commanders of the different legions. By these overgrown establishments, to maintain a superiority over the feudal lords which has been undermined by the causes related, the demoralisation and ruin of this country have been accelerated. The existence of such a species of force, opposed in moral and religious sentiment to the retainers of the state, has only tended to widen the breach between them and their head, and to destroy every feeling of confidence.

In Méwar, there are sixteen great chiefs; in Ambér twelve; in Marwar eight. The following table exhibits their names, clans, residences, and rated revenue. The contingent required by their princes may be estimated by the qualification of a cavalier, namely, one for every five hundred rupees of rent.

| Names of Chiefs. | Clans. | Places of Abode. | Revenue. | Remarks. |
|------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------|--|
| FIRST CLASS. | | | | |
| 1. Kesari Sing | Champawut | Ahwa | 100,000 | Premier noble of Marwar. Of this sum, half is the original grant: the rest is by usurpation of the inferior branches of his clan. |
| 2. Buktawar Sing | Koompawut | Asope | 50,000 | |
| 3. Salim Sing | Champawut | Pokurn | 100,000 | The Pokurn chief is by far the most powerful in Marwar. |
| 4. Soortan Sing. | Oodawut | Neemaj | 50,000 | The fief of Neemaj is now under sequestration, since the last incumbent was put to death by the Raja. |
| 5. ... | Mairtea | Reah | 25,000 | The Mairtea is deemed the bravest of all the Rahtore clans. |
| 6. Ajit Sing | Mairtea | Ganorah | 50,000 | This feoff formed one of the sixteen great feoffs of Méwar. The town, which is large, has been dismantled, and several villages sequestered. |
| 7. ... | Kurumsote | { Kewnsir, or Keemsir } | 40,000 | |
| 8. .. | Bhatti | Khejurla | 25,000 | The only foreign chief in the first grade of the nobles of Marwar. |
| SECOND CLASS. | | | | |
| 1. Seonot Sing | Oodawut | Koochaman | 50,000 | A chief of considerable power. |
| 2. Soortan Sing | Joda | Khari-ça-dewa | 25,000 | In exile. |
| 3. Pirthi Sing | Oodawut | Chundawul | 25,000 | |
| 4. Tez Sing | Do. | Khadá | 25,000 | |
| 5. Anar Sing | Bhatti | Ahore | 11,000 | |
| 6. Jait Sing | Koompawut | Baggori | 40,000 | |
| 7. Padum Sing | Do. | Gujasingpoora | 25,000 | |
| 8. ... | Mairtea | Mehtri | 40,000 | |
| 9. Kurrun Sing | Oodawut | Marote | 15,000 | |
| 10. Zalim Sing | Koompawut | Roat | 15,000 | |
| 11. Sowat Sing | Joda | Chaupur | 15,000 | |
| 12. ... | ... | Bodsoo | 20,000 | |
| 13. Seodan Sing | Champawut | Káotah (great) | 40,000 | |
| 14. Zalim Sing | Do. | Hursolah | 10,000 | |
| 15. Sawul Sing | Do. | Degode | 10,000 | |
| 16. Hookun Sing | Do. | Káotah (little) | 11,000 | |

These are the principal chieftains of Marwar, holding lands on the tenure of service. There are many who owe allegiance and service on emergencies, the allodial vassals of Marwar, not enumerated in this list; such as Barmair, Kottorah, Jessole, Phulsoond, Birgong Bankuria, Kalindri, Baroonda, who could muster a strong numerical force if their goodwill were conciliated, and the prince could enforce his requisition. The specified census of the estates may not be exactly correct. The foregoing is from an old record, which is in all probability the best they have; for so rapid are the changes in these countries, amidst the anarchy and rebellion we have been describing, that the civil officers would deem it time thrown away, to form, as in past times, an exact *patta'buhye*, or 'register' of feoffs. The ancient qualification was one horseman and two foot soldiers, "when required," for each five hundred rupees in the rental; but as the estates have been curtailed in extent and diminished in value, in order to keep up their nominal amount, one thousand is now the qualification.

ANNALS OF BÍKANÉR

CHAPTER I

Origin of the state of Bikanér—Beeka, the founder—Condition of the aboriginal Jits or Getes—The number and extensive diffusion of this Scythic race, still a majority of the peasantry in Western Rajpootana, and perhaps in Northern India—Their pursuits pastoral, their government patriarchal, their religion of a mixed kind—List of the Jit cantons of Bikanér at the irruption of Beeka—Causes of the success of Beeka—Voluntary surrender of the supremacy of the Jit elders to Beeka—Conditions—Characteristic of the Getic people throughout India—Proofs—Invasion of the Johyas by Beeka and his Jit subjects—Account of the Johyas—Conquered by Beeka—He wrests Bhagore from the Bhattis, and founds Bikanér, the capital, A.D. 1489—His uncle Kandul makes conquests to the north—Death of Beeka—His son Noonkurn succeeds—Makes conquests from the Bhattis—His son Jaet succeeds—Enlarges the power of Bikanér—Raé Sing succeeds—The Jits of Bikanér lose their liberties—The state rises to importance—Raé Sing's connection with Akber—His honours and power—The Johyas revolt and are exterminated—Traditions of Alexander the Great amongst the ruins of the Johyas—Examined—The Pooniah Jits vanquished by Ram Sing, the Raja's brother—Their subjection imperfect—Raé Sing's daughter weds prince Selim, afterwards Jehangir—Raé Sing succeeded by his son Kurrun—The three eldest sons of Kurrun fall in the imperial service—Anóp Sing, the youngest, succeeds—Quells a rebellion in Cabul—His death uncertain—Suroop Sing succeeds—He is killed—Sujaun Sing, Zoorawur Sing, Guj Sing, and Raj Sing succeed—The latter poisoned by his brother by another mother, who usurps the throne, though opposed by the chiefs—He murders the rightful heir, his nephew—Civil war—Muster-roll of the chiefs—The usurper attacks Jodpoor—Present state of Bikanér—Account of Beedavati.

BÍKANÉR holds a secondary rank amongst the principalities of Rajpootana. It is an offset of Marwar, its princes being scions of the house of Joda, who established themselves by conquest on the northern frontier of the parent state; and its position, in the heart of the desert, has contributed to the maintenance of their independence.

It was in S. 1515 (A.D. 1459), the year in which Joda transferred the seat of government from Mundore to Jodpoor, that his son Beeka, under the guidance of his uncle Kandul, led three hundred of the sons of Séôji to enlarge the boundaries of Rahtore dominion amidst the sands of Maroo. Beeka was stimulated to the attempt by the success of his brother Beeda, who had recently subjugated the territory inhabited by the Mohils for ages.

Such expeditions as that of Beeka, undertaken expressly for conquest, were almost uniformly successful. The invaders set out with a determination to slay or be slain; and these forays had the additional stimulus of being on 'fated days,' when the warlike creed of the Rajpoots made the abstraction of territory from foe or friend a matter of religious duty.

Beeka, with his band of three hundred, fell upon the Sanklas of Jangloo,

whom they massacred. This exploit brought them in contact with the Bhattis of Poogul, the chief of which gave his daughter in marriage to Beeka, who fixed his headquarters at Korumdesir, where he erected a castle, and gradually augmented his conquests from the neighbourhood.

Beeka now approximated to the settlements of the Jits or Getes, who had for ages been established in these arid abodes ; and as the lands they held form a considerable portion of the state of Bikanér, it may not be uninteresting to give a sketch of the condition of this singular people prior to the son of Joda establishing the feudal system of Rajwarra amongst their pastoral commonwealths.

Of this celebrated and widely-spread race, we have already given a succinct account.¹ It appears to have been the most numerous as well as the most conspicuous of the tribes of ancient Asia, from the days of Tomyris and Cyrus to those of the present Jit prince of Lahore, whose successor, if he be endued with similar energy, may, on the reflux of population, find himself seated in their original haunts of Central Asia, to which they have already considerably advanced.² In the fourth century, we find a Yuti or Jit kingdom established in the Punjâb ;³ but how much earlier this people colonised those regions we are ignorant. At every step made by Mahomedan power in India, it encountered the Jits. On their memorable defence of the passage of the Indus against Mahmood, and on the war of extirpation waged against them by Timoor, both in their primeval seats in Maver-ool-nehr, as well as east of the Sutlej, we have already enlarged ; while Baber, in his Commentaries, informs us that, in all his irruptions into India, he was assailed by multitudes of Jits⁴ during his progress through the Punjâb, the peasantry of which region, now proselytes to Islam, are chiefly of this tribe ; as well as the military retainers, who, as sectarian followers of Nanuk, merge the name of Jit, or Jat, into that of *Sikh* or 'disciple.'⁵

In short, whether as Yuti, Getes, Jits, Juts, or Jats, this race far surpassed in numbers, three centuries ago, any other tribe or race in India ; and it is a fact that they now constitute a vast majority of the peasantry of western Rajwarra, and perhaps of northern India.

At what period these Jits established themselves in the Indian desert, we are, as has been already observed, entirely ignorant ; but even at the time of the Rahtore invasion of these communities, their habits confirmed the tradition of their Scythic origin. They led chiefly a pastoral life, were guided, but not governed by the elders, and with the exception of adoration to the 'universal mother' (Bhavani), incarnate in the person

¹ Vol. i. p. 88, History of the Rajpoot tribes—*Article*, Jits, or Getes.

² Runjeet has long been in possession of Peshore, and entertained views on Cabul, the disorganised condition of which kingdom affords him a favourable opportunity of realising them.

³ See Inscription, vol. i. p. 621.

⁴ "On Friday the 14th (Dec. 29, A.D. 1525), of the first Rebi, we arrived at Sialkote. Every time that I have entered Hindostan, the Jits and Gujers have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes." The learned commentator draws a distinction between the Jit inhabitants of the Punjâb and of India, which is not maintainable.

⁵ "It is worthy of remark," says Colonel Pitman (who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone to Cabul), "that in the two first Doâbelhs (return of the embassy), we saw very few Sikhs, the Jat cultivators of the soil being in general Moosulmauns, and in complete subjugation to the Sikhs."

of a youthful Jitní, they were utter aliens to the Hindu theocracy. In fact, the doctrines of the great Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed, appear to have overturned the pagan rites brought from the Jaxartes ; and without any settled ideas on religion, the Jits of the desert jumbled all their tenets together. They considered themselves, in short, as a distinct class, and, as a Pooniah Jit informed me, "their *wuttun* was far beyond the Five Rivers." Even in the name of one of the six communities (the *Asiagh*), on whose submission Beeka founded his new state, we have nearly the *Así*, the chief of the four tribes from the Oxus and Jaxartes, who overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria.

The period of Rahtore domination over these patriarchal communities was intermediate between Timoor's and Baber's invasion of India. The former, who was the founder of the Chagitai dynasty, boasts of the myriads of Jit souls he "consigned to perdition" on the desert plains of India, as well as in Transoxiana ; so we may conclude that successive migrations of this people from the great "storehouse of nations" went to the lands east of the Indus, and that the communities who elected Beeka as their sovereign, had been established therein for ages. The extent of their possessions justifies this conclusion ; for nearly the whole of the territory forming the boundaries of BÍKANÉR was possessed by the six Jit cantons, namely—

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Pooniah, | 4. Asiag'h. |
| 2. Godarra. | 5. Bénéwal, |
| 3. Sarun. | 6. Johya, or Joweya ; |

though this last is by some termed a ramification of the Yadu-Bhatti : an affiliation by no means invalidating their claims to be considered of Jit or Yuti origin.¹

Each canton bore the name of the community, and was subdivided into districts. Besides the six Jit cantons, there were three more simultaneously wrested from Rajpoot proprietors ; namely, Bhagore, the Kharriputta, and Mohilla. The six Jit cantons constituted the central and northern, while those of the Rajpoots formed the western and southern frontiers.

Disposition of the Cantons at that period.

| Cantons. | No. of Villages. | Districts. |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| 1. Pooniah . . . | 300 | Bahaderan, Ajítpoor, Seedmookh, Rajgurrh', Dadrewoh, Sankoo, etc. |
| 2. Bénéwal . . . | 150 | Bookurko, Sondurie, Munohurpoor, Kooie, Baé, etc. |
| 3. Johya . . . | 600 | Jaetpoor, Koombanoh, Mahajin, Peepasir, Oodipoor, etc. |
| 4. Asiag'h . . . | 150 | Raotsir, Birmsir, Dandoosir, Gundaelf. |
| 5. Sarun . . . | 300 | Kaijur, Phoag, Boochawas, Sowaé, Badinoo, Sirsilah, etc. |
| 6. Godarra . . . | 700 | Poondrasir, Gosénsir (great), Shekhsir, Gursisir, Garibdesir, Rungaysir, Kaloo, etc. |
| Total in the six Jit cantons . . . | 2200 | |

¹ The Jits of the Agra province consider themselves illegitimate descendants of the Yadus of Biana, and have a tradition that their *wuttun* is Candahar.

| Cantons. | No. of Villages. | Districts. |
|---|------------------|--|
| 7. Bhagore . . . | 300 | Bíkanér, Nal, Kailah, Rajasir, Suttasir, Chutturgur'h, Rindisir, Beetnok'h, Bhavanipoor, Jeimulsir, etc. |
| 8. Mohilla . . . | 140 | Chaupur (capital of Mohilla), Saondah, Herasir, Gopalpoor, Charwas, Beedasir, Ladnoo, Mulsisir, Khurbooza-ra-kote. |
| 9. Kharri-putta, or salt district . . . | 30 | |
| GRAND TOTAL . . | 2670 | |

With such rapidity were states formed in those times, that in a few years after Beeka left his paternal roof at Mundore, he was lord over 2670 villages, and by a title far stronger and more legitimate than that of conquest—the spontaneous election of the cantons. But although three centuries have scarcely passed since their amalgamation into a sovereignty, one-half of the villages cease to exist ; nor are there now 1300 forming the *raj* of Soorut Sing, the present occupant and lineal descendant of Beeka.

The Jits and Johyas of these regions, who extended over all the northern desert even to the Garah, led a pastoral life, their wealth consisting in their cattle, which they reared in great numbers, disposing of the superfluity, and of the *ghee* (butter clarified) and wool, through the medium of Sarsote (*Sarasvati*) Brahmins (who, in these regions, devote themselves to traffic), receiving in return grain and other conveniences or necessities of life.

A variety of causes conspired to facilitate the formation of the state of Bíkanér, and the reduction of the ancient Scythic simplicity of the Jit communities to Rajpoot feudal sway ; and although the success of his brother Beeda over the Mohils in some degree paved the way, his bloodless conquest could never have happened but for the presence of a vice which has dissolved all the republics of the world. The jealousy of the Johyas and Godarras, the two most powerful of the six Jit cantons, was the immediate motive to the propitiation of the ' son of Joda ' ; besides which, the communities found the band of Beeda, which had extirpated the ancient Mohils when living with them in amity, most troublesome neighbours. Further, they were desirous to place between them and the Bhattis of Jessulmér, a more powerful barrier ; and last, not least, they dreaded the hot valour and ' thirst for land ' which characterised Beeka's retainers, now contiguous to them at Jangloo. For these weighty reasons, at a meeting of the ' elders ' of the Godarras, it was resolved to conciliate the Rahoore.

Pandú was the patriarchal head of the Godarras ; his residence was at Shekhsir.¹ The ' elder ' of Roncah was next in rank and estimation to Pandú, in communities where equality was as absolute as the proprietary

¹ This town is named after the Islamite saint, Shekh Fureed of Pakputtun, who has a *durgah* here. He was greatly esteemed by the Jits, before the *bona dea* assumed the shape of a *jitni*, to whom, under the title of *Carani Mata*, ' a ray of the mother,' all bend the head.

right to the lands which each individually held : that of pasture being common.

The elders of Shekhsir and Roneah were deputed to enter into terms with the Rajpoot prince, and to invest him with supremacy over their community, on the following conditions :—

First. To make common cause with them, against the Johyas and other cantons, with whom they were then at variance.

Second. To guard the western frontier against the irruption of the Bhattis.

Third. To hold the rights and privileges of the community inviolable.

On the fulfilment of these conditions, they relinquished to Beeka and his descendants the supreme power over the Godarras ; assigning to him, in perpetuity, the power to levy *dhooa*, or a 'hearth tax,' of one rupee on each house in the canton, and a land tax of two rupees on each hundred beegas of cultivated land within their limits.

Apprehensive, however, that Beeka or his descendants might encroach upon their rights, they asked what security he could offer against such a contingency ? The Rajpoot chief replied that, in order to dissipate their fears on this head, as well as to perpetuate the remembrance of the supremacy thus voluntarily conferred, he would solemnly bind himself and his successors to receive the *tika* of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders of Shekhsir and Roneah, and that the *gadi* should be deemed vacant until such rite was administered.

In this simple transfer of the allegiance of this pastoral people, we mark that instinctive love of liberty which accompanied the Gete in all places and all conditions of society, whether on the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, or in the sandy desert of India ; and although his political independence is now annihilated, he is still ready even to shed his blood if his Rajpoot master dare to infringe his inalienable right to his *bapota*, his paternal acres.

It is seldom that so incontestable a title to supremacy can be asserted as that which the weakness and jealousies of the Godarras conferred upon Beeka, and it is a pleasing incident to find almost throughout India, in the observance of certain rites, the remembrance of the original compact which transferred the sovereign power from the lords of the soil to their Rajpoot conquerors. Thus, in Méwar, the fact of the power conferred upon the Gehlote founder by the *Bhil* aborigines, is commemorated by a custom brought down to the present times. (See vol. i. p. 183.) At Ambér, the same is recorded in the important offices retained by the *Meenas*, the primitive inhabitants of that land. Both Kotah and Boondí retain in their names the remembrance of the ancient lords of Haroutí ; and Beeka's descendants preserve, in a twofold manner, the recollection of their bloodless conquest of the Jits. To this day, the descendant of Pandú applies the unguent of royalty to the forehead of the successors of Beeka ; on which occasion, the prince places 'the fine of relief,' consisting of twenty-five pieces of gold, in the hand of the Jit. Moreover, the spot which he selected for his capital, was the birthright of a Jit, who would only concede it for this purpose on the condition that his name should be linked in perpetuity with its surrender. Naira, or Néra, was the name of the proprietor, which Beeka added to his own, thus composing that of the future capital, Bikanér.

Besides this periodical recognition of the transfer of power, on all lapses of the crown, there are annual memorials of the rights of the Godarras, acknowledged not only by the prince, but by all his Rajpoot vassal-kin, quartered on the lands of the Jit; and although 'the sons of Beeka,' now multiplied over the country, do not much respect the ancient compact, they at least recognise, in the maintenance of these formulæ, the origin of their power.

On the spring and autumnal¹ festivals of the Holi and Dêwali, the heirs of the patriarchs of Shekhsir and Roneah give the *tika* to the prince and all his feudality. The Jit of Roneah bears the silver cup and platter which holds the *ampoule* of the desert, while his compeer applies it to the prince's forehead. The Raja in return deposits a *nuzzerana* of a gold mohur, and five pieces of silver; the chieftains, according to their rank, following his example. The gold is taken by the Shekhsir Jit, the silver by the elder of Roneah.

To resume our narrative: when the preliminaries were adjusted, by Beeka's swearing to maintain the rights of the community which thus surrendered their liberties to his keeping, they united their arms, and invaded the *Johyas*. This populous community, which extended over the northern region of the desert, even to the Sutlej, reckoned eleven hundred villages in their canton; yet now, after the lapse of little more than three centuries, the very name of *Johya* is extinct. They appear to be the Jenjoocheh of Baber, who, in his irruption into India, found them congregated with the '*Jûds*, about the cluster of hills in the first *doabeh* of the Punjâb, called "the mountains of Joude"; a position claimed by the Yadus or Jadoos in the very dawn of their history, and called *Jaddoo ca dang*, 'the Jaddoo hills.' This supports the assertion that the *Johya* is of Yadu race, while it does not invalidate its claims to Yuti or Jit descent, as will be further shown in the early portion of the annals of the Yadu-Bhattis.²

The patriarchal head of the *Johyas* resided at Bhuropal; his name was Shere Sing. He mustered the strength of the canton, and for a long time withstood the continued efforts of the Rajpoots and the Godarras; nor was it until 'treason had done its worst,' by the murder of their elder, and the consequent possession of Bhuropal, that the *Johyas* succumbed to Rahtore domination.

With this accession of power, Beeka carried his arms westward, and conquered Bhagore from the Bhattis. It was in this district, originally wrested by the Bhattis from the Jits, that Beeka founded his capital, Bikanér, on the 15th Bysák, S. 1545 (A.D. 1489), thirty years after his departure from the parental roof at Mundore.

When Beeka was thus firmly established, his uncle Kandul, to whose spirit of enterprise he was mainly indebted for success, departed with his immediate kin to the northward, with a view of settling in fresh conquests. He successively subjugated the communities of Asiagh, Beniwal, and

¹ *Vide* vol i. pp. 452, 475—for an account of these festivals.

² I presented a work on this race, entitled *The Book of the Johyas* (sent me by the prime minister of Jessulmér) to the Royal Asiatic Society. Having obtained it just before leaving Rajpootana, I never had leisure to examine it, or to pronounce on its value as an historical document; but any work having reference to so singular a community can scarcely fail to furnish matter of interest.

Sarun, which cantons are mostly occupied by his descendants, styled "Kandulote Rahtores," at this day, and although they form an integral portion of the Bikanér state, they evince, in their independent bearing to its chief, that their estates were "the gift of their own swords, not of his patents"; and they pay but a reluctant and nominal obedience to his authority. When necessity or avarice imposes a demand for tribute, it is often met by a flat refusal, accompanied with such a comment as this: "Who made this Raja? Was it not our common ancestor, Kandul? Who is he, who presumes to levy tribute from us?" Kandul's career of conquest was cut short by the emperor's lieutenant in Hissar; he was slain in attempting this important fortress.

Beeka died in S. 1551 (A.D. 1495), leaving two sons by the daughter of the Bhatti chief of Poogul, namely, Noonkurn, who succeeded, and Gursi, who founded Gursisir and Ursisir. The stock of the latter is numerous, and is distinguished by the epithet *Gursote Beeka*, whose principal fiefs are those of Gursisir and Garibdesir, each having twenty-four villages depending on them.¹

Noonkurn made several conquests from the Bhattis, on the western frontier. He had four sons; his eldest desiring a separate establishment in his lifetime, for the fief of Mahajin and one hundred and forty villages, renounced his right of primogeniture in favour of his brother Jaet, who succeeded in S. 1569. His brothers had each appanages assigned to them. He had three sons, 1, Calian Sing; 2, Séôji; and 3, Aishpal. Jaetsi reduced the district of Narnote from some independent Grasia chiefs, and settled it as the appanage of his second son, Séôji. It was Jaetsi also who compelled 'the sons of Beeda,' the first Rahtore colonists of this region, to acknowledge his supremacy by an annual tribute, besides certain taxes.

Calian Sing succeeded in S. 1603. He had three sons, 1, Raé Sing; 2, Ram Sing; and 3, Pirthi Sing.

Raé Sing succeeded in S. 1630 (A.D. 1573). Until this reign, the Jits had, in a great degree, preserved their ancient privileges. Their maintenance was, however, found rather inconvenient, by the now superabundant Rajpoot population, and they were consequently dispossessed of all political authority. With the loss of independence their military spirit decayed, and they sunk into mere tillers of the earth. In this reign also Bikanér rose to importance amongst the principalities of the empire, and if the Jits parted with their liberties to the Rajpoot, the latter, in like manner, bartered his freedom to become a Satrap of Dehli. On his father's death, Raé Sing in person undertook the sacred duty of conveying his ashes to the Ganges. The illustrious Akber was then emperor of India. Raé Sing and the emperor had married sisters, princesses of Jessulmér. This connection obtained for him, on his introduction to court by Raja Maun of Ambér, the dignity of a leader of four thousand horse, the title of Raja, and the government of Hissar. Moreover, when Maldeo of Jodpoor incurred the displeasure of the king, and was dispossessed of the rich

¹ To the few who will peruse these annals of the desert tribes, it will be interesting to observe the development of families, and the maintenance, by such distinctive patronymics, of their origin. In the annals of this remote state, I shall not enter at any length into the history of their wars, which are, with a change of names and scene, all pretty much alike; but confine myself, after a succinct and connected genealogical relation, to the manners of the people, the aspect, productions, and government of the country.

district of Nagore, it was given to Raé Sing. With these honours, and increased power as one of the king's lieutenants, he returned to his dominions, and sent his brother Ram Sing against Bhutnair, of which he made a conquest. This town was the chief place of a district belonging to the Bhattis, originally Jits¹ of Yadu descent, but who assumed this name on becoming proselytes to the faith of Islam.

Ram Sing, at the same time, completely subjugated the Johyas, who, always troublesome, had recently attempted to regain their ancient independence. The Rajpoots carried fire and sword into this country, of which they made a desert. Ever since it has remained desolate: the very name of *Johya* is lost, though the vestiges of considerable towns bear testimony to a remote antiquity.

Amidst these ruins of the Johyas, the name of *Sekunder Roomi* (Alexander the Great) has fixed itself, and the desert retains the tradition that the ruin called *Rung-mahl*, the 'painted palace,' near Dandoosir, was the capital of a prince of this region punished by a visitation of the Macedonian conqueror. History affords no evidence of Alexander's passage of the Garah, though the scene of his severest conflict was in that nook of the Punjâb not remote from the lands of the Johyas. But though the chronicler of Alexander does not sanction our indulging in this speculation, the total darkness in which we appear doomed to remain with regard to Bactria and the petty Grecian kingdoms on the Indus, established by him, does not forbid our surmise, that by some of these, perhaps the descendants of Python, such a visitation might have happened.² The same traditions assert that these regions were not always either arid or desolate, and the living chronicle alluded to in the note, repeated the stanza elsewhere given, which dated its deterioration from the drying up of the *Hakra* river, which came from the Punjâb, and flowing through the heart of this country, emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekher and Ootch.

The affinity that this word (*Hakra*) has both to the *Caggar*, and *Sankra*,³ would lead to the conclusion of either being the stream referred to. The former we know as being engulfed in the sands about the Heriana confines, while the *Sankra* is a stream which, though now dry, was used as a line of demarcation even in the time of Nadir Shah. It ran eastward, parallel with the Indus, and by making it his boundary, Nadir added all the fertile valley of the Indus to his Persian kingdom. (See map.) The only date this legendary stanza assigns for the catastrophe is the reign of the Soda prince, Hamir.

Ram Sing, having thus destroyed the power of future resistance in the Johyas, turned his arms against the Pooniah Jits, the last who preserved

¹ In the Annals of Jessulmér, the number of offsets from the Yadu-Bhatti tribe which assumed the name of *Jit*, will be seen; an additional ground for asserting that the Scythic Yadu is in fact the *Yuti*.

² My informant of this tradition was an old inhabitant of Dandoosir, and although seventy years of age, had never left the little district of his nativity until he was brought to me, as one of the most intelligent living records of the past.

³ The natives of these regions cannot pronounce the sibilant; so that, as I have already stated, the *s* is converted into *h*. I gave as an example the name *Jahilmér*, which becomes 'the hill of fools,' instead of 'the hill of Jasil.' *Sankra*, in like manner becomes *Hankra*.

their ancient liberty. They were vanquished, and the Rajpoots were inducted into their most valuable possessions. But the conqueror paid the penalty of his life for the glory of colonising the lands of the Pooniahs. He was slain in their expiring effort to shake off the yoke of the stranger ; and though the Ramsingotes add to the numerical strength, and enlarge the territory of the heirs of Beeka, they, like the Kandulotes, little increase the power of the state, to which their obedience is nominal. Seedmook'h and Sankoo are the two chief places of the Ramsingotes.

Thus, with the subjugation of the Pooniahs, the political annihilation of the six Jit cantons of the desert was accomplished : they are now occupied in agriculture and their old pastoral pursuits, and are an industrious tax-paying race under their indolent Rajpoot masters.

Raja Raé Sing led a gallant band of his Rahtores in all the wars of Akber. He was distinguished in the assault of Ahmedabad, slaying in single combat the governor, Mirza Mohamed Hussein. The emperor, who knew the value of such valorous subjects, strengthened the connection which already subsisted between the crown and the Rahtores, by obtaining for prince Selim (afterwards Jehangir) Raé Sing's daughter to wife. The unfortunate Purvéz was the fruit of this marriage.

Raé Sing was succeeded by his only son, Kurrin, in S. 1688 (A.D. 1632).

Kurrin held the 'munsub of two thousand,' and the government of Doulatabad, in his father's lifetime. Being a supporter of the just claims of Dara Sheko, a plot was laid by the general of his antagonist, with whom he served, to destroy him, but which he was enabled to defeat by the timely intelligence of the Hara prince of Boondí. He died at Bikanér, leaving four sons—1, Pudma Sing ; 2, Kesuri Sing ; 3, Mohun Sing ; and 4, Anóp Sing.

This family furnishes another example of the prodigal sacrifice of Rajpoot blood in the imperial service. The two elder princes were slain in the storm of Beejipoor, and the tragical death of the third, Mohun Sing, in the imperial camp, forms an episode in Ferishta's History of the Dekhan.¹

¹ The young desert chieftain, like all his tribe, would find matter for quarrel in the wind blowing in his face. Having received what he deemed an insult from the brother-in-law of the *Shazada*, in a dispute regarding a fawn, he appealed to his sword, and a duel ensued even in the presence-chamber, in which young Mohun fell. The fracas was reported to his brother Pudma, at no distance from the scene. With the few retainers at hand, he rushed to the spot, and found his brother bathed in his blood. His antagonist, still hanging over his victim, when he saw the infuriated Rahtore enter, with sword and shield, prepared for dreadful vengeance, retreated behind one of the columns of the Aum Khas (*Divan*). But Pudma's sword reached him, and avenged his brother's death ; as the record says, "he felled him to the earth, cleaving at the same place the pillar in twain." Taking up the dead body of his brother, and surrounded by his vassals, he repaired to his quarters, where he assembled all the Rajpoot princes serving with their contingents, as Jeipoor, Jodpoor, Harouti, and harangued them on the insult to their race in the murder of his brother. They all agreed to abandon the king's army, and retire to their own homes. A noble was sent to expostulate by Prince Moozzim ; but in vain. He urged that the prince not only forgave, but approved the summary vengeance taken by the Rahtore : they refused to listen, and in a body had retired more than twenty miles, when the prince in person joined them, and concessions and expostulations overcoming them, they returned to the camp. It was subsequent to this that the two elder brothers were slain. It is recorded of the surviving brother, that he slew an enormous lion in single combat. For this exploit, which thoroughly entitled him to the name he bore (*Kesuri*), 'the Lion,' he received an estate of twenty-five villages

Anóp Sing succeeded in S. 1730 (A.D. 1674). For the services of his family he had the castle and lands of Adoni conferred upon him, with 'the munsub of five thousand,' and the governments of Beejipoor and Arungabad. Anóp Sing led his clans with the head of his race, the prince of Jodpoor, to quell a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul, which having effected, he returned to the peninsula. Ferishta and the native annals are at variance on his death; the former asserting that he died in the Dekhan, while the latter say that he left that country, disgusted with the imperial commander's interference about his ground of encampment, and that he died at Bikanér. He left two sons, Suroop Sing and Sujaun Sing.

Suroop, who succeeded in S. 1765 (A.D. 1709), did not long enjoy his honours, being killed in attempting to recover Adoni, which the emperor had resumed on his father's leaving the army.

Sujaun Sing, his successor, did nothing.

Zoorawur Sing became raja in S. 1793 (A.D. 1737). The domestic incidents of this, as of the preceding reigns, are without interest.

Guj Sing succeeded in S. 1802 (A.D. 1746). Throughout a long reign of forty-one years, this prince carried on border strife with the Bhattis and the Khan of Bhawalpore. From the former he took Rajasir, Kailah, Ranair, Suttasir, Bunnipoora, Mootalai, and other villages of inferior note; and from the Khan he recovered the important frontier castle of Anópgurh.

He laid waste, filling up the wells, a considerable tract of country west of the frontier post of Anópgurh, to prevent the incursions of the *Daodpotras*.¹

Raja Guj had some celebrity from the number of his offspring, having had sixty-one children, though all but six were the 'sons of love.' The legitimates were, Chuttur Sing, who died in infancy; Raj Sing, who was poisoned by the mother of Soorut Sing, the reigning prince; Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, both of whom fled the paternal roof to escape the fate of their elder brother, and are now at Jeipoor; Soorut Sing, Raja of Bikanér; and Siam Sing, who enjoys a small appanage in Bikanér.

Raj Sing succeeded his father, S. 1843 (A.D. 1787), but he enjoyed the dignity only thirteen days, being removed by a dose of poison by the mother² of Soorut Sing, the fifth son of Raja Guj. The crown thus nefariously obtained this worthy son of such a parent determined to maintain his authority by like means, and to leave no competitor to contest his claims. He has accordingly removed by death or exile all who stood between him and the '*gadt* of Beeka.'

Raj Sing left two sons, Pertáp Sing and Jey Sing. On the death of Raj Sing, the office of regent, a word of ominous import in these regions, was assumed by Soorut Sing, who, during eighteen months, conducted himself with great circumspection, and by condescension and gifts impressed the chiefs in his favour. At length he broke his plans to the chiefs of Mahajin and

from the king. He also obtained great renown for slaying a Habshi or Abyssinian chief, who commanded for one of the southern princes.

¹ 'The children of David,' the designation of the tract and inhabitants subject to the state of Bhawalpore, from its founder, Dáod Khan, a native of Seistan.

² She was the sister of the Jhulye chief, heir presumptive to the *gadt* of Jeipoor, on failure of lineal issue.

Bahaderan, whose acquiescence in his usurpation he secured by additions to their estates. The faithful Bukhtawar Sing, whose family during four generations had filled the office of *déwan*, discovered the scheme, though too late to counteract it, and the attempt was punished by imprisonment. Prepared for the last step, the regent collected foreign troops from Batinda and other parts, sufficient to overcome all opposition. The infant prince was kept secluded, and at length the regent issued the warrant in his own name for the nobles to assemble at the capital. Except the two traitors enumerated, they to a man refused; but instead of combining to oppose him, they indolently remained at their castles. Collecting all his troops, the usurper passed to Nohur, where he enticed the chief of Bookurko to an interview, and lodged him in the fortress of Nohur. Thence he passed to Ajitpoora, which he plundered; and advancing to Sankoo, he attacked it in form. Doorjun Sing defended himself with valour, and when reduced to extremity, committed suicide. His heir was put in fetters, and a fine of twelve thousand rupees was levied from the vassals of Sankoo. The commercial town of Choorú was next attacked; it held out six months, when the confined chief of Bookurko, as the price of his own freedom, treacherously offered to put the tyrant in possession. He effected this, and a fine of nearly two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) was offered to spare the town from plunder.

By this act of severity, and the means it furnished, Soorut returned to Bikanér, determined to remove the only bar between him and the crown, his prince and nephew. In this he found some difficulty, from the virtue and vigilance of his sister, who never lost sight of the infant. Frustrated in all attempts to circumvent her, and not daring to blazon the murder by open violence, he invited the needy Raja of Nirwar to make proposals for his sister's hand. In vain she urged her advanced period of life; and in order to deter the suitor, that she had already been affianced to Rana Ursi of Méwar. All his scruples vanished at the dower of three lakhs, which the regent offered the impoverished scion of the famous Raja Nala.¹ Her objections were overruled and she was forced to submit; though she not only saw through her brother's anxiety for her removal, but boldly charged him with his nefarious intentions. He was not content with disavowing them, but at her desire gave her the most solemn assurances of the child's safety. Her departure was the signal of his death; for not long after, he was found strangled, and it is said by the regent's own hands, having in vain endeavoured to obtain the offices of the Mahajin chieftain as the executioner of his sovereign.

Thus, in one short year after the death of Raja Raj, the *gadi* of Beeka was dishonoured by being possessed by an assassin of his prince. In S. 1857 (A.D. 1801), the elder brothers of the usurper, Soortan Sing and Ajib Sing, who had found refuge in Jeipoor, repaired to Bhutnair and assembled the vassals of the disaffected nobles and Bhattis in order to dethrone the tyrant. But the recollection of his severities deterred some, while bribes kept back others, and the usurper did not hesitate to advance to meet his foes. The encounter, which took place at Beegore, was obstinate and

¹ The story of Nala and Dumyanti (or, *Nul Dumun*, as it is familiarly called in these regions) is well known in oriental literature. From Nal, the famed castle of Narwar is named, of which this suitor for the hand of the Bikanér princess was deprived by Sindia.

bloody, and three thousand Bhattis alone fell. This signal victory confirmed Soorut's usurpation. He erected a castle on the field of battle, which he called *Futtéhgurh*, 'the abode of victory.'

Flushed with this brilliant success, Soorut Sing determined to make his authority respected both at home and abroad. He invaded his turbulent countrymen, the Beedawuts, and levied fifty thousand rupees from their lands. Choorú, which had promised aid to the late confederacy, was once more invested and mulcted, and various other places were attacked ere they could join. But one solitary castle was successfully defended, that of Ch'hani, near Bahaderan. Here the usurper was foiled, and, after six months' fruitless siege, compelled to return to his capital.

Shortly after, he eagerly availed himself of an opportunity to punish the excesses of the Daodpotras, and to withdraw attention from himself, by kindling a popular war against these powerful and turbulent neighbours. The occasion was the Kerani chief of Tearoh demanding his aid against his liege lord, Bhawul Khan. As these border feuds are not extinguished even in these days of universal peace, it may not be uninteresting to see the feudal muster-roll of the desert chiefs on such occurrences, as well as the mode in which they carry on hostilities. It was very shortly before that victory had preponderated on the side of the Rahtores by a gallant *coup-de-main* of the lord marcher of Bikanér, who carried the castle of Mozgurh in a midnight assault. The hero on this occasion was not a Rahtore, but a Bhatti chief, in the service of Bikanér, named Hindú Sing, who gained 'immortality' by the style in which he scaled the walls, put Mahomed Maroop Kerani, the governor, and the garrison to the sword, and brought away captive to Bikanér the governor's wife, who was afterwards ransomed for five thousand rupees and four hundred camels.

The outlaw who sought *sirna* at Bikanér, on this occasion, was of the same tribe, Kerani, his name Khodabuksh ('gift of God'), chief of Tearoh; one of the principal fiefs of the Daodpotras. With all his retainers, to the amount of three hundred horse and five hundred foot, he threw himself on the protection of Soorut Sing, who assigned him twenty villages, and one hundred rupees daily for his support. The Keranis were the most powerful vassals of Bhawul Khan, who might have paid dear for the resumption of Tearoh, whose chief promised the Rajpoot nothing less than to extend his conquests to the Indus. Allured by this bait, the *khér* was proclaimed and the sons of Beeka assembled from all quarters.

| | | Horse. | Foot. | Guns. |
|----------------------|----------|--------|-------|-------|
| Abhye Sing, chief of | Bookurko | 300 | 2000 | |
| Rao Ram Sing, of | Poogul | 100 | 400 | |
| Hatti Sing, of | Ranair | 8 | 150 | |
| Kurrun Sing, of | Suttasir | 9 | 150 | |
| Anóp Sing | Jussaroh | 40 | 250 | |
| Khét Sing | Jemunsir | 60 | 350 | |
| Bhéní Sing, of | Jangloo | 9 | 250 | |
| Bhom Sing, of | Beetnoke | 2 | 61 | |
| Feudal retainers | | 528 | 3611 | |

Bookurko he put to death, notwithstanding his numerous services. Nahur Sing of Seedmookh, Gyan Sing and Goman Sing of Gundaili, amongst the chief feudatories of the state, shared the same fate. Choorú was invested a third time, and with its chief, fell into the tyrant's hands.

With this system of terror, his increasing superstition, and diminished attention to public duties, the country is annually deteriorating in population and wealth ; and as if they had not misery enough within, they have not had a single good season for years.¹ Owing to the disobedience of the northern chiefs, and the continual incursions of the *Rahts*, or 'Bhatti robbers,' who sweep the land of cattle, and often cut and carry off entire crops, the peasant Jit, the ancient lord of the soil, is often left to the alternative of starvation or emigration. Many have consequently sought shelter in the British frontier territories, in Hansi and Heriana, where they are kindly received. Since the English have occupied Sirsah and the lands belonging to the Bhatti Bahader Khan, the misfortunes of the cultivators of the northern parts of Bikanér have been doubled by the inroads of a band left without resource. In some parts, the Jits combine to protect themselves against these inroads : every hamlet has its post of defence, a tower of earth, on which is perched a watchman and kettledrum, to beat the alarum, which is taken up from village to village, and when an enemy is discovered, all are in arms to defend their property. The unfortunate Jit is obliged to plough his fields under the load of shield and *sang*, or heavy iron lance ; so that, at no distant period, the whole of this region must become as desolate as the tracts once possessed by the Johyas.²

Such, at the end of three hundred and twenty-three years, is the change which a Rajpoot usurper has affected in the once comparatively populous communities of the Jits. From the founder, Beeka, to the present tyrannical governor, there have been only eleven descents though thirteen reigns, giving an average of thirty years for the one, and twenty-five for the other : a fact which speaks forcibly for the general morality of the descendants of Beeka.

Before we enter on the physical aspect of the country, we must make mention of Beedavati, the lands of 'the sons of Beeda,' now an integral portion of Bikanér. It will be borne in mind that Beeda, the brother of Beeka, led the first Rajpoot colony from Mundore, in search of a fresh establishment. His first attempt was in the province of Godwar, then belonging to the Rana : but his reception there was so warm, that he moved northward, and was glad to take service with the chief of the Mohils. This ancient tribe is by some termed a branch of the Yadus, but is by others considered a separate race, and one of the 'thirty-six royal races' : all are agreed as to its antiquity. The residence of the Mohil chief was Chaupur, where, with the title of *Thakoor*, he ruled over one hundred and forty townships. Beeda deemed circumvention better than open force to effect his purposes ; and as, according to the Rajpoot maxim, in all attempts 'to obtain land,' success hallows the means, he put in train a scheme which, as it affords the least cause for suspicion, has often been used for this object. Beeda became the medium of a matrimonial arrange-

¹ This account was drawn up in 1814.

² While putting this to the press, rumour says that the chiefs of Bikanér are in open rebellion, against the Raja, who has applied, but without success, to the British Government for support. This, if true, is as it should be.

ment between the Mohil chief and the prince of Marwar ; and as the relation and natural guardian of the bride, he conveyed the nuptial train unsuspected into the castle of the Mohils, whose chiefs were assembled to honour the festivities. But instead of the Rahtore fair and her band of maidens, the valorous sons of Joda rushed sword in hand from the litters and covered vehicles, and treacherously cut off the best men of Mohilla. They kept possession of the inner fortress until tidings of their success brought reinforcements from Jodpoor. For this aid, Beeda assigned to his father, Ladnoo and its twelve villages, now incorporated with Jodpoor. The son of Beeda, Tez Sing, laid the foundation of a new capital, which he called after his father, Beedasilir. The community of the Beedawuts is the most powerful in Bikanér, whose prince is obliged to be satisfied with almost nominal marks of supremacy, and to restrict his demands, which are elsewhere unlimited. The little region of the Mohillas, around the ancient capital Chaupur, is an extensive flat, flooded in the periodical rains from the surrounding *teebas* or 'sandhills,' the soil of which is excellent, even wheat being abundantly produced. This *Oasis*, as it is entitled to be termed, may be twenty-five miles (twelve cos) in extreme length, by about six in breadth. We cannot affirm that the entire Beedawut district of one hundred and forty villages, and to which is assigned a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand souls, one-third being Rahtores, 'the sons of Beeda' is within this flat. It is subdivided into twelve fiefs, of which five are pre-eminent. Of the ancient possessors, the indigenous Mohils, there are not more than twenty families throughout the land of Mohilla ; the rest are chiefly Jit agriculturists and the mercantile castes.

We do the sons of Beeda no injustice when we style them a community of plunderers. Like the sons of Esau, "their hand is against every man" : and they are too powerful to fear retaliation. In former times they used to unite with the Larkhanis, another horde of robbers, and carry their raids into the most populous parts of Jeipoor. In these habits, however, they only partake of the character common to all who inhabit desert regions. What nature has denied them, they wrest from those to whom she has been more bountiful. But it is to the absence of good government more than to natural sterility, that we must attribute the moral obliquity of the *Rajaputras*, 'the offspring of regality,' spread over these extensive regions, who little discriminate between *meum* and *tuum*, in all that refers to their neighbours.

CHAPTER II

Actual condition and capabilities of Bikanér—Causes of its deterioration—Extent—Population—Jits—Sarasvati Brahmins—Charuns—Mallis and Naés—Chooras and Thaoris—Rajpoots—Face of the country—Grain and vegetable productions—Implements of husbandry—Water—Salt lakes—Local physiognomy—Mineral productions—Unctuous clay—Animal productions—Commerce and manufactures—Fairs—Government and revenues—The fisc—Dhooâh, or hearth-tax—Anga, or capitation-tax—Sayer, or imposts—Pusâetî, or plough-tax—Malbah, or ancient land-tax—Extraordinary and irregular resources—Feudal levies—Household troops.

THIS region is but little known to Europeans, by whom it has hitherto been supposed to be a perfect desert, unworthy of examination. Its present condition bears little comparison with what tradition reports it to have been in ancient times ; and its deterioration, within three centuries since the Rajpoots supplanted the Jits, almost warrants our belief of the assertion, that these deserts were once fertile and populous ; nay, that they are still capable (notwithstanding the reported continual increase of the sand) to maintain an abundant population, there is little room to doubt. The princes of Bikanér used to take the field at the head of ten thousand of their kindred retainers ; and although they held extraordinary grants from the empire for the maintenance of these contingents, their ability to do so from their proper resources was undoubted. To other causes than positive sterility must be attributed the wretched condition of this state. Exposed to the continual attacks of organised bands of robbers from without, subjected internally to the never-ending demands of a rapacious government, for which they have not a shadow of advantage in return, it would be strange if aught but progressive decay and wretchedness were the consequence. In three centuries, more than one-half of the villages, which either voluntarily or by force submitted to the rule of the founder, Beeka, are now without memorial of their existence, and the rest are gradually approximating to the same condition. Commercial caravans, which passed through this state and enriched its treasury with the transit duties, have almost ceased to frequent it from the increasing insecurity of its territory. Besides the personal loss to the prince the country suffers from the deterioration of the commercial towns of Choorâ, Rajgurh, and Rinnie, which, as *entrepôts*, supplied the country with the productions of Sind and the provinces to the westward, or those of Gangetic India. Nor is this confined to Bikanér ; the same cause affects Jessulmér, and the more eastern principalities, whose misgovernment, equally with Bikanér, fosters the spirit of rapine : the Maldotes of Jessumler and the Larkhanis of Jeipoor are as notorious as the Beedawuts of Bikanér ; and to these may be added the Sahrâes, Khosas, and Rajurs, in the more western desert, who, in their habits and principles, are as demoralised as the Bedouins of Arabia.

Extent—Population—Soil—Teebas or Sandhills.—The line of greatest breadth of this state extends from Poogul to Rajgurh, and measures about one hundred and eighty miles ; while the length from north to south, between Bhutnair and Mahajin, is about one hundred and sixty miles : the area may not exceed twenty-two thousand miles. Formerly they reckoned two thousand seven hundred towns, villages, and hamlets scattered over this space, one-half of which are no longer in existence

An estimate of the population of this arid region, without presenting some data, would be very unsatisfactory. The tract to the north-west of Jaetpoor is now perfectly desolate, and nearly so from that point to Bhutnair : to the north-east, the population is but scanty, which observation also applies to the parts from the meridian of Bikanér to the Jessulmér frontier; while internally, from these points, it is more uniform, and equals the northern parts of Marwar. From a census of the twelve principal towns, with an estimate, furnished by well-informed inhabitants, of the remainder, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation on this point :

| Chief Towns. | Number of Houses. |
|--|-------------------|
| Bikanér | 12,000 |
| Nohur | 2,500 |
| Bahaderan | 2,500 |
| Rinnie | 1,500 |
| Rajgurh | 3,000 |
| Choorú | 3,000 |
| Mahajin | 800 |
| Jaetpoor | 1,000 |
| Beedasir | 500 |
| Ruttungurh | 1,000 |
| Daismookh | 1,000 |
| Senthal | 50 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 28,850 |
| 100 villages, each having 200 houses | 20,000 |
| 100 „ „ 150 „ | 15,000 |
| 200 „ „ 100 „ | 20,000 |
| 800 hamlets „ 30 each | 24,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total number of houses | 107,850 |

Allowing five souls to each house, we have a total of 539,250 souls, giving an average of twenty-five to the square mile, which I cannot think exaggerated, and making the desert regions depending on Bikanér equal, in the density of population, the highlands of Scotland.

Of this population, full three-fourths are the aboriginal Jits ; the rest are their conquerors, descendants of Beeka, including the Sarsote Brahmins; Charuns, Bards, and a few of the debased classes, whose numbers, conjointly, are not one-tenth of the Rajpoots.

Jits.—The Jits are the most wealthy as well as the most numerous portion of the community. Many of the old Bhomia landlords, representatives of their ancient communal heads, are men of substance ; but their riches are of no use to them, and to avoid the rapacity of their government, they cover themselves with the cloak of poverty, which is thrown aside only on nuptial festivities. On these occasions they disinter their hoards, which are lavished with unbounded extravagance. They even block up the highways to collect visitors, whose numbers form the measure of the liberality and munificence of the donor of the fête.

Sarsote (properly *Sarasvati*) Brahmins are found in considerable numbers throughout this tract. They aver that they were masters of the country prior to the Jit colonists. They are a peaceable, industrious race, and without a single prejudice of 'the order'; they eat meat, smoke tobacco, cultivate the soil, and trade even in the sacred kine, notwithstanding their descent from Singiricscha, son of Brahma.

Charuns.—The Charuns are the sacred order of these regions; the warlike tribes esteem the heroic lays of the bard more than the homily of the Brahmin. The Charuns are throughout revered by the Rahtores, and hold lands, literally, on the tenure of 'an old song.' More will be said of them in the Annals of Jessulmér.

Mallis, Naés, gardeners and barbers, are important members of every Rajpoot family, and to be found in all the villages, of which they are invariably the cooks:

Chooras, Thaoris, are actually castes of robbers: the former, from the Lakhi Jungle; the latter, from Méwar. Most of the chieftains have a few in their pay, entertained for the most desperate services. The Bahaderan chief has expelled all his Rajpoots, and retains only Chooras and Thaoris. The Chooras are highly esteemed for fidelity, and the barriers and portals throughout this tract are in their custody. They enjoy a very singular perquisite, which would go far to prove their being the aborigines of the country; namely, a fee of four copper coins on every dead subject, when the funeral ceremonies are over.

Rajpoots.—The Rahtores of Bikanér are unchanged in their martial qualifications, bearing as high a reputation as any other class in India; and whilst their brethren of Marwar, Ambér, and Méwar have been for years groaning under the rapacious visitations of Mahrattas and Pat'hans, their distance and the difficulties of the country have saved them from such afflictions: though, in truth, they have had enough to endure at home, in the tyranny of their own lord. The Rahtores of the desert have fewer prejudices than their more eastern brethren; they will eat food, without enquiring by whom it was dressed, and will drink either wine or water, without asking to whom the cup belonged. They would make the best soldiers in the world if they would submit to discipline, as they are brave, hardy, easily satisfied, and very patient; though, on the other hand, they have imbibed some qualities, since their migration to these regions, which could only be eradicated in the rising generation: especially the inordinate use of opium, and smoking intoxicating herbs, in both which accomplishments 'the sons of Beeka' are said to bear the palm from the rest of the *Chatees rajpúla*, the thirty-six royal tribes of India. The *píalá*, or 'cup,' is a favourite with every Rajpoot who can afford it, and is, as well as opium, a panacea for *ennui*, arising from the absence of all mental stimulants, in which they are more deficient, from the nature of the country, than most of their warlike countrymen.

Face of the country.—The whole of this principality, with the exception of a few isolated spots, or oases, scattered here and there, consists more or less of sand. From the eastern to the western boundary, in the line of greatest breadth, it is one continuous plain of sand, though the *teebas*, or sandhills, commence in the centre of the country, the principal chain running in the direction of Jessulmér, and shooting forth subordinate branches in every direction; or it might be more correct to designate this

main ridge, originating in the tracts bordering the eastern valley of the Indus, as terminating its elevations about the heart of Bikanér. On the north-east quarter, from Rajgurh to Nohur and Raotsir, the soil is good, being black earth, slightly mixed with sand, and having water near enough to the surface for irrigation; it produces wheat, gram, and even rice, in considerable quantities. The same soil exists from Bhutnair to the banks of the Garah. The whole of the Mohilla tract is a fertile *oasis*, the *teebas* just terminating their extreme offsets on its northern limit: being flooded in the periodical rains, wheat is abundantly produced.

But exclusive of such spots, which are "few and far between," we cannot describe the desert as a waste where "no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens"; for though the poverty of the soil refuses to aid the germination of the more luxuriant grains, Providence has provided a countervailing good, in giving to those it can rear a richness and superiority unknown to more favoured regions. The *bajra* of the desert is far superior to any grown in the rich loam of Malwa, and its inhabitant retains an instinctive partiality, even when admitted to revel in the luxurious repasts of Méwar or Ambér, for the *bhawlis* or 'bajra cakes,' of his native sandhills, and not more from association than from their intrinsic excellence. In a plentiful season, they save enough for two years' consumption. The grain requires not much water, though it is of the last importance that this little should be timely.

Besides bajra, we may mention *mot'h* and *tíl*; the former a useful pulse both for men and cattle; the other the oil-plant, used both for culinary purposes and burning. Wheat, gram, and barley are produced in the favoured spots described, but in these are enumerated the staple products of Bikanér.

Cotton is grown in the tracts favourable for wheat. The plant is said to be septennial, even decennial, in these regions. As soon as the cotton is gathered, the shoots are all cut off, and the root alone left. Each succeeding year, the plant increases in strength, and at length attains a size unknown where it is more abundantly cultivated.

Nature has bountifully supplied many spontaneous vegetable products for the use of man, and excellent pasture for cattle. *Gowar*, *Katchri*, *Kukree*, all of the cucurbitaceous family, and water-melons of a gigantic size, are produced in great plenty. The latter is most valuable; for being cut in slices and dried in the sun, it is stored up for future use when vegetables are scarce, or in times of famine, on which they always calculate. It is also an article of commerce, and much admired even where vegetables are more abundant. The copious mucilage of the dried melon is extremely nourishing; and deeming it valuable as an antiscorbutic in sea voyages, the Author sent some of it to Calcutta many years ago for experiment.¹ Our Indian ships would find no difficulty in obtaining a plentiful supply of this article, as it can be cultivated to any extent, and thus be made to confer a double benefit on our seamen and the inhabitants of those desert regions. The superior magnitude of the water-melons of the desert over those of interior India gives rise to much exaggeration, and it has been gravely

¹ I sent specimens to Mr. Moorcroft so far back as 1813, but never learned the result.—See Article "On the Preservation of Food." *Edin. Review*, No. 45, p. 115.

asserted by travellers in the sand *teebas*,¹ where they are most abundant, that the mucilage of one is sufficient to allay the thirst both of a horse and his rider.

In these arid regions, where they depend entirely on the heavens for water, and where they calculate on a famine every seventh year, nothing that can administer to the wants of man is lost. The seeds of the wild grapes, as the *bhoorut*, *buroo*, *herraro*, *sewun*, are collected, and, mixed with *bajra*-flour, enter much into the food of the poorer classes. They also store up great quantities of the wild *bér*, *khyr*, and *kharíl* berries; and the long pods of the *kaijrá*, astringent and bitter as they are, are dried and formed into a flour. Nothing is lost in these regions which can be converted into food.

Trees they have none indigenous (mangoes and tamarind are planted about the capital), but abundant shrubs, as the *babool*, and ever-green *peeloo*, the *jhál*, and others yielding berries. The Beedawuts, indeed, apply the term 'tree,' to the *rocura*, which sometimes attains the height of twenty feet, and is transported to all parts for house-building; as likewise is the *ntma*, so well known throughout India. The *p'hok* is the most useful of all these, as with its twigs they frame a wicker-work to line their wells, and prevent the sand from falling in.

The *ák*, a species of euphorbia, known in Hindustan as the *madar*, grows to an immense height and strength in the desert; from its fibres they make the ropes in general use throughout these regions, and they are reckoned superior, both in substance and durability, to those formed of *moonj* (hemp), which is however cultivated in the lands of the Beedawuts.

Their agricultural implements are simple and suited to the soil. The plough is one of single yoke, either for the camel or ox: that with double yoke being seldom required, or chiefly by the *mallis* (gardeners), when the soil is of some consistence. The drill is invariably used, and the grains are dropped singly into the ground, at some distance from each other, and each sends forth a dozen to twenty stalks. A bundle of bushes forms their harrow. The grain is trodden out by oxen; and the *mol'h* (pulse), which is even more productive than the *bajra*, by camels.

Water.—This indispensable element is at an immense distance from the surface throughout the Indian desert, which, in this respect, as well as many others, differs very materially from that portion of the great African Desert in the same latitudes. Water at twenty feet, as found at Mourzook by Captain Lyon, is here unheard of, and the degree of cold experienced by him at Zuela, on the winter solstice, would have "burnt up" every natural and cultivated production of our Hindu Scharra. Captain Lyon describes the thermometer in lat. 26°, within 2° of zero of Reaumur. Majors Denham and Clapperton never mark it under 40° of Fahrenheit, and mention ice, which I never saw but once, the thermometer being 28°; and then not only the mouths of our *mushiks*, or 'water-skins,' were frozen, but a small pond, protected from the wind (I heard, for I saw it not), exhibited a very thin pellicle of ice. When at 30° the cold was deemed intense by the inhabitants of Maroo in the tracts limiting the desert, and the useful *ák*, and other shrubs, were scorched and withered; and in north lat. 25°, the thermometer being 28°, desolation and woe spread throughout

¹ Mr. Barrow, in his valuable work on Southern Africa, describes the water-melon as self-sown and abundant.

the land. To use their own phrase, the crops of gram and other pulses were completely "burnt up, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven"; while the sun's meridian heat would raise it 50° more, or up to 80°, a degree of variability at least not recorded by Captain Lyon.

At Daisnok'h, near the capital, the wells are more than two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet, in depth; and it is rare that water fit for man is found at a less distance from the surface than sixty, in the tracts decidedly termed *l'hul*, or 'desert': though some of the flats, or *oases*, such as that of Mohilla, are exceptions, and abundance of brackish water, fit for cattle, is found throughout at half this depth, or about thirty feet. All the wells are lined with basket-work made of *p'hok* twigs, and the water is generally drawn up by hand-lines.¹

Sirr, or 'salt lakes.'—There are a few salt lakes, which, throughout the whole of the Indian desert, are termed *sirr*, though none are of the same consequence as those of Marwar. The largest is at the town of *Sirr*, so named after the lake, which is about six miles in circumference. There is another at Chaupur about two miles in length, and although each of them frequently contains a depth of four feet of water, this entirely evaporates in the hot winds, leaving a thick sheet of saline incrustation. The salt of both is deemed of inferior quality to that of the more southerly lakes.

Physiognomy of the country.—There is little to vary the physiognomy of this region, and small occasion to boast either of its physical or moral beauties; yet, strange to say, I have met with many whose love of country was stronger than their perceptions of abstract veracity, who would dwell on its perfections, and prefer a mess of *rabri*, or porridge made of *bajra*, to the greater delicacies of more civilised regions. To such, the *teebas*, or 'sand-ridges,' might be more important than the Himalaya, and their diminutive and scanty brushwood might eclipse the gigantic foliage of this huge barrier. Verdure itself may be abhorrent to eyes accustomed to behold only arid sands; and a region without *tofáns* or 'whirlwinds'; or armies of locusts rustling like a tempest, and casting long shadows on the lands, might be deemed by the prejudiced, deficient in the true sublime. Occasionally the sandstone formation rises above the surface, resembling a few low isolated hills; and those who dwell on the boundaries of Nagore, if they have a love of more decided elevations than their native sand-hills afford, may indulge in a distant view of the terminations of the Aravalli.

Mineral productions.—The mineral productions of this country are scanty. They have excellent quarries of freestone in several parts, especially at Husairah, thirteen coss to the north-east of the capital, which yield a small revenue estimated at two thousand rupees annually. There are also copper mines at Beerumsir and Beedasir; but the former does not repay the expense of working, and the latter, having been worked for thirty years, is nearly exhausted.

An unctuous clay is excavated from a pit, near Kolat'h, in large

¹ Water is sold, in all the large towns, by the *mallis*, or 'gardeners,' who have the monopoly of this article. Most families have large cisterns or reservoirs, called *tankas*, which are filled in the rainy season. They are of masonry, with a small trap-door at the top, made to exclude the external air, and having a lock and key affixed. Some large *tankas* are established for the community, and I understand this water keeps sweet for eight and twelve months' consumption.

quantities, and exported as an article of commerce, besides adding fifteen hundred rupees annually to the treasury. It is used chiefly to free the skin and hair from impurities, and the Cutchie ladies are said to eat it to improve their complexions.

Animal productions.—The kine of the desert are highly esteemed ; as are the camels, especially those used for expedition and the saddle, which bear a high price,¹ and are considered superior to any in India. They are beautifully formed, and the head possesses much blood and symmetry. Sheep are reared in great abundance, and find no want of food in the excellent grasses and shrubs which abound. The *p'hok*, *jowas*, and other prickly shrubs, which are here indigenous, form the dainties of the camel in other regions. The Nilgaé, or elk, and deer of every kind, are plentiful ; and the fox of the desert is a beautiful little animal. Jackals and hyænas are not scarce, and even lions are by no means unknown in Bikanér.

Commerce and manufactures.—Rajgurh was the great commercial mart of this country, and the point of rendezvous for caravans from all parts. The produce of the Punjâb and Cashmere came formerly direct by Hansi-Hisar,—that of the eastern countries by Dehli, Rewarri, Dadri, etc., consisting of silks, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, etc. ; from Haroutí and Malwa came opium, which supplied all the Rajpoot states ; from Sindé, via Jessulmér, and by caravans from Mooltan and Shikarpoor, dates, wheat, rice, *loongees* (silk vestments for women), fruits, etc. ; from Palli, the imports from maritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, coco-nuts, elephants' teeth, etc. Much of this was for internal consumption, but the greater part a mere transit trade, which yielded considerable revenue.

Woollens.—The wool of the sheep pastured in the desert is, however, the staple commodity both of manufacture and trade in this region. It is worked into every article of dress, both male and female, and worn by all, rich and poor. It is produced from the loom, of every texture and quality, from the coarse *looic* or 'blanket,' at three rupees per pair (six shillings), to thirty rupees. The quality of these last is very fine, of an intermediate texture between the shawl and camlet, and without any nap ; it is always bordered with a stripe of chocolate brown or red. Of this quality are the *do-patis* or 'scarfs' for the ladies. Turbans are also manufactured of it, and though frequently from forty to sixty-one feet in length, such is the fineness of the web, that they are not bulky on the head.

From the milk of the sheep and goats as well as kine, *ghee* or 'clarified butter' is made, and forms an important article of trade.

Manufactures in iron.—The Bikanéris work well in iron, and have shops at the capital and all the large towns for the manufacture of sword blades, matchlocks, daggers, iron lances, etc. The sword-handles, which are often inlaid with variegated steel, or burnished, are in high request, and exported to various parts of India. They have also expert artists in ivory, though the articles are chiefly such as are worn by females, as *chooris*, or 'bracelets.'

Coarse cotton cloths, for internal consumption, are made in considerable quantities.

¹ One thousand rupees have been given for one ; one hundred is the average value.

Fairs.—Annual fairs were held, in the months of Kartik and Phalgun, at the towns of Kolat'h and Gujnair, and frequented by the merchants of the adjacent countries. They were celebrated for cattle, chiefly the produce of the desert, camels, kine, and horses from Mooltan and the Lakhi Jungle, a breed now almost extinct. These fairs have lost all their celebrity: in fact, commerce in these regions is extinct.

Government revenues.—The personal revenues of the Raja were derived from a variety of sources: from the *Khalisa*, or 'crown-lands' imposts, taxes on agriculture, and that compendious *item* which makes up the deficiencies in all oriental budgets, *dind*, or 'contribution.' But with all these "appliances and means to boot," the civil list of this desert king seldom exceeded five lakhs of rupees, or about £50,000 per annum. The lands of the feudality are more extensive proportionally in this region than in any other in Rajpootana, arising out of the original settlement, when the Beedawuts and Kandulotes, whose joint acquisitions exceeded those of Beeka, would not admit him to hold lands in their territory, and made but a slight pecuniary acknowledgment of his supremacy. The districts in which the crown-lands lie are Rajgurh, Rinnie, Nohur, Garib, Ruttengurh Ranniah, and more recently Choorú.

The following are the items of the revenue:—1, *Khalisa*, or fiscal revenue; 2, *Dhooáh*; 3, *Angah*; 4, Town and transit duties; 5, *Pusáeti*, or 'plough-tax'; 6, *Malbah*.

1. The *fisc*. Formerly this branch of revenue yielded two lakhs of rupees; but with progressive superstition and prodigality, the raja has alienated almost two-thirds of the villages from which the revenue was drawn. These amounted to two hundred; now they do not exceed eighty, and their revenue is not more than one lakh of rupees. Soorut Sing is guided only by caprice; his rewards are uniform, no matter what the service or the object, whether a Brahmin or a camel-driver. The *Khalisa* is the only source which he considers he has merely a life-interest in. To supply the deficiencies, he has direct recourse to the pockets of his subjects.

2. *Dhooáh* may be rendered hearth-tax, though literally it is a smoke (*dhooáh*) tax. All must eat; food must be dressed; and as they have neither chimneys nor glass windows on which to lay the tax, Soorut Sing's chancellor of the exchequer makes the smoke pay a transit duty ere it gets vent from the various orifices of the edifice. It only amounts to one rupee on each house or family, but would form an important item if not evaded by the powerful chiefs: still it yields a lakh of rupees. The town of Mahajin, which was settled on Ruttun Sing, son of Raja Noonkurn, on the resignation of his right of primogeniture and succession, enjoys exemption from this tax. It is less liable to fluctuation than other taxes, for if a village becomes half-deserted, those who remain are saddled with the whole. *Dhooáh* is only known to the two western states, Bikanér and Jessulmér.

3. *Angah*. This is not a capitation but a *body* tax (from *angah*, the body), and was established by Raja Anóp Sing. It might almost be termed a property-tax, since it embraced quadrupeds as well as bipeds of every sex and age, and was graduated according to age and sex in the human species, and according to utility in the brute. Each male adult

was assessed one *angah*, fixed at four anas (about sixpence), and cows, oxen, buffaloes, were placed upon a level with the lord of the creation. Ten goats or sheep were estimated as one *angah*; but a camel was equivalent to four *angahs*, or one rupee, which Raja Guj Sing doubled. This tax, which is by far the most certain in a country, perhaps still more pastoral than agricultural, is most providently watched, and though it has undergone many changes since it was originally imposed, it yet yields annually two lakhs of rupees.

4. *Sayer*, or 'imposts.' This branch is subject to much fluctuation, and has diminished greatly since the reign of Soorut Sing. The duties levied in the capital alone formerly exceeded what is collected throughout the whole of his dominions; being once estimated at above two lakhs, and now under one. Of this amount, half is collected at Rajgurh, the chief commercial mart of Bikanér. The dread of the *Rahits*, who have cut off the communications with the Punjâb, and the want of principle within, deter merchants from visiting this state, and the caravans from Mooltan, Bhawalpoor, and Shikarpoor, which passed through Bikanér to the eastern states, have nearly abandoned the route. The only duties of which he is certain are those on grain, of four rupees on every hundred maunds sold or exported, and which, according to the average sale price of these regions, may be about two per cent.

5. *Pusâeti* is a tax of five rupees on every plough used in agriculture. It was introduced by Raja Raé Sing, in commutation of the corn-tax, or levy in kind, which had long been established at one-fourth of the gross produce. The Jits were glad to compound, and get rid of the agents of corruption, by the substitution of the plough-tax. It formerly yielded two lakhs of rupees, but with decreasing agriculture has fallen, like every other source, to a little more than one-half, but still yields a lakh and a quarter.

6. *Malbah* is the name of the original tax which the Jit communities imposed upon themselves, when they submitted to the sway in perpetuity of Beeka and his successors. It is the land-tax¹ of two rupees on each hundred beegas of land cultivated in Bikanér. It is now unproductive, not realising fifty thousand rupees, and it is said that a composition has been effected, by which it has been, or will be, relinquished: if so, Soorut Sing gives up the sole legitimate source of revenue he possesses.

Recapitulation.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Khalisa, or fisc ² | Rs. 100,000 |
| 2. Dhooâh | 100,000 |
| 3. Angah | 200,000 |

¹ *Mal* is the term for land which has no irrigation but from the heavens.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| ² Nohur district | 84 villages | Revenue | Rs. 100,000 |
| Rinnie | 24 | " | 10,000 |
| Raniah | 44 | " | 20,000 |
| Jalloh | 1 | " | 5,000 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| Total original Fiscal Lands | 135,000 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|

since Rajgurh, Choorú, and other places recovered.

| | |
|--|------------|
| 4. Sayer, imposts ¹ | Rs. 75,000 |
| 5. Pusâetî, plough-tax | 125,000 |
| 6. Malbah, land-tax | 50,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 650,000 |
| | <hr/> |

Besides this, the fullest amount arising to the prince from annual taxation, there are other items which occasionally replenish the treasure of Soorut Sing.

Dhatoie is a triennial tax of five rupees levied on each plough. It was instituted by Raja Zoorawur Sing. The whole country is liable to it, with the exception of fifty villages in Asiagatî, and seventy of the Beniwâls, conditionally exempted, to guard the borders. It is now frequently evaded by the feudal chieftains, and seldom yields a lakh of rupees.

In addition to these specific expedients, there are many arbitrary methods of increasing the "ways and means" to satisfy the necessities or avarice of the present ruler, and a train of dependent harpies, who prey upon the cultivating peasantry, or industrious trader. By such shifts, Soorut Sing has been known to double his fixed revenue.

Dind, *Khooshâli*.—The terms *Dind* and *Khooshâli*, though etymologically the antipodes of each other,—the first meaning a 'compulsory contribution,' the other a 'benevolence, or voluntary,' ²—have a similar interpretation in these regions, and make the subjects of those parts devoutly pray that their prince's house may be one rather of mourning than rejoicing, and that defeat rather than victory may be attendant on his arms.

The term *dind* is coeval with Hindu legislation. The bard Chund describes it, and the chronicler of the life of the great Sidraj of Anhulwarra, "who expelled the seven *Diddas*," or 'great evils,' whose initial letter was *d*, enumerates *dind* as one of them, and places it with the *Dholis* and *Dhakuns*, or minstrels and witches, giving it precedence amongst the seven plagues which his ancestors and tyrant custom had inflicted on the subject. Unhappily, there is no Sidraj to legislate for Rajpootana; and were there fourteen *Diddas* by which Soorut Sing could swell his budget, he would retain them all for the oppression of the impoverished Jits, who, if they could, would be happy to expel the letter *S* from amongst them. But it is from the chieftain, the merchant, and the banker, that the chief sums are realised; though indirectly the poor peasant contributes his share. There are fourteen collectors of *dind*, ³ one to every *cheera* or division, and these are furnished with arbitrary schedules according to the circumstances,

¹ Impost Duties in old times, namely:—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Town of Noonkurn | Rs. 2,000 |
| Rajgurh | 10,000 |
| Shekhsir | 5,000 |
| Capital—Bikanér | 75,000 |
| From Choorû and other towns | 45,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 137,000 |
| | <hr/> |

² *Khoosh* means 'happiness, pleasure, volition': *âp cā khooshî*, 'at your pleasure.'

³ This was written in 1813.

actual or supposed, of each individual. So unlimited are these exactions, that the chief of Gundaili for two years offered the collector of his quarter ten thousand rupees if he would guarantee him against any further demand during even twelve months ; and being refused, he turned the collector out, shut the gates of his castle, and boldly bid his master defiance.

One of his expedients to levy a *khoosháli*, or 'benevolence,' is worth relating : it was on the termination of his expedition against Bhutnair, which added this celebrated desert and castle to his territory, and in which he was attended by the entire feudal army of Bikanér. On his return, "flushed with conquest," he demanded from each house throughout his dominions the sum of ten rupees to cover the expenses of the war. If the tyrant-ridden subjects of Soorut Sing thus *rejoice* in his successes, how must they feel for his defeats ! To them both are alike ominous, when every artifice is welcomed, every villany practised, to impoverish them. Oppression is at its height, and must work out its own cure.

Feudal levies.—The disposable force of all these feudal principalities must depend on the personal character of the Raja. If Soorut Sing were popular, and the national emergencies demanded the assemblage of the *khér*, or *levée en masse*, of the 'sons of Beeka,' he might bring ten thousand Rajpoots into the field, of whom twelve hundred might be good horse, besides the foreign troops and park ; but under present circumstances, and the rapid deterioration of every branch of society, it may be doubted whether one-half could be collected under his standard.

The household troops consist of a battalion of foreign infantry, of five hundred men with five guns, and three squadrons of horse, about two hundred and fifty in number ; all under foreign leaders. This is independent of the garrison of the capital, whose commandant is a Rajpoot of the Purihar tribe, who has twenty-five villages assigned for the payment of his troops.

Schedule exhibiting the Fiefs of Bikanér.

| Names of Chieftains. | Clans. | Places of Abode. | Revenue. | Retainers : | | Remarks. |
|----------------------|----------|------------------|----------|-------------|--------|---|
| | | | | Foot. | Horse. | |
| Beri Sal | Beeko | Mahajin | 40,000 | 5,000 | 100 | One hundred and forty villages, attached to this fief, settled on the heir of Raja Noonkurn, who consequently for feited the <i>gadl</i> . The first of the chiefs of Bikanér. |
| Abhé Sing | Benirote | Bookurko | 25,000 | 5,000 | 200 | |
| Angp Sing | Beeko | Jessanoh | 5,000 | 400 | 40 | |
| Paim Sing | Do. | Baie | 5,000 | 400 | 25 | |
| Chyn Sing | Benirote | Sawoh | 20,000 | 2,000 | 300 | |
| Himmut Sing | Raot | Raotsir | 20,000 | 2,000 | 300 | |
| Seo Sing | Benirote | Choorú | 25,000 | 2,000 | 200 | |
| Omed Sing | Beedawut | Bedasir | 50,000 | 10,000 | 2,000 | |
| Jaet Sing | | Saondwa | | | | |
| Buhader Sing | Narnote | Maynsir | 40,000 | 4,000 | 500 | |
| Sooraj Mull | | Teándesir | | | | |
| Gomaun Sing | Narnote | Kattur | 5,000 | 500 | 125 | |
| Attie Sing | | Kootchore | | | | |
| Shere Sing | Narnote | Neembaje | 20,000 | 5,000 | 400 | |
| Davee Sing | | Seedmook | | | | |
| Omeid Sing | | Kurripoora | | | | |
| Soortan Sing | | Ajeetpoora | | | | |
| Kurni Dan | | Beahsir | | | | |
| Carry forward . . . | | | 255,000 | 36,300 | 4,190 | |

| Names of Chieftains. | Clans. | Places of Abode. | Revenue. | Retainers : | | Remarks. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------|-------------|--------|---|
| | | | | Foot. | Horse. | |
| | Brought forward . . . | | 255,000 | 36,300 | 4,190 | |
| Soortan Sing | Cuchwaha | Nynawass | 4,000 | 150 | 30 | These two fiefs are held by foreign nobles of the house of Ambér, and the ancient Pramara, (<i>vulg.</i> Powâr). |
| Puddum Sing | Powâr | Jaetsisir | 5,000 | 200 | 100 | |
| Kishen Sing | Beeko | Hyadesir | 5,000 | 200 | 50 | |
| Rao Sing | Bhatti | Poogul ¹ | 6,000 | 1,500 | 40 | The fief of Poogul was wrested from the Bhattis of Jesulmér. |
| Sooltan Sing | Do. | Rajasir | 1,500 | 200 | 50 | |
| Lukteer Sing | Do. | Ranair | 2,000 | 400 | 75 | |
| Kurnie Sing | Do. | Sutasir | 1,100 | 200 | 9 | |
| Bhom Sing | Do. | Chuckurra | 1,500 | 60 | 4 | |
| Four Chieftains, ² viz. | | | | | | |
| 1. Bhonni Sing | Bhatti | Beethnok | 1,500 | 60 | 6 | |
| 2. Zalim Sing | Do. | Gurrialah | 1,100 | 40 | 4 | |
| 3. Sirdar Sing | Do. | Soorjerah | 800 | 30 | 2 | |
| 4. Kaet Sing | Do. | Rundisir | 600 | 32 | 2 | |
| Chund Sing | Kurrumsaut | Nokho | 11,000 | 1,500 | 500 | Twenty-seven villages dependent on this family from Jodpoor, and settled here eleven years. |
| Sutti Dan | Roopawut | Badilah | 5,000 | 200 | 25 | |
| Bhom Sing | Bhatti | Jangloo | 2,500 | 400 | 9 | |
| Kaitsi | Do. | Jaminsir | 15,000 | 500 | 150 | Twenty-seven villages. |
| Issreë Sing | Mundilah | Saroonda | 11,000 | 2,000 | 150 | |
| Puddum Sing | Bhatti | Koodsoo | 1,500 | 60 | 4 | |
| Kullian Sing | Do. | Naineah | 1,000 | 40 | 2 | |
| TOTAL . . . | | | 332,100 | 44,072 | 5,402 | |

If ever the whole feudal array of Bikanér amounted to this, it would assuredly be found difficult now, were the *ban* proclaimed, to assemble one-fourth of this number.

Foreign Troops.

| | Foot. | Horse. | Guns. |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Sooltan Khan . . . | — | 200 | — |
| Anokha Sing, Sikh . . . | — | 250 | — |
| Boodh Sing Dewarah . . . | — | 200 | — |
| Doorjun Sing's Battalion . . . | 700 | 4 | 4 |
| Gunga Sing's Battalion . . . | 1000 | 25 | 6 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Total Foreigners . . . | 1700 | 679 | 10 |
| Park . . . | — | — | 21 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| | 1700 | 679 | 31 |
| <hr/> | | | |

¹ Poogul Putta.

² These chiefs are called Sirdars of Khari Putta, one of the original conquests of the founder, Beeka.

CHAPTER III

Bhutnair, its origin and denomination—Historical celebrity of the Jits of Bhutnair—Emigration of Bérsl—Succeeded by Bhiroo—Embraces Islamism—Rao Duleech—Hosein Khan, Hosein Mahmood, Emám Mahmood, and Buhader Khan—Zabta Khan, the present ruler—Condition of the country—Changes in its physical aspect—Ruins of ancient buildings—Promising scene for archæological inquiries—Zoological and botanical curiosities—List of the ancient towns—Relics of the arrow-head character found in the desert.

BHUTNAIR, which now forms an integral part of Bikanér, was anciently the chief abode of another Jit community, so powerful as at one time to provoke the vengeance of kings, and at others to succour them when in distress. It is asserted that its name is in nowise connected with the Bhattis, who colonised it, but derived from the Bardai, or Bhat, of a powerful prince, to whom the lands were granted, and who, desirous to be the founder of a poetic dynasty, gave his professional title to the abode. In the annals of Jessulmér, it will be seen that there is another story accounting for the appellation, which recalls the founding of Carthage or Byrsa. Both legends are improbable ; and the Bhatti annals confirm what might have been assumed without suspicion, that to a colony of this race Bhutnair owes its name, though not its existence. The whole of the northern part is called Nair in the ancient geographical nomenclature of Maroost'-hali ; and when some of the Bhatti clans became proselytes to Islam, they changed the vowel *a* to *u*, to distinguish them from the parent stock, namely, Bhatti for Bhutti. We shall, however, furnish evidence by and by, in the annals of the original race, that in all probability the Yadu-Bhatti is the original Yuti colony from Central Asia ; and that "the Jit prince of Salpoor," whose inscription is in the first volume of this work, was the predecessor of these very races.

Neither the tract depending on Bhutnair, nor that north of it to the Garah river, presented formerly the scene of absolute desolation they now exhibit, and I shall append a list of towns, to which a high antiquity is assigned, whose vestiges still remain, and from which something might perhaps be gleaned to confirm or overturn these deductions.

Bhutnair has attained great historical celebrity from its position, being in the route of invasion from Central Asia to India. It is more than probable that the Jits, who resisted the advance of Mahmood of Ghizni in a naval warfare on the Indus, had long before that period established themselves in the desert as well as in the Punjáb ; and as we find them occupying a place amongst the thirty-six royal tribes, we may infer that they had political power many centuries before that conqueror. In A.D. 1205, only twelve years after the conquest of India by Shabudin, his successor, Kootub, was compelled to conduct the war in person against the Jits of the northern desert, to prevent their wresting the important post of Hansi from the empire ; and when the unfortunate and intrepid queen Rizzia, the worthy heiress of the great Feroz, was compelled to abandon her throne to a usurper, she sought and found protection amongst the Jits, who, with their Scythic brethren, the Ghikers, assembled all their forces and marched, with their queen at their head, like Tomyris of old, to meet her foes. She was not destined to enjoy the same revenge,

but gained a glorious death in the attempt to overturn the Salic law of India.¹ Again, in A.D. 1397, when Timoor invaded India, Bhutnair was attacked for "having distressed him exceedingly on his invasion of Mooltan," when he "in person scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits." In short, the Bhuttis and Jits were so intermingled that distinction was impossible. Leaving this point, therefore, to be adjusted in the annals of the Bhattis, we proceed to sketch the history of the colony which ruled Bhutnair when subjugated by the Rahtores.

It was shortly after Timoor's invasion, that a colony of Bhattis migrated from Marote and Phoolra, under their leader Bérśi, and assaulted and captured Bhutnair from a Mahomedan chief; but whether one of Timoor's officers, or a dependent of Dehli, remains unknown, though most probably the former. His name, Chigat Khan, almost renders this certain, and they must have made a proper name out of his tribe, Chagitai, of which he was a noble. This khan had conquered Bhutnair from the Jits, and had acquired a considerable territory, which the Bhatti colony took advantage of his return to invade and conquer. Sixteen generations have intervened since this event, which bringing it to the period of Timoor's invasion, furnishes an additional reason for concluding the khan of Bhutnair to have been one of his nobles, whom he may have left entrusted with this important point of communication, should he meditate further intercourse with India.

Bérśi ruled twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son Bhiroo, when the sons of Chigat Khan, obtaining aid from the Dehli monarch, invaded Bhutnair, and were twice repulsed with great loss. A third army succeeded; Bhutnair was invested and reduced to great straits, when Bhiroo hung out a flag of truce, and offered to accept any conditions which would not compromise his castle. Two were named: to embrace Islamism, or seal his sincerity by giving his daughter to the king. He accepted the first alternative, and from that day, in order to distinguish these proselytes, they changed the name of Bhatti to Bhutti. Six chiefs intervened between Bhiroo and

Rao Duleech, surnamed Hyât Khan, from whom Raé Sing of Bikanér wrested Bhutnair, and Futtehabad became the future residence of the Bhutti Khans. He was succeeded by

Hosein Khan (the grandson of Hyât), who recaptured Bhutnair from Raja Sujawun Sing, and it was maintained during the time of Hosein Mahmoud and Emám Mahmoud, until Soorut Sing made the final conquest of it from Buhader Khan, father to the present titular head of the Bhuttis,²

Zabta Khan, who resides at Raniah, having about twenty-five villages dependent thereon.³ Raniah was founded by Raé Sing of Bikanér, and named after his queen (*Rani*), to whom it was assigned. It was taken by Emám Mahmood. The Bhutti Khan is now a robber by profession, and his revenues, which are said to have sometimes amounted to three

¹ I presented to Mr. Marsden a unique coin of this ill-fated queen.

² In S. 1857 (A.D. 1801), the celebrated George Thomas, for the sum of three lakhs, put the Bhuttis into the temporary possession of Bhutnair: but the succeeding year it was again taken from them by the Rahtores.

³ This memoir was written in 1813-14, and may contain many inaccuracies, from its very remote situation, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information.

lakhs of rupees, are extorted by the point of his lance. These depredations are carried to a frightful extent, and the poor Jits are kept eternally on the alert to defend their property. The proximity of the British territory preventing all incursions to the eastward, they are thrown back upon their original haunts, and make the whole of this northern region their prey. To this circumstance is attributed the desertion of these lands, which once reared cattle in abundance, and were highly valued. It is asserted that from the northern boundary of Bhutnair to the Garah, there are many tracts susceptible of high cultivation, having water near the surface, and many large spaces entirely free from *t'hul*, or 'sandhills.' To the drying up of the Hakra, or Caggar, many centuries ago, in conjunction with moral evils, is ascribed the existing desolation. According to tradition, this stream took a westerly direction, by Phoolra, where it is yet to be traced, and fell into the Indus below Ootch. The couplet recording its absorption by the sands of *Nair*, has already been given, in the time of Rao Hamír, prince of Dhat. If the next European traveller who may pass through the Indian desert will seek out the representative of the ancient Soda princes at Chore, near Amerkote, he may learn from their bard (if they retain such an appendage) the date of this prince, and that of so important an event in the physical and political history of their regions. The vestiges of large towns, now buried in the sands, confirm the truth of this tradition, and several of them claim a high antiquity : such as the *Rung-mahel*, already mentioned, west of Bhutnair, having subterranean apartments still in good preservation. An aged native of Dhandoosir (twenty-five miles south of Bhutnair) replied, to my inquiry as to the recollections attached to this place, that "it belonged to a Powár prince who ruled once all these regions, when Sekunder Roomi attacked them."

An excursion from Hansi Hissar, our western frontier, into these regions, would soon put the truth of such traditions to the test, as far as these reported ruins are concerned ; though what might appear the remains of palaces of the Pramaras, the Johyas, and the Jits of ancient days, to the humble occupant of a hut in the desert, may only prove the foundations of some castellated building. But the same traditions are circulated with regard to the more western desert, where the same kind of vestiges is said to exist, and the annals make mention of capitals, the sites of which are now utterly unknown. Considering the safety, and comparative ease, with which such a journey can be made, one cannot imagine a more agreeable pursuit than the prosecution of archæological inquiries in the northern deserts of Rajpootana, where traditions abound, and where the existing manners, amongst such a diversity of tribes, would furnish ample materials for the portfolio, as well as for memoirs. Its productions, spontaneous or cultivated, though its botanical as well as zoological specimens may be limited, we know to be essentially different from those of Gangetic India, and more likely to find a parallel in the natural productions and phenomena of the great African desert. The Bhuttis, the Khosas, the Rajurs, the Sahrâés, the Mangulias, the Sodas, and various other nomadic tribes, present a wide field for observation ; and the physiologist, when tired of the habits of man, may descend from the nobler animal to the lion, the wild ass, every kind of deer, the flocks of sheep which, fed on the succulent grasses, touch not water for six weeks

together, while the various herbs, esculent plants and shrubs, salt lakes, natron beds, etc., would give abundant scope for commentary and useful comparison. He will discover no luxuries, and few signs of civilisation ; the *jhopra* (hut) constructed of poles and twigs, coated inside with mud and covered with grass, being little better than the African's dwelling.

We shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Bikanér and the desert with the names of several of their ancient towns, which may aid the search of the traveller in the regions on its northern border :—Abhore ; Bunjarra ca Nuggur ; Rung-Mahel ; Sodul, or Sorutgurh ; Machotal ; Raati-bung ; Kali-bung ; Kaliansir ; Phoolra ; Marote ; Tilwarra ; Gilwarra ; Bunni ; Manick-Khur ; Soor-sagur ; Bhamèni ; Koriwalla ; Kul-Dhéraní.

Some names in this list may be unimportant, but if two, or even one, should be the means of eliciting some knowledge of the past, the record will not be useless.

Phoolra and Marote have still some importance : the first is very ancient, and enumerated amongst the '*No-kotí Maroo-ca*,' in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg. *Powâr*) dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental *nail-headed* character belonging to the Jains will be found here, having obtained one from *Lodorva* in the desert, which has been a ruin for nine centuries. Phoolra was the residence of Lakha *Phoolani*, a name well known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was cotemporary with Sid Raé of Anhulwarra, and Udyadit of Dhar.

ANNALS OF JESSULMÉR

CHAPTER I

Jessulmér—The derivation of its name—The Rajpoots of Jessulmér called Bhattis, are of the Yadu race—Descended from Bharat, king of Bharat-versha, or Indo-Scythia—Restricted bounds of India of modern invention—The ancient Hindus a naval people—First seats of the Yadus in India, Praga, Mat'hura, and Dwarica—Their international wars—Heri, king of Mat'hura and Dwarica, leader of the Yadus—Dispersion of his family—His great-grandsons Nába and Khíra—Nába driven from Dwarica, becomes prince of Maroost'hali, conjectured to be the Maru, or Merve of Iran—Jharéja and Jud-bhân, the sons of Khíra—The former founds the Sind-samma dynasty, and Jud-bhân becomes prince of Behera in the Punjáb—Prithibáhu succeeds to Nába in Mároo—His son Báhu—His posterity—Raja Guj founds Gujni—Attacked by the kings of Syria and Khorasan, who are repulsed—Raja Guj attacks Cashmere—His marriage—Second invasion from Khorasan—The Syrian king conjectured to be Antiochus—Oracle predicts the loss of Gujni—Guj slain—Gujni taken—Prince Salbahan arrives in the Punjáb—Founds the city of Salbahana, S. 72—Conquers the Punjáb—Marries the daughter of Jeipal Tuar of Dehli—Reconquers Gujni—Is succeeded by Balund—His numerous offspring—Their conquests—Conjecture regarding the Jadoon tribe of Eusofzye, that the Afghans are *Yádús*, not *Yahúdis*, or Jews—Balund resides at Salbahana—Assigns Gujni to his grandson Chakito, who becomes a convert to Islám and king of Khorasan—The Chakito Moghuls descended from him—Balund dies—His son Bhatti succeeds—Changes the patronymic of Yádú, or Jadoo, to Bhatti—Succeeded by Mungul Rao—His brother Musoor Rao and sons cross the Garah and take possession of the Lakhi jungle—Degradation of the sons of Mungul Rao—They lose their rank as Rajpoots—Their offspring styled Abhorias and Juts—Tribe of Ták—The capital of Taxiles discovered—Mungul Rao arrives in the Indian desert—Its tribes—His son, Majum Rao, marries a princess of Amerkote—His son Kehur—Alliance with the Deora of Jhalore—The foundation of Tunnote laid—Kehur succeeds—Tunnote attacked by the Baraha tribe—Tunnote completed, S. 787—Peace with the Barahas—Reflections.

JESSULMÉR is the modern name of a tract of country comprehended, according to ancient geography, in *Maroost'hali*, the desert of India. It is termed *Mér* in the traditional nomenclature of this region, from being a rocky (*mér*) oasis in the heart of the sandy desert, interesting both from its physical features and its position as the *ultima Thule* of independent Hinduism. Yet, however entitled to regard from its local peculiarities or its products, the history of the tribe which inhabits it presents a still more engrossing subject for investigation.

This tribe is the Bhatti, a branch of the Yadu or Jadoo race, whose power was paramount in India three thousand years ago; and the prince now governing this distant corner of India, claims descent from those Yadu kings who ruled from the Yamuna to the 'world's end,'¹ at that remote period.

¹ *Juggul Coont*, the point of land beyond Dwarica, the last stronghold of the Yadus when their power was extinguished.

It were preposterous to expect to find, in the annals of a people so subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, an unbroken series of historical evidence in support of this ancestry ; but they have preserved links of the chain which indicate original affinities. In tracing the Yadu-Bhatti history, two hypotheses alternately present themselves to our minds, each of which rests upon plausible grounds ; the one supposing the Bhattis to be of Scythic, the other of Hindu origin. This incongruity may be reconciled by presuming the co-mixture of the two primitive races ; by enlarging our views, and contemplating the barrier, which in remote ages separated Scythia and India, as ideal ; and admitting that the various communities, from the Caspian to the Ganges, were members of one grand family, having a common language and common faith,¹ in that ancient central empire whose existence has been contended for and denied by the first names in science ;² the Bharatversha of the Hindús, the Indo-Scythic empire of king Bharat, son of Búdha, the ancestor of the Yadú-Bhattis, now confined to a nook of the desert.

It would be vain to speculate upon the first colonisation of India proper by the *Rajcúla*, or 'royal tribes.' It appears to have possessed an indigenous population prior to the races of Surya, or Indu, though the genealogies which give the origin of these degraded races of Cabas,³ Bhils, Méras, Goands, etc., assert that they were all from the same stem, and that their political debasement was the effect of moral causes. But as there is no proof of this, we must attribute the fable to the desire of the Brahmin archæologist to account for the origin of all things. Modern inquiries into these matters have been cramped by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people, and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Mooslem conquests, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoc, and still more from "going down to the sea in ships," had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent

¹ Menu says : " The following races of *Cshatriyas*, by their omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the fourth class (i.e. *Sudra*) ; *Paundracas*, *Ódras*, and *Draviras* ; *Cámbójas*, *Yavanas*, and *Sacas* ; *Páradas*, *Pahlavas*, *Chínas*, *Círdtas*, *Devadas*, and *C'hasas*.—Art. 43 and 44, chap. x. p. 346.

It is a great mistake to suppose the Bactrian Greeks are these *Yavanas*, who are descended from Yavan, fifth son of Yayat, third son of the patriarchal Nahus, though the Ionians may be of this race. The *Sacas* are the *Sacæ*, the races of Central Asia (the Sac'ha Rajpoot) ; the *Pahlavas*, the ancient Persians, or Guebres ; the *Chinas*, the inhabitants of China ; and the *C'hasas*, inhabitants of the great snowy mountains (*kho*), whence *Kho-chasa* (the *Casia montes* of Ptolemy), corrupted to *Caucasus*.

² The illustrious Cuvier questions the existence of an ancient central kingdom, because " ni Moïse, ni Homère, ne nous parlait d'un grand empire dans la Haute-Asie." (*Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe*, p. 206.) Who, then, were " the sons of Togarmah " (mentioned by Ezekiel) who conquered and long held Egypt ?

³ The Caba race is almost extinct ; it was famed, even in the days of Crishna, as the savage inhabitants of Saurashtra. When the forester Bhíl, who mortally wounded Crishna, was expressing his contrition for the unintentional act, he was forgiven, with the remark, that it was only retributive justice, as " in a former birth," as the godlike Rama, Crishna had slain him. Thus Rama appears as the subjugator and civiliser of these indigenous tribes, of whom the Cabas are described as plundering Crishna's family after his decease.

that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin, and on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which communication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa,¹ Arabia, and Persia, as well as the Australian Archipelago.² It is ridiculous, with all the knowledge now in our possession, to suppose that the Hindus always confined themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India. The cosmography of the *Poorans*, imperfect and puerile as it is, and some of the texts of Menu, afford abundant evidence of an intimate intercourse between the countries from the Oxus to the Ganges; and even in their allegories, we trace fresh streams of knowledge flowing into India from that central region, stigmatised in latter days as the land of the Barbarian (*Mletcha*). Menu corroborates the *Poorans*, from which we infer the fact, that in distant ages one uniform faith extended from *Sácádwípa*, the contingent of the Sacæ, to the Ganges.³ These

¹ Whence the Hindu names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tambacondá and other *condas*, already mentioned?

² Mr. Marsden, at an early period of his researches into Hindu literature, shares the merit of discovering with Sir W. Jones, that the Malayan language, disseminated throughout the Archipelago, and extending from Madagascar to Easter Island, a space of 200 degs. of longitude, is indebted to the Sanscrit for a considerable number of its terms, and that the intercourse which effected this was many centuries previous to their conversion to the Mahomedan religion. He is inclined to think that the point of communication was from Guzerat. The legends of these islanders also abound with allusions to the *Mádhbhárat* and *Ramáyuna*. (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 226, second edition.)

Since Mr. M. wrote, the revelation of the architectural antiquities in these isles, consequent to British conquests, establishes the fact that they were colonised by the Suryas, whose mythological and heroic history is sculptured in their edifices and maintained in their writings. Nor should we despair that similar discoveries may yet disclose the link which of yore connected India with Egypt, and to which Ceylon was but the first stepping-stone. That Rama possessed great naval means is beyond doubt, inherited from his ancestor Sagara 'the sea-king,' twenty generations before the hero of Lanka, which place I have long imagined to be Ethiopia; whence ancient writers assert Egypt to have had, her institutions, and that the Ethiopians were of Indian origin. Cuvier, quoting Syncellus, even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonisation of Ethiopia from India.—P. 180 of his '*Discours*,' etc.

³ The cosmography of the *Agni Pooran* divides the world then known to the Hindus into seven *dwipas*, or continents: one of these is "*Sácá-dwípa*, whose inhabitants, descended from Bup'ha, are termed *Saceswara* (i.e. *Sacæ-lords*)."
His (Bup'ha's) offspring or descendants were Julud, Sookmar, Manichuk, Koorum, Ooturés, Darbeeka, Drooma, each of whom gave his name to a *khand*, or division (*qu.* Sookmarkhand?). The chief ranges of mountains were Juldus, Raivat, Siamah, Induc, Amki, Rim, and Kesarí. "There were seven grand rivers, namely, Mug, Mugud, Arverna, etc. The inhabitants worship the sun."

Slight as this information is, we must believe that this *Sácádwípa* or *Sacatai*, is the Scythia of the Ancients; and the *Sácéswara* (the *Sacas* of Menu), the *Sacæ* so well known to western history, the progenitors of the Parthians, whose first (*ad*) king was *Arsaca*. The sun-worship indicates the adorer of Mithras, the Mitra of *Súrya* of the Hindu; the Arverna recalls the *Araxes* applied to the Jaxartes; while Julud, the proper name of the son of the first king of *Sácádwípa*, appears to be the Juldus of the Tatar historian Abulgazi, who uses the same term as does the Hindu, to designate a range of mountains. Whence this identity between Pooranic and Tatar cosmography?

"A chief of the twice-born tribe (i.e. Brahmins) was brought by Vishnu's eagle from *Sácádwípa*, and thus have *Sácádwípa* Brahmins become known in *Jambudwípa*" (India). Mr. Colebrooke on Indian Classes, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 53. And Menu says that it was only on their ceasing to sanction Brahmins residing amongst them, that the inhabitants of these remote western regions

observations it is necessary to premise before we attempt, by following the tide of Yadu migration during the lapse of thirty centuries, to trace them from Indraprest'ha, Surapura, Mat'hurá, Praga, Dwarica, Judoo-cadáng (the mountains of Jûd), Behera, Gujni in Zabulistan; and again reflux into India, at Salbahana or Sálpoora in the Punjáb, Tunnote, Derawul, Lodorva in the desert, and finally Jessulmér, founded in S. 1212, or A.D. 1156.

Having elsewhere descanted at length on the early history of the Yadus,¹ we may refer those who are likely to take an interest in this discussion to that paper, and proceed at once to glean what we can from the native annals before us, from the death of their leader, Heri-Crishna, to the dispersion of the Yadus from India. The bare fact of their migration altogether out of India proper proves that the original intercourse, which conducted Búdha, the patriarch of the Yadu race, into India² (where he espoused Ella, a princess of the Surya race, and by whom his issue was multiplied), was not forgotten, though fifty generations had elapsed from the patriarchal Búdha to Heri—to whom and the chronicle we return.

"Praga³ is the cradle of the Yadus who are *Somavansa* (of the lunar race). Thence Mat'hura founded by Prúrúrwa remained for ages the seat of power. The name of Jadoo (Yadu), of whom there were fifty-six tribes,⁴ became famous in the world, and of this race was the mighty Heri-Crishna, who founded Dwarica."

The grand international conflicts amongst the "fifty-six Yadu tribes," at Cúrúkhéta, and subsequently at Dwarica, are sufficiently known to the reader of Hindu history, and may be referred to elsewhere.⁵ These events are computed to have happened about 1100 years before Christ. On the dispersion of these races many abandoned India, and amongst these, two of the many sons of Crishna. This deified leader of the Yadus had eight wives, and the offspring of the first and seventh, by a singular fate, now occupy what may be termed the outposts of Hinduism.⁶

became '*Alletcha*,' or barbarians: testimonies which must be held conclusive of perfect intercourse and reciprocity of sentiment between the nations of Central Asia and India at periods the most remote.

¹ Vide "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.

² The *Bhagvat* says: "*Budha* (a wise man—a patriarch) came to Bharatkhand to perform penitential rites, and espoused Ella, by whom he had Prúrúrwa (founder of Mat'hura), who had six sons, namely, Ayú, etc., who carried on the lunar (Indu) races in India." Now this Ayú is likewise the patriarch of the Tatars, and in that language signifies the moon, a male divinity both with Tatars and Rajpoots. Throughout there are traces of an original identity, which justifies the application of the term Indo-Scythic to the Yadu race.—*Vide* Genealogical table, vol. i.

³ *Praga* is the modern Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the capital of the Prasii of Megasthenes.

⁴ This is alternately called *Chapun Cûla* and *Chapun Crore*, "fifty-six tribes," and "fifty-six millions," of Yadus. As they were long supreme over India, this number is not inadmissible.

⁵ *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. *Vide* paper entitled, "Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules."

⁶ Jâmbuvati was the name of the seventh wife, whose eldest son was called Sâmba; he obtained possession of the tracts on both sides the Indus, and founded the *Sind-Samma* dynasty, from which the *Jharâjas* are descended. There is every probability that Sambus, of Samba nagari (*Mâmagara*), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Samba, son of Crishna. The *Jharêja* chronicles,

Rookmaní was the senior of these wives ; and the eldest of her sons was Pridéma, who was married to a princess of Bidúrba ; she bore him two sons, Anurad and Bujra, and from the latter the Bhattis claim descent. Bujra had two sons, Nába and Khíra.

"When the Jadoos were exterminated in the conflict at Dwarica, and Heri had gone to heaven, Bujra was on his way from Mat'hura to see his father, but had only marched twenty coss (forty miles), when he received intelligence of that event, which had swept away his kindred. He died upon the spot, when Nába was elected king and returned to Mat'hura, but Khíra pursued his journey to Dwarica.

"The thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots hitherto oppressed by the Yadus, who had long held universal dominion, now determined to be revenged. Nába was compelled to fly the holy city [Dwarica] ; he became prince of Marust'hali in the west.

"Thus far from the *Bhagvat* (says the Bhatti chronicler), and I continue the history of the Bhattis, by the Brahmin Sookhd'herma of Mat'hura.

"Nába had issue Prithibáhu.

"Khíra had two sons, Jharéja and Jud-bhân.¹

"Jud-bhân was on a pilgrimage ; the goddess heard his vows ; she awoke him from his sleep, and promised whatever he desired. 'Give me land that I may inhabit,' said the youth ; 'Rule in these hills,' replied the goddess, and disappeared. When Jud-bhân awoke, and was yet pondering on the vision of the night, a confused noise assailed him ; and looking out, he discovered that the prince of the country had just died without issue, and they were disputing who should succeed him. The prime minister said, 'he dreamed that a descendant of Crishna had arrived at *Behera*,'² and proposed to seek him out and invest him as their

in ignorance of the origin of this titular appellation, say that their "ancestors came from Sham, or Syria."

¹ Jid, Júd, Jadoo, are the various modes of pronouncing Yadu in the *Bhakha*, or spoken dialects of the west. *Jud-bhân*, 'the rocket of the Yadus,' would imply the knowledge of gunpowder at a very remote period.

² The precise knowledge of the topography of these regions, displayed in the Bhatti annals, is the most satisfactory proof of their authenticity. In the present day, it would be in vain to ask any native of Jessulmér the position of the "hill of Jud," or the site of Behera ; and but for the valuable translation of Baber's *Memoirs*, by Mr. Erskine, we should have been unable to adduce the following testimony. Baber crossed the Indus the 17th February 1519, and on the 19th, between that river and one of its great towns, the Behat, he reached the very tract where the descendant of Crishna established himself twenty-five centuries before. Baber says, "Seven kos from Behreh to the north there is a hill. This hill in the Zefer Nameh (*History of Timoor*), and other books, is called the Hill of Júd. At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jud, the other Jenjúhéh. From old times they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the *Ils* and *Uliúses* (political divisions) between Niláb and Behreh. Their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The Júd is divided into various branches or families, as well as the Jenjúhéh. The chief man amongst them gets the name of Raé."—*Erskine's Baber*, p. 254.

Here is a decided confirmation that this Hindu colony preserved all their original manners and customs even to Baber's day. The tribe of Jenjúhéhs, beyond a doubt, is the tribe of Johya, so celebrated in the region skirting the Sutlej, and which will be noticed hereafter. I presented a small work entirely

prince. All assented, and Jud-bhân was elected king. He became a great prince, had a numerous progeny, and the place of their abode was henceforth styled *Judoo-ca-dang*, 'the mountains of Judoo.'

"*Prithi-bâhu* ('the arm of the earth'), son of Nâba, prince of Marust-hali, inherited the insignia of Sri-Crishna with the regal umbrella (*ch'hetri*) made by Viswacarma. He had a son *Bahûbal* ('strong arm'), who espoused Camlavatî, daughter of Vijya Sing, prince of Malwa, who gave in dower (*dacjâ*)¹ one thousand horses of Khorasan, one hundred elephants, pearls, gems, and gold innumerable, and five hundred handmaids, with chariots and bedsteads of gold. The Pûar (Pramar) Camlavatî became the chief queen and bore her lord one son,

"*Bâhu*, killed by a fall from his horse; he left one son,

"*Soobâhu*, who was poisoned by his wife, a daughter of Mund Raja Chohan of Ajmér: he left a son,

"*Rijh*, who reigned twelve years. He was married to *Soobh'ag Soondri*, daughter of Ber Sing, prince of Malwa. Having, when pregnant, dreamed that she was delivered of a white elephant, the astrologers, who interpreted this as an indication of greatness, desired he might be named *Guj*:² as he approached manhood, the coco-nut came from Jud-bhân, prince of *Poorubdês* (the eastern), and was accepted. At the same time tidings arrived that from the shores of the ocean, the barbarians (*Mletcha*), who had formerly attacked *Soobâhu*,³ were again advancing, having Ferid

relating to their history, to the Royal Asiatic Society. As Baber says they are of the same family as the Jûds, they are probably the descendants of Jinj, the brother of Bhatti, who changed the family patronymic from Jadoo-or Judoo to Bhatti; and thus it appears, that when the elder branch was driven from Gujni, they retreated amongst their relations of the hills of Jûd. Baber was quite enamoured with the beauty of the hill of Jûd, which, with its lake and valleys, he describes as a miniature Cashmere.—P. 255.

¹ The Pramars were formerly the most powerful potentates of Central India. Handmaids, and bedsteads of gold, were always a part of the *dacjâ* or dower of Hindu princesses.

² Abulfazil mentions Joga as prince of Gasmien and Cashmere, who was slain by Oguz Khan, the Patriarch of the Tatar tribes.

³ In this early portion of the annals there is a singular mixture of historical facts, and it appears that the Yadu scribes confound their connections with the Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, and with the first Mooslem conquerors. Imperfect as is this notice of *Soobâhu*, his son *Rijh*, and grandson *Guj*, who were thus assailed by Ferid of Khorasan (Bactria), and his auxiliary, the king of Room (Syria), we have a powerful allusion to Antiochus the Great, who, two hundred and four years before Christ, invaded Bactria and India. Amongst the few facts left of this expedition is his treaty with Sophagasenus, the Indian monarch, in which the Syrian king stipulated for a tribute in elephants. There are, even in this medley of incidents, grounds for imagining that Sophagasenus is the Yadu prince of Gujni. Whether, out of *Soobâhu* and *Guj*, the Greeks manufactured their Sophagasenus, or whether prince *Guj* could have been entitled *Soobag'h-sén*, in compliment to his mother, *Soobag'h-Soondri*, of Malwa, must be left for the speculative to decide. It is not unlikely that the nature of the tribute, said to have been elephants, which the Indian agreed to furnish to the Greek prince, may have originated with the name of *Guj*, which means 'elephant.'

There is at the same time much that refers to the early progress of Islâm in these regions of Central Asia. Price, in his excellent history, extracting from the *Kholausut-ul-Akbar*, says, "Hejaugé was entrusted with the government of Khorasan, and Obaidoolah with Seistan, who had orders from Hejaugé, his superior, to invade Caubul, whose prince was Reteil or Retpeil, whom the Author supposes either a Tatar or Hindoo prince. Artfully retiring, he drew the Mohamedan army into the defiles, and blocking up the rear, cut off their retreat.

Shah of Khorasan at the head of four lakhs of horse, from whom the people fled in dismay. The Raja sent scouts to obtain accurate intelligence, and marched to Harreu to meet him ; while the foe encamped two coss from Koonjsheher.¹ A battle ensued, in which the invader was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and four thousand on the part of the Hindús. But the foeman rallied, and Raja Ríjh, who again encountered him, was wounded and died just as prince Guj returned with Hansavati, his bride, daughter of Jud-bhán of the east. In two battles the king of Khorasan was vanquished, when he obtained an auxiliary in the king of Room (*Romi-pati*), to establish the Korán and the law of the prophet in infidel lands. While the armies of the Asúras were thus preparing their strength, Raja Guj called a council of ministers. There being no stronghold of importance, and it being impossible to stand against numbers, it was determined to erect a fortress amidst the mountains of the north. Having summoned his friends to his aid, he sought council of the guardian goddess of his race ; who foretold that the power of the Hindús was to cease, but commanded him to erect a fort and call it *Gujni*. While it was approaching completion, news came that the kings of Room and Khorasan were near at hand :

Roomi-pat, Khorásán-pat, háê, gâi, pak'hur, pái,
Chinta terd, chí'h legi ; soono Jud-pat Raé.²

“ The stick wounded the drum of the Jadoo prince ; the army was formed,

and Obaidoolah was compelled to purchase his liberation by the payment of seven hundred thousand dirhems.”

This was the seventy-eighth year of the Hegira, or A.D. 697. Conjoined to what follows, it appears to have reference to Ríjh, father of Guj. Again,

“ Obaidoolah and Abdoorehman invaded Seistan with forty thousand men. The prince of Caubul tried the same manœuvre, but was outwitted by the Mohamedan, who conquered a great part of Caubul and acquired great booty, with which he returned to Seistan, to the great displeasure of Hejaugé ; and Abdoorehman entered into a confederacy with Retpeil to attack Hejaugé, and absolve Caubul from tribute. Moghairah was the successor of Abdoorehman in Khorasan, while his father, Mohilel, was employed beyond the Jehoon, but died at Meru of a burning diarrhoea, bequeathing his government to Yezdid.”

This account of Moghairah's (the governor of Khorasan) death, while carrying on war against the Hindu Retpeil of Caubul, has much analogy to the sudden death of *Mamraiz*, the foe of Ríjh of Zabulistan. One thing is now proved, that princes of the Hindu faith ruled over all these regions in the first ages of Islamism, and made frequent attempts, for centuries after, to reconquer them. Of this fact, Baber gives us a most striking instance in his description of Gunji, or, as he writes, *Ghazni*. He says, “ I have seen, in another history, that when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegin in Ghazni, Subaktegin ordered dead flesh and other impurities to be thrown into the fountain, when there instantly arose a tempest and hurricane, with rain and snow, and by this device he drove away the enemy.” Baber adds, “ I made then inquiry in Ghazni for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information regarding it,” p. 150. Doubtless, when Baber conquered India, and became better acquainted with the Hindu warriors, he would have got to the bottom of this anecdote, and have seen that the success of the *ruse* of Subaktegin arose out of the religion of his foes, who could not use water thus contaminated by the flesh of the sacred kine. The celebrated Balabhi was reduced by the same stratagem.

¹ Neither of these towns appears in any map. “ There is a Koonj Reshak in Khorasan, and a Penjher in Balk.” Sir W. Ouseley's *Ebn Haukal*, p. 213-223.

² “ The king of Room and the king of Khorasan, with horse (*háê*), elephants (*gâi* or *guy*), caparisons (*pák'hur*), and foot-soldiers (*pái* or *páêk*) [are at hand]. Beware, let it enter your mind, O Raé, Lord of the Judoos ! ”

gifts were distributed, and the astrologers were commanded to assign such a moment for marching as might secure the victory.

"Thursday (*Vrishpatwar*) the 13th of Mah, the enlightened half of the moon, when one ghurri of the day had fled, was the auspicious hour ; and the drum of departure sounded. That day he marched eight coss, and encamped at Doolapoor. The combined kings advanced, but in the night the Shah of Khorasan died of indigestion. When it was reported to the king of Room (Shah Secunder Roomi) that Shah Mamraiz was dead, he became alarmed and said, ' while we mortals have grand schemes in hand, He above has other views for us.' Still his army advanced like waves of the ocean ; caparisons and chains clank on the backs of elephants, while instruments of war resound through the host. Elephants move like walking mountains ; the sky is black with clouds of dust ; bright helms reflect the rays of the sun. Four coss (eight miles) separated the hostile armies. Raja Guj and his chieftains performed their ablutions, and keeping the *Joginis*¹ in their rear, advanced to the combat. Each host rushed on like famished tigers ; the earth trembled ; the heavens were overcast ; nor was aught visible in the gloom but the radiant helm. War-bells resound ; horses neigh ; masses of men advance on each other, like the dark rolling clouds of Bhadoon. Hissing speeds the feathered dart ; the lion roar of the warriors is re-echoed ; the edge of the sword deluges the ground with blood ; on both sides the blows resound on the crackling bones. Here was Jud-Raé, there the Khans and Ameers, as if Time had encountered his fellow. Mighty warriors strew the earth ; heroes fall in the cause of their lords. The army of the Shah fled ; he left twenty-five thousand souls entangled in the net of destruction ; he abandoned elephants and horses, and even his throne. Seven thousand Hindus lay dead on the field. The drum of victory resounded, and the Jadoon returned triumphant to his capital.

" On Sunday, the 3rd of Bysák, the spring season (*Vasant*), the Rohini Nikhitra, and Samvat Dherma-raja (*Yudishtra*) 3008,² seated on the throne of Gujni, he maintained the Jadoon race. With this victory his power became firm : he conquered all the countries to the west, and sent an ambassador to Cashmere to call its prince Kandrupkél³ to his presence. But the prince refused the summons : he said the world would scoff at him if he attended the stirrup of another without being first worsted in fight. Raja Guj invaded Cashmere ; and married the daughter of its prince, by whom he had a son, called Salbahan.

" When this child had attained the age of twelve, tidings of another invasion came from Khorasan. Raja Guj shut himself up for three entire days in the temple of Cúládéví :⁴ on the fourth day the goddess appeared and revealed to him his destiny ; the Gujni would pass from his hands, but that his posterity would reinherit it, not as Hindus but as Mooslems ; and directed him to send his son Salbahan amongst the Hindus of the east, there to erect a city to be named after him. She said that he would have

¹ The unclean spirits of Rajpoot martial mythology, who feed on the slain.

² This date is circumstantial, and might be fixed or disproved by calculation ; if the heterogeneous mixture of such widely separated incidents as those in Syro-Macedonian and Mahomedan history did not deter us from the attempt.

³ No such name appears in Wilson's *Raj Taringini*.

⁴ Tutelary goddess, or " of the race (*cûla*)."

fifteen sons, whose issue would multiply ; ' that he (Raja Guj) would fall in the defence of Gujni, but would gain a glorious reward hereafter.'

" Having heard his fate revealed Raja Guj convened his family and kin, and on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jowala-mookhí,¹ he caused them to depart, with the prince Salbahan, for the east.

" Soon after the foe approached within five coss of Gijni. Leaving therein his uncle Seydeo for its defence, Raja Guj marched to meet him. The king of Khorasan divided his army into five divisions ; the Raja formed his into three : a desperate conflict ensued, in which both the king and the Raja were slain. The battle lasted five *puhars*,² and a hundred thousand Meers and thirty thousand Hindus strewed the field. The king's son invested Gujni ; for thirty days it was defended by Seydeo, when he performed the *Saka*,³ and nine thousand valiant men gave up their lives.

" When tidings of this fatal event were conveyed to Salbahan, for twelve days the ground became his bed.⁴ He at length reached the Punjáb, where he fixed on a spot with abundance of water, and having collected his clansmen around him, he laid the foundation of a city which he named after himself, Salbahanpoor. The surrounding Bhomias attended, and acknowledged his supremacy. Seventy-two years of the era of Vicrama had elapsed when Salbahanpoor was founded, upon Sunday, the 8th of the month of Bhadoon.⁵

" Salbahan conquered the whole region of the Punjáb. He had fifteen sons, who all became Rajas: namely, Balund, Rasaloo Dhurmungud, Vacha, Roopa, Soondur, Lek'h, Juskurn, Naima, Maut, Neepak, Gangeou, Jugeou ; all of whom, by the strength of their own arms, established themselves in independence.

" The coco-nut from Raja Jeipál Tüar was sent from Delhi, and accepted.⁶ Balund proceeded to Dehli, whose prince advanced to meet him. On his return with his bride, Salbahan determined to redeem Gujni from the foe and avenge his father's death. He crossed the Attok to

¹ This volcano is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Sewaluk mountains.

² A *puhar* is one-fourth of the day.

³ For a description of this rite, see vol. i. p. 261.

⁴ In conformity with the Hindu ordinances of *matim*, or mourning.

⁵ Here is another circumstantial date, S. 72, or A.D. 16, for the foundation of Salbahana in the Punjáb, by the fugitive Yadu prince from Gujni. Of its exact position we have no means of judging, but it could not have been remote from Lahore. It may be deemed a fortunate coincidence that I should discover that ancient inscription (vol. i. p. 622) of this capital, styled *Salpoor*, governed by a Gete or Jit in the fourth century ; which suggested the idea (which many facts tend to prove), whether these Yadus (whose illegitimate issue, as will appear in the sequel, are called Juts) may not be the Yuti or Getes from Central Asia. The coincidence of the date of Salbahan-Yadu with that of the Saca Salivahan, the Tâk, will not fail to strike the inquirer into Hindu antiquities : and it is not the least curious circumstance, that these Yadus, or Yúti, displaced the Takshac, or Tâk, from this region, as will appear immediately. In further corroboration, see notes 2 and 4, p. 623, and Inscriptions, II. p. 623 and VI. p. 629.

⁶ At every page of these annals, it is evident that they have been transcribed by some ignoramus, who has jumbled together events of ancient and modern date. The prince of Dehli might have been Jeipál, but if we are to place any faith in the chronology of the Tüar race, no prince of this family could be synchronous with the Yadu Salbahan. I am inclined to think that the emigration of Salbahan's ancestors from Gujni was at a much later period than S. 72, as I shall note as we proceed.

encounter Jellal, who advanced at the head of twenty thousand men. Crowned with victory, he regained possession of Gujni, where he left Balund, and returned to his capital in the Punjâb; he soon after died, having ruled thirty-three years and nine months.

"Balund succeeded. His brothers had now established themselves in all the mountainous tracts of the Punjâb. But the *Toorks*¹ began rapidly to increase, and to subjugate all beneath their sway, and the lands around Gujni were again in their power. Balund had no minister, but superintended in person all the details of his government. He had seven sons: Bhatti, Bhúpati, Kullur, Jinj,² Surmor, Bhynsrécha, Mangreo. The second son Bhúpati (*i.e.* lord of the earth) had a son, Chakito, from whom is descended the Chakito (*Chagitai*) tribe.³

"Chakito had eight sons, namely, Deosi, Bharoo, Khemkhan, Nahur, Jeipal,⁴ Dharsi, Beejli-Khan, Shah Summund.

"Balund, who resided at Salbahanpoor, left Gujni to the charge of his grandson Chakito; and as the power of the barbarian (*Mletcha*) increased, he not only entertained troops of that race, but all his nobles were of the same body. They offered, if he would quit the religion of his fathers, to make him master of Balich Bokhara, where dwelt the Oosbek race, whose king had no offspring but one daughter. Chakito married her, and became king of Balich Bokhara, and lord of twenty-eight thousand horse. Between Balich and Bokhara runs a mighty river, and Chakito was king of all from the gate of Balichshân to the face of Hindust'han; and from him is descended the tribe of Chakito Moguls.⁵

"Kullur, third son of Balund, had eight sons, whose descendants are designated Kullur.⁶ Their names were, Seodas, Ramdas, Asso, Kistna, Samoh, Gango, Jesso, Bhago; almost all of whom became Moosulmauns. They are a numerous race, inhabiting the mountainous countries west of the river,⁷ and notorious robbers.

¹ *Toork* is the term in the dialects which the Hindus apply to the races from central Asia, the *Türshka* of the *Poorans*.

² Doubtless the ancestor of the Johya race, termed the Jenjühéh by Baber, and who dwelt with the Jûds in the hills of Jûd, the Juddoo-ca-dang of the Bhatti MSS.

³ However curious this assertion, of the Chagitais being descended from the Yadus, it ought not to surprise us: I repeat, that all these tribes, whether termed, Indo-Scythic or Tatar prior to Islamism professed a faith which may be termed Hinduism.

⁴ As is it evident the period has reference to the very first years of Islamism, and it is stated that the sons of Guj were to be proselytes, it is by no means improbable that this is Jypal, the infidel prince of Khwarezm.—See Price's *Mahomedan History*.

⁵ This is a most important admission of the proselytism of the ancient Indo-Scythic Yadu princes to the faith of Islam, though there can be no reasonable doubt of it. Temugin, better known by his *nomme de guerre*, Jungceez, the father of Chagitai, according to the Mahomedan historians, is termed an infidel, and so was *Tacash*, the father of Mahomed of Khwarezm: the one was of the Getic or Yuti race; the other, as his name discloses, of the Tâk or Takshac, the two grand races of central Asia. The insertion of this pedigree in this place completely vitiates chronology: yet for what purpose it could have been interpolated, if not founded on some fact, we cannot surmise.

⁶ We can, by means of the valuable translation of the Commentaries of Baber, trace many of these tribes.

⁷ It has already been stated, that the fifteen brothers of Balund established themselves in the mountainous parts of the Punjâb, and that his sons inherited

"Jinj, the fourth son, had seven sons; Champo, Gokul, Mehraj, Hunsa, Bhaddon, Rasso, Juggo, all whose issue bore the name of Jinj;¹ and in like manner did the other sons become the patriarchs of tribes.

"Bhatti succeeded his father Balund. He conquered fourteen princes, and added their fortunes to his own. Among his effects he reckoned twenty-four thousand mules² laden with treasure, sixty thousand horse, and innumerable foot. As soon as he mounted the *gadi*, he assembled all his forces at Lahore preparatory to the *teeke-dour*³ destined against Beerbhan Bhagél, lord of Kenekpoor. Bheerbhan fell in the battle which ensued, at the head of forty thousand men.

"Bhatti had two sons, Mungul Rao and Musoor Rao. With Bhatti, the patronymic was changed, and the tribe thenceforth was distinguished by his name.

"Mungul Rao succeeded, but his fortune was not equal to that of his fathers. Dhoondi, king of Guzni, with a mighty force, invaded Lahore;⁴ nor did Mungul Rao oppose him, but with his eldest son fled into the wilds on the banks of the river. The foe then invested Salbahanpoor, where resided the family of the Raja; but Musoor Rao escaped and fled to the Lakhi Jungle.⁵ There being only a cultivating peasantry in this tract, he overcame them, and became master of the country. Musoor Rao had two sons, Abhé Rao and Sarun Rao. The elder, Abhé Rao, brought the whole Lakhi Jungle under his control, and his issue, which multiplied, became famous as the Abhoria Bhattis. Sarun quarrelled with and separated from his brother, and his issue descended to the rank of cultivators, and are well known as the Sarun Juts.⁶

those West of the Indus, or Damaun. The Afghan tribes, whose supposed genealogy from the Jews has excited so much curiosity, and who now inhabit the regions conquered by the sons of Salbahan, are possibly Yadus, who, on conversion, to give more éclat to their antiquity, converted *Yadu* into *Yahudi* or Jew, and added the rest of the story from the *Korán*. That grand division of Afghans called the *Euzofzye*, or 'Sons of Joseph,' whose original country was Caubul and Guzni, yet retain the name of Jadoon (vulgar of Yadu) as one of their principal subdivisions; and they still occupy a position in the hilly region east of the Indus, conquered by the sons of Balund. It would be a curious fact could we prove the Afghans not *Yahudis* but *Yadus*.

¹ Doubtless the junction of Jinj with that of Johya, another numerous tribe, formed the Jenjûhéh of Baber; the Johyas of the Bhatti annals, now known only by name, but whose history forms a volume. The sons of Jinj have left numerous traces—Jenjian on the Garah; Jinjinialli in the desert, etc.

² Even the mention of an animal unknown in the desert of India evinces the ancient source whence these annals are compiled. Had the Yadu colony at this period obtained a footing in the desert, south of the Sutlej, the computation would have been by camel-loads, not by mules.

³ See vol. i. p. 294, for an account of this military foray.

⁴ This would almost imply that Lahore and Salbahaná were one and the same place, but from what follows, the intervening distance could not have been great between the two cities. There is a Sangala, south of Lahore, near the altars of Alexander, and a Sialkote in our modern maps. Salbahaná, Salbahanpoor, or simply Salpoora, may have been erected on the ruins of Kampilanagri. We may hope that researches in that yet untouched region, the Punjáb, will afford much to the elucidation of ancient history.

⁵ The Lakhi Jungle is well known in India for its once celebrated breed of horses, extinct within the last twenty years.

⁶ Thus it is that the most extensive agricultural races spread all over India, called *Játs* or *Jits*, have a tradition that they are descended from the Yadu race

"Mungul Rao, the son of Bhatti, and who abandoned his kingdom, had six sons: Mujum Rao, Kullursi, Moolraj, Seoraj, Phool, Kewala.

"When Mungul Rao fled from the king, his children were secreted in the houses of his subjects. A Bhomia named Satidas, of the tribe of *Tâk*,¹ whose ancestors had been reduced from power and wealth by the ancestors of the Bhatti prince, determined to avenge himself, and informed the king that some of the children were concealed in the house of a banker (*sahoocar*). The king sent the *Tâk* with a party of troops, and surrounded the house of Sridhar, who was carried before the king, who swore he would put all his family to death if he did not produce the young princes of Salbahaná. The alarmed banker protested he had no children of the Raja's, for that the infants who enjoyed his protection were the offspring of a Bhomia, who had fled, on the invasion, deeply in his debt. But the king ordered him to produce them; he demanded the name of the village, sent for the Bhomias belonging to it, and not only made the royal infants of Salbahaná eat with them, but marry their daughters. The banker had no alternative to save their lives but to consent: they were brought forth in the peasant's garb, ate with the husbandmen (*Juts*), and were married to their daughters. Thus the offspring of Kullur-rai became the Kullorea Jâts; those of Moondraj and Seoraj, the Moodna and Seora Jâts; while the younger boys, Phool and Kewala, who were passed off as a barber (*nâé*), and a potter (*khomâr*), fell into that class.

"Mungul Rao, who found shelter in the wilds of the Garah, crossed that stream and subjugated a new territory. At this period, the tribe of Baraha² inhabited the banks of the river; beyond them were the Boota Rajpoots of Bootabân.³ In Poogul dwelt the Pramara;⁴ in Dhât

(qu. *Yuti* ?), and that their original country is Candahar. Such was stated to me as the origin of the Jats of Biana and Bhurtapore. Why the descendants of Sarun assumed the name of Juts is not stated.

¹ This incidental mention of the race of *Tâk*, and of its being in great consideration on the settlement of the Yadus in the Punjâb is very important. I have given a sketch of this tribe (vol. i. p. 85), but since I wrote it I have discovered the capital of the *Tâk*, and on the very spot where I should have expected the site of *Taxila*, the capital of Taxiles, the friend of Alexander. In that sketch I hesitated not to say, that the name was not personal, but arose from his being the head of the *Takshac* or *Naga* tribe, which is confirmed. It is to Baber, or rather to his translator, that I am indebted for this discovery. In describing the limits of Bânu. Baber thus mentions it: "And on the west is Desht, which is also called Bâzar and *Tâk*"; to which the erudite translator adds, "*Tâk* is said long to have been the capital of Damân." In Mr. Elphinstone's map, Bâzar, which Baber makes identical with *Tâk*, is a few miles north of the city of Attok. There is no question that both the river and city were named after the race of *Tâk* or *Takshac*, the Nagas, Nagvansi, or '*snake race*,' who spread over India. Indeed, I would assume that the name of *Omphis*, which young Taxiles had on his father's death, is *Ophis*, the Greek version of *Tâk*, the '*serpent*.' The *Tâks* appear to have been established in the same regions at the earliest period. The *Mahabharat* describes the wars between Janméja and the *Takshacs*, to revenge on their king the death of his father Parikhit, emperor of Indraprest'ha, or Dehli.

² The names of these Rajpoot races, several of which are now blotted from the page of existence, prove the fidelity of the original manuscript. The Barahas are now Mahomedans.

³ The Boota is amongst the extinct tribes.

⁴ Poogul from the most remote times has been inhabited by the Pramara race. It is one of the *Nô-Kotî Maroo-câ*, the *nine castles* of the desert.

the Soda ¹ race ; and the Lodra ² Rajpoots in Lodorva. Here Mungul Rao found security, and with the sanction of the Soda prince, he fixed his future abode in the centre of the lands of the Lodras, the Barahas, and the Sodas. On the death of Mungul Rao, he was succeeded by

“Mujum Rao, who escaped from Salbahanpoor with his father. He was recognised by all the neighbouring princes, who sent the usual presents on his accession, and the Soda prince of Amerkote made an offer of his daughter in marriage, which was accepted, and the nuptials were solemnised at Amerkote. He had three sons, Kehur, Moolraj,³ and Gogli.

“Kehur became renowned for his exploits. Hearing of a caravan (*kafilā*) of five hundred horses going from Arore ⁴ to Mooltan, he pursued them with a chosen band disguised as camel merchants, and came up with his prey across the Punjnud,⁵ where he attacked and captured it, and returned to his abode. By such exploits he became known, and the coco-nut (*niarjil*) was sent to Mujum Rao, and his two elder sons, by Allansi Deora, of Jhalore. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour, and on their return Kehur laid the foundation of a castle, which he named Tunnote in honour of Tunno-dévi. Ere it was completed, Rao Mujum died.

“Kehur succeeded. On his accession, Tunnote was attacked by Jesrit, chief of the Barahas,⁶ because it was erected on the bounds of his tribe ; but Moolraj defended it, and the Barahas were compelled to retire.

¹ The Sodas of Amerkote have inhabited the desert from time immemorial, and are in all probability the Sogdi of Alexander. See vol. i. p. 78.

² Lodorva will be described hereafter.

³ Moolraj had three sons, Rajpal, Lohwa, and Choobar. The elder son had two sons, Ranno and Geegoh ; the first of whom had five sons, Dhookur, Pohor, Bood, Koolroo, Jeipal, all of whom had issue, and became heads of clans. The descendants of Geegoh bore the name of Khengar (*qu.* chiefs of Girnar ?). The annals of all these states abound with similar minute genealogical details, which to the Rajpoots are of the highest importance in enabling them to trace the affinities of families, but which it is imperative to omit, as they possess no interest for the European reader. I have extracted the names of the issue of Moolraj to show this. The Khengars were famed in the peninsula of Saurashtra—nine of them ruled in Joonagur Girnar ; and but for this incidental relation, their origin must have ever remained concealed from the archæologist, as the race has long been extinct. On some future day I hope to present a sketch of Khengar's palace, on the sacred mount Girnar, to the public.

⁴ The remains of this once famous town, the ancient capital of the upper valley of the Indus, I had the happiness to discover by means of one of my parties, in 1811. It is the *Alore* of Abulfazil, the capital of Raja Sehris, whose kingdom extended north to Cashmere, and south to the ocean ; and the *Azour* of D'Anville, who, on the authority of Ebn Haukal, says, “*Azour est presque comparable à Miltan pour la grandeur.*” He adds, that Azizi places it “*trente parasanges de Mansora.*” If Mansora is the ancient Bekher (capital of the Sogdi), we should read *three* instead of *thirty*. See Map, vol. i.

⁵ *Punjnud* is the name which the Indus bears immediately below the point of confluence of the five streams (*punj-nadi*). The mere mention of such terms as the *Punjnud*, and the ancient *Arore*, stamps these annals with authenticity, however they may be deformed by the interpolations and anachronisms of ignorant copyists. Of Arore, or the Punjnud, excepting the regular *casids*, or messengers, perhaps not an individual living in Jessulmér could not speak.

⁶ This shows that the Baraha tribe was of the same faith with the Yadu Bhatti ; in fact “the star of Islam” did not shine in these regions for some time after, although Omar, in the first century, had established a colony of the faithful at Bekher, afterwards Mansoorā. The Barahas are mentioned by Pottinger in his travels in Balochistan

"On Mungulwar (Tuesday), the full-moon of Mah, S. 787¹ (A.D. 731), the fortress of Tunnote was completed, and a temple erected to Tunno-Mata. Shortly after a treaty of peace was formed with the Barahas, which was concluded by the nuptials of their chief with the daughter of Moolraj."

Having thus fairly fixed the Yadu Bhatti chieftain in the land of Marûcá, it seems a proper point at which to close this initiatory chapter with some observations on the diversified history of this tribe, crowded into so small a compass; though the notes of explanation, subjoined as we proceeded, will render fewer remarks requisite, since with their help the reader may draw his own conclusions as to the value of this portion of the Bhatti annals, which may be divided into four distinct epochs:

1. That of Heri, the ancestor of the Yadu race.
2. Their expulsion, or the voluntary abandonment of India by his children, with their relations of the Hericûla and Pandu races, for the countries west of the Indus: their settlements in Marust'hali: the founding of Gujni, and combats with the kings of Room and Khorasan.
3. Their expulsion from Zabulist'han, colonisation of the Punjâb, and creation of the new capital of Salbahanpoor.
4. Their expulsion from the Punjâb, and settlement in Mér, the rocky oasis of Maroo, to the erection of Tunnote:

It is the more unnecessary to enter into greater details on these outlines of the early Yadu history, since the subject has been in part treated elsewhere.² A multiplicity of scattered facts and geographical distinctions fully warrants our assent to the general truth of these records, which prove that the Yádu race had dominion in central Asia, and were again, as Islamism advanced, repelled upon India. The obscure legend of their encounters with the allied Syrian and Bactrian kings would have seemed altogether illusory, did not evidence exist that Antiochus the Great was slain in these very regions by an Indo-Scythian prince, called by the Greek writers Sophagasenas: a name in all probability compounded from Soobáhu and his grandson Guj (who might have used the common affix of *séna*), the Yadu princes of Gujni, who are both stated to have had conflicts with the Bactrian (Khorasan) kings.

Seestan (the region of cold, 'see') and both sides of the valley were occupied in the earliest periods by another branch of the Yadus; for the Sind-Samma dynasty was descended from Samba (which like Yadu became a patronymic)—of which the Greeks made *Sambus*—and one of whose descendants opposed Alexander in his progress down the Indus. The capital of this dynasty was *Samma-ca-kote*, or Samanagari, yet existing on the lower Indus, and which was corrupted into *Minagara* by the Greeks.

It is an interesting hypothesis, that would make the Chagitaïs descend-

¹ There are but six descents given from Salbahan, the leader of the Yadu colony from Zabulist'han into the Punjâb, and Kehur, the founder of their first settlement in the desert of India. The period of the first is S. 72, of the other S. 787. Either names are wanting, or the period of Salbahan is erroneous. Kehur's period, namely, S. 787, appears a landmark, and is borne out by numerous subsequent most valuable synchronisms. Were we to admit one hundred years to have elapsed between Salbahan and Kehur, it would make the period of expulsion from Zabulist'han about S. 687, which is just about the era of Mahomed.

² See "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.

ants of the Yadus.¹ In like manner, Bappa, the ancestor of the Ranas of Méwar, abandoned Central India after establishing his line in Cheetore, and retired to Khorasan. All this proves that Hinduism prevailed in these distant regions, and that the intercourse was unrestricted between Central Asia and India. We have undiscovered fields of inquiry in Transoxiana, and in the still more accessible region of the Punjâb, where much exists to reward the archæologist : Salbahanpoor, Kampilnagarí, Behera, the hill of Jud, perhaps Bucephalia,² the seven towns of Ooch, but, above all, the capital of Taxiles. Let us hope that, in this age of enterprise, these suggestions may be followed up : we can promise the adventurer a very different result from that which tempts the explorer of barbarous Africa, for here he would penetrate into the first haunts of civilisation, and might solve one of the great problems which still distract mankind.

¹ Mr. Wilson discovered the name of *Pandu* in Ptolemy's Geography of Sogdiana ; and according to Ebn Haukal, the city of Herat is also called Heri. This adjoins Maru, or Murve, and to Marust'hali the Pandu and Hericúla races retired on their exile from India. If ever these remote regions are searched for ancient inscriptions, we may yet ascend the ladder of Time. What was that *Hamiri* language, inscribed on the gate of Samarkand ? (Ouseley. *Ebn Haukal*, p. 254). The lamented death of that enterprising traveller, Mr. Brown, when he was about visiting Transoxiana, leaves a fine field to the adventurous. The Buddhist colossal sculptures and caves at Bamian, with such inscriptions as they may contain, are of the highest importance ; and I have little doubt, will be found of the same character as those discovered in the cave temples of India, attributed to the Pándús.

² In a portion of the essay "On the Theban and Hindu Hercules," which I suppressed as better suited to an intended dissertation "On the Sepulchral Monuments of the Rajpoots," where I trace a close analogy between their customs and those of the Scythic and Scandinavian Warriors, my particular attention was drawn to that singular monument discovered by Elphinstone, called the "*Töpe Manikyaula*." I had before (*Trans. R.A.S.* vol. i. p. 330) conjectured it to be one of the many mausoleums erected to Menander, but on observing the geography of St. Croix, in his *Exame Critiquen des Historiens d'Alexandre*, who places the city of Bucephalus on the very spot where the monument found by Mr. E. exists, I gave up Menander for Alexander's horse, and this, long anterior to its reported excavation by the Chev. Ventura, for whose subsequent observations we impatiently wait.

CHAPTER II

Rao Kehur, contemporary of the Caliph Al Walid—His offspring become heads of tribes—Kehur, the first who extended his conquests to the plains—He is slain—Tunno succeeds—He assails the Barahas and Langas—Tunnote invested by the prince of Mooltan, who is defeated—Rao Tunno espouses the daughter of the Boota chief—His progeny—Tunno finds a concealed treasure—Erects the castle of Beejnote—Tunno dies—Succeeded by Beeji Raé—He assails the Bahara tribe, who conspire with the Langas to attack the Bhatti prince—Treacherous massacre of Beeji Raé and his kindred—Deoraj saved by a Brahmin—Tunnote taken—Inhabitants put to the sword—Deoraj joins his mother in Bootabân—Erects Deorawul, which is assailed by the Boota chief, who is circumvented and put to death by Deoraj—The Bhatti prince is visted by a Jogi, whose disciple he becomes—Title changed from Rao to Rawul—Deoraj massacres the Langas, who acknowledge his supremacy—Account of the Langa tribe—Deoraj conquers Lodorva, capital of the Lodra Rajpoots—Averages an insult of the prince of Dhâr—Singular trait of patriotic devotion—Assaults Dhâr—Returns to Lodorva—Excavates lakes in Khadâl—Assassinated—Succeeded by Rawul Moond, who revenges his father's death—His son Bachera espouses the daughter of Bullub-Sén, of Puttun Anhulwarra—Contemporaries of Mahmoud of Gujni—Captures a caravan of horses—The Pahoo Bhattis conquer Poogul from the Johyas—Doosaj, son of Bachera, attacks the Kheechies—Proceeds with his three brothers to the land of Khér, where they espouse the Gohilote chief's daughters—Important synchronisms—Bachera dies—Doosaj succeeds—Attacked by the Soda prince Hamir, in whose reign the Caggar ceased to flow through the desert—Traditional couplet—Sons of Doosaj—The youngest, Lanja Beejirac, marries the daughter of Sidraj Solanki, king of Anhulwarra—The other sons of Doosaj, Jesul, and Beejirac—Bhojdeo, son of Lanja Beejirac, becomes lord of Lodorva on the death of Doosaj—Jesul conspires against his nephew Bhojdeo—Solicits aid from the Sultan of Ghor, whom he joins at Arore—Swears allegiance to the Sultan—Obtains his aid to dispossess Bhojdeo—Lodorva attacked and plundered—Bhojdeo slain—Jesul becomes Rawul of the Bhattis—Abandons Lodorva as too exposed—Discovers a site for a new capital—Prophetic inscription on the Brimsir-coond, or fountain—Founds Jessulmér—Jesul dies, and is succeeded by Salbahan II.

THE dates of the varied events related in the preceding chapter may be of doubtful accuracy, but we have at length arrived on the *terra firma* of Bhatti choronology. We may distrust the date, 3008 of Yudishtra's era, for the victory obtained by the Jadoon prince of Gujni over the kings of Room and Khorasan; ¹ as well as that of S. 72 assigned for the exode of Salbahan and his Yadus from Zabulist'han, and their colonisation of the Punjâb; ² but their settlements in the desert, and the foundation of Tunnote, their first seat of power, in S. 787 (A.D. 731), are corroborated by incontrovertible synchronisms in almost every subsequent reign of these annals.

Kehur, a name highly respected in the history of the Bhatti race, and

¹ The emperor Baber tells us, in his Commentaries, that the people of India apply the term *Khorasan*, to all the regions west of the Indus.

² Notwithstanding the lapse of eleven hundred years since the expulsion of the Bhattis from the Punjâb, and in spite of the revolutions in laws, language, and religion, since the descendants of Salbahan abandoned that region, yet, even to this day, there is abundant testimony in its geographical nomenclature that the Bhattis had dominion there. We have *Pindi Bhattia-ca*, *Bhatti-ca-chuk*, in the very position where we should look for Salbahanpoor.—See Elphinstone's Map.

whose exploit has been already recorded, must have been the cotemporary of the celebrated Calif Al Walid, the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions was Arore, the capital of Upper Sind.

Kehur¹ had five sons; namely, Tunno, Ootí-rao, Chunnur, Kafrio, Thaëm. All of them had offspring,² who became the heads of clans, retaining the patronymic. All were soldiers of fortune, and they conquered the lands of the Chunna Rajpoots;³ but the latter revenged themselves upon Kehur, whom they attacked and slew as he was hunting.

Tunno succeeded. He laid waste the lands of the Barahas,⁴ and those of the Langaha of Mooltan. But Husein Shah advanced with the Langaha Pat'hans,⁵ clothed in armour with iron helms, with the men of Doodí,⁶ of Kheechee⁷ the Khokur;⁸ the Mogul, the Johya,⁹ the Jood,⁹ and Syed, all mounted on horses, to the number of ten thousand men, to attack the Jadoo. They reached the territory of the Barahas, who joined them, and there they encamped. Tunno collected his brethren around him, and prepared for defence. During four days they defended the castle;

¹ Although I omit the inverted commas indicative of translation, the reader is to understand that what follows is a free interpretation of the original chronicle.

² Ootí-rao had five sons, Sorna, Sehesi, Jeeva, Chako, and Ujo; their issue had the generic term of *Ootirao*. It is thus their clans and tribes are multiplied *ad infinitum*, and since the skill of the genealogist (*blāt*) is required to keep them clear of incestuous marriages, even such uninteresting details have some value, as they stamp their annals with authenticity.

³ The tribe of Chunna is now extinct.

⁴ These Indo-Scythic tribes were designated by the names of animals. The *Barahas* are the hogs; the *Noomries*, the foxes; *Takshacs*, the snakes; *Aswas* or *Asi*, the horses, etc.

⁵ These Langaha Pat'hans were proselytes from the Solanki Rajpoots, one of the four Agnicūla races. Probably they inhabited the district of Lumghan, west of the Indus. It is curious and interesting to find that the Solanki *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' claims Lokote as their settlement. The use of the word Pat'han by no means precludes their being Hindus.

⁶ Baber, in his valuable Autobiography, gives us the names of all the tribes he met in his passage into India, and this enumeration goes far to prove the authenticity of the early annals of the Bhattis. Baber does not mention "the men of Doodí."

⁷ The introduction of the name of this tribe here is highly important, and very interesting to those who have studied, in the Rajpoot bards, their early history. The bards of the Kheeches give them this northern origin, and state that all *Sindsagur*, one of the *dō-dēchs* of the Punjab, belonged to them.

⁸ The Khokur is most probably the Ghiker. Baber writes the name 'Guker,' a singular race, and decidedly Scythic in their habits even in his day.

⁹ Of the Joodis and Johyas we have already spoken as inhabiting the range called in the native annals *Juddoo-ca-dang*, and by Baber 'the hill of Jūd,' skirting the Behat. The position of Behera is laid down in that monument of genius and industry, the Memoir of Rennel (who calls it Bheera), in 32° N. and 72° 10' E.; and by Elphinstone in 32° 10', but a whole degree further to the east, or 73° 15'. This city, so often mentioned in the Yadu-Bhatti annals as one of their intermediate places of repose, on their expulsion from India and migration to Central Asia, has its position minutely pointed out by the Emperor Baber (p. 259), who, in his attack on the hill tribes of Jits, Goojurs, Gukers, etc., adjoining Cashmere, "expelled Hatí Guker from Behreh, on the Behut River, near the cave temples of Gār-kotri at Bkrum," of which the able annotator remarks, that as well as those of Būt Bamian, they were probably Budhist. Baber (p. 294) also found the Jits masters of Sialkote, most likely the Sálpoor of the Inscription (vol. i. p. 629), conquered from a Jit prince in the twelfth century by the Patun prince, and presumed to be the Salbahanpoor founded by the fugitive Yadu prince of Gujni.

and on the fifth the Rao ordered the gates to be thrown open, and with his son, Beeji Raé, sallied out sword in hand, and attacked the besiegers. The Barahas were the first to fly, and they were soon followed by the rest of the Asoors. The victors carried the spoils of the field into Tunnote. As soon as the armies of Mooltan and Langaha were driven off, the *coco-nut* came from Jeejoo, chief of the Bootas of Bootaban,¹ and an alliance offensive and defensive was formed against the prince of Mooltan.

Tunno had five sons, Beeji Raé, Makúr, Jeytúng, Allun, and Rakécho. The second son, Makúr, had issue Maipah, who had two sons, Mohola and Decao, the latter of whom excavated the lake known by his name. His issue became carpenters (*sootar*), and are to this day known as the 'Makúr sootar.'²

The third son, Jeytúng, had two sons, Ruttunsi and Chohir. The first repaired the ruined city of Beckumpoor.³ Chohir had two sons, Kôla and Gir-ráj, who founded the towns of Kolasir and Girajsir.³

The fourth son, Allun, had four sons, Deosi, Tirpal, Bhaoní, and Rakécho. The descendants of Deosi became Rebarris (who rear camels), and the issue of Rakécho became merchants (*baniahs*), and are now classed amongst the Oswal tribe.⁴

Tunno having, by the interposition of the goddess Beejasenní, discovered a hidden treasure, erected a fortress, which he named Beejnote;⁵ and in this he placed a statue of the goddess, on the 13th, the enlightened part of the month Megsir, the Rohini Nikhitra, S. 813 (A.D. 757). He died after ruling eighty years.

Beeji Raé succeeded in S. 870 (A.D. 814). He commenced his reign with the *teeka-dour* against his old enemies, the Barahas, whom he defeated and plundered. In S. 892, he had a son by the Boota queen, who was called Deoraj. The Barahas and Langahas once more united to attack the Bhatti prince; but they were defeated and put to flight. Finding that they could not succeed by open warfare, they had recourse to treachery. Having, under pretence of terminating this long feud, invited young Deoraj to marry the daughter of the Baraha chief, the Bhattis attended, when Beeji Raé and eight hundred of his kin and clan were massacred. Deoraj escaped to the house of the Purohit (of the Barahas, it is presumed), whither he was pursued. There being no hope of escape, the Brahmin

¹ Bootaban, probably from *vannu*, pronounced in the dialect *bun*, the 'wild' or 'forest' of Boota.

² Illegitimate children can never overcome this natural defect amongst the Rajpoots. Thus we find among all classes of artisans in India, some of royal but spurious descent.

³ These towns and lakes are well known, but have been seized by Bikanér. See Map.

⁴ The Oswal is the richest and most numerous of the eighty-four mercantile tribes of India and is said to amount to one hundred thousand families. They are called 'Oswal' from their first settlement, the town of Ossi. They are all of pure Rajpoot birth, of no single tribe, but chiefly Püars, Solankis, and Bhattis. All profess the Jain tenets, and it is a curious fact, though little known, that the pontiffs of that faith must be selected from the youth of Ossi. The wealthy bankers and merchants of these regions scattered throughout India, are all known under one denomination, *Marwari* which is erroneously supposed to apply to the Jodpoor territory, whereas, in fact, it means belonging to the desert. It is singular that the wealth of India should centre in this region of comparative sterility.

⁵ See Map.

threw the Brahminical thread round the neck of the young prince, and in order to convince his pursuers that they were deceived as to the object of their search, he sat down to eat with him from the same dish. Tunnote was invested and taken, and nearly every soul in it put to the sword, so that the very name of Bhatti was for a while extinct.

Deoraj remained for a long time concealed in the territory of the Barahas ; but at length he ventured to Boota, his maternal abode, where he had the happiness to find his mother, who had escaped the massacre at Tunnote. She was rejoiced to behold her son's face, and "waved the salt over his head," then threw it into the water, exclaiming, "Thus may your enemies melt away!" Soon tired of a life of dependence, Deoraj asked for a single village, which was promised ; but the kin of the Boota chief alarmed him, and he recalled it, and limited his grant to such a quantity of land as he could encompass by the thongs cut from a single buffalo's hide : and this, too, in the depth of the desert. For this expedient he was indebted to the architect Kekeya, who had constructed the castle of Bhutnair.¹ Deoraj immediately commenced erecting a place of strength,

¹ This deception practised by the Bhatti chief to obtain land on which to erect a fortress is not unknown in other parts of India, and in more remote regions. Bhutnair owes its name to this expedient, from the division (*bhatna*) of the hide. The etymology of *Calcutta* is the same, but should be written *Khalcutta*, from the cuttings of the hide (*khal*). Byrsa, the castle of Carthage, originates from the same story. If there existed any affinity between the ancient *Pali* languages of India and the Punic or Phœnician (as the names of its princes and their adjuncts of *bal* would indicate), and the letters B and Ch were as little dissimilar in Punic as in Sanscrit, then *Byrsa* would become *chursa*, 'hide' or 'skin,' which might have originated the capital of the African Mauritania, as of the Indian Márút'han. Thus Marocco may be from *Marú-cá*, of or belonging to Márú, *the desert*, also probably the origin of the *Muruc* of Irán. The term Moor may likewise be corrupted from Maurí, an inhabitant of Márúcá, while the *Schraé* of our Indian desert is the brother in name and profession of the Saracen of Arabia, from *Sehra*, *a desert*, and *zuddum*, *to assault*. The Nomadic princes of Mauritania might therefore be the *Pali* or shepherd kings of *Marúthán*, the great African desert. And who were these Philita or *Pali* kings of Barbary and Egypt? It is well known that the Berbers who inhabited Abyssinia and the south coast of the Red Sea, migrated to the northern coast, not only occupying it, as well as Mount Atlas, but pushing their tribes far into the grand *schra*, or desert. To those colonists, that coast owes its name of Barbary. From the days of Solomon and his cotemporary Sishác, an intimate communication subsisted between the eastern coast of Africa and India ; and I have already hazarded the opinion, that we must look to this coast of Æthiopia and Abyssinia for the Lanka of the Rameses (Rameswar) of India ; and from the former country the most skilful archæologists assert that Egypt had her mythology, and more especially that mystery—the prominent feature of both systems—the *Phallic* rites, or worship of the *lingam*. *Bérbér*, according to Bruce, means a shepherd, and as *bér* is a sheep in the language of India, *bérbér* is a shepherd in the most literal sense, and consequently the synonym of *Pali*. It has been asserted that this race colonised these coasts of Africa from India about the time of Amenophis, and that they are the *Yksos*, or 'shepherd-kings,' who subjugated Egypt. On this account a comparison of the ancient architectural remains of Abyssinia and Æthiopia with those of the ancient Hindus is most desirable. It is asserted, and with appearance of truth, that the architecture of the Pyramids is distinct from the Pharaonic, and that they are at once Astronomic and Phallic. In India, the symbolic pinnacle surmounting the temples of the sun-god are always pyramidal. If the forthcoming history of the Berbers should reveal the mystery of their first settlements in Abyssinia, a great object would be attained ; and if search were made in the old cave-temples of that coast, some remains of the characters they used might aid in tracing their analogy to the ancient *Pali* of the East : an idea sug-

which he called after himself Deogurh, or Deorawul,¹ on Monday, the 5th of the month Māh (*soodī*), the Pook'h Nikhitra, S. 909.

Soon as the Boota chief heard that his son-in-law was erecting, not a dwelling, but a castle, he sent a force to raze it. Deoraj despatched his mother with the keys to the assailants, and invited the leaders to receive the castle and his homage; when the chief men, to the number of a hundred and twenty, entering, they were inveigled, under pretence of consultation, ten at a time, and each party put to death and their bodies thrown over the wall. Deprived of their leaders, the rest took to flight.

Soon after, the prince was visited by his patron, the Jogi who had protected him amongst the Barahas, and who now gave him the title of *Sid*. This Jogi, who possessed the art of transmuting metals, lodged in the same house where Deoraj found protection on the massacre of his father and kindred. One day, the holy man had gone abroad, leaving his *jirghirkūnta*, or 'tattered doublet,' in which was the *Rascoompa*, or 'elixir-vessel,' a drop of which having fallen on the dagger of Deoraj and changed it to gold, he decamped with both, and it was by the possession of this he was enabled to erect Deorawul. The Jogi was well aware of the thief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chēla* and disciple, and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the Jogi. Deoraj assented, and was invested with the Jogi robe of ochre.² He placed the *moodra* ³ in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd (*cupra*) in his hand, he perambulated the dwellings of his kin, exclaiming, *Aluc! Aluc!* ⁴ The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*; ⁵ the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritta (for such was the Jogi's name) disappeared.

gested by an examination of the few characters found in the grand desert inhabited by the Tuaricks, which have a certain resemblance to the Punic, and to the unknown characters attributed to the Indo-Scythic tribes of India, as on their coins and cave-temples. Wide asunder as are these regions, the mind that will strive to lessen the historical separation may one day be successful, when the connection between Aēt'hiopia (*qu. from aditya* and contracted *ait*, the Sun?) and Surashtra 'the land of the Sun,' or Syria of India, may become more tangible. Ferishta (*vide* Briggs' translation, vol. iv. p. 408), quoting original authorities, says, "the inhabitants of Selandip, or the island of Ceylon, were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, from the earliest ages, and Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols. It is related also that this people trading from Ceylon became converts to the true faith at so early a period as the first caliphs": all which confirms the fact of early intercourse between Egypt and India.—See vol. i. p. 479.

¹ Deorawul is in the map; it was one of the points of halt in Elphinstone's mission to Cabul. This discloses to us the position of the Boota territory, and as astronomical data are given, those inclined to prove or disprove the Bhatti chronology have ample means afforded.

² Called *geeroo*; garments coloured with this dye are worn by all classes of mendicants.

³ The moodra is a round prickly seed worn by the ascetics as ear-rings.

⁴ The Supreme Being; the universal and One God.

⁵ *Rawul* is still the title of the princes of Jessulmér, as it once was that of the Mēwar house.

Deoraj determined to wreak his revenge on the Barajás, and he enjoyed it even "to stripping the scarfs from the heads of their females." On his return to Deorawul, he prepared for an attack on Langaha, the heir of which was then on a marriage expedition at Aleepoor. There, Deoraj attacked and slew a thousand of them, the rest henceforth acknowledged his supremacy. The Langahas were gallant Rajpoots.

As the tribe of Langaha, or Langa, will from this period go hand in hand, in all the international wars of the Yadu-Bhattis, from their expulsion from the Punjáb to their final settlement in the Indian desert, it is of some interest to trace its origin and destiny. It is distinctly stated that, at this epoch, the Langas were Rajpoots; and they are in fact a subdivision of the Solanki or Chalook race, one of the four *Agnicúla*; and it is important to observe that in their *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' they claim Lokote in the Punjáb as their early location; in all probability prior to their regeneration on Mount Aboo, when they adopted Brahminical principles. From the year S. 787 (A.D. 731), when the castle of Tunnote was erected by the leader of the Bhatti colony, down to S. 1530 (A.D. 1474), a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, perpetual border-strife appears to have occurred between the Bhattis and Langas, which terminated in that singular combat, or duel, of tribe against tribe, during the reign of Rawul Chachik, in the last-mentioned period. Shortly after this, Baber conquered India, and Mooltan became a province of the empire, when the authority of tribes ceased. Ferishta, however, comes to our aid and gives us an account of an entire dynasty of this tribe as kings of Mooltan. The first of this line of five kings began his reign A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), or thirty years anterior to the death of Rawul Chachik. The Mooslem historian (see Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 388), says that when Khizer Khan Syud was emperor of Dehli, he sent Shekh Yusooph as his lieutenant to Mooltan, who gained the esteem of the surrounding princes; amongst whom was Raé Sehra, chief of Seevee, head of the tribe of Langa, who came to congratulate him, and to offer his services and a daughter in marriage. The offer was accepted; constant communication was kept up between Seevee and Mooltan, till at length Raé Sehra disclosed the object of all this solicitude; he threw aside the mask, confined the Shekh, sent him off to Dehli, and crowned himself king of Mooltan, under the title of Kootub-ú-dín.

Ferishta calls Raé Sehra and his tribe of Langa, Afghans; and Abul-fazil says, the inhabitants of Seevee were of the *Noomrie* (fox) tribe, which is assuredly one of the most numerous of the Jit or Gete race, though they have all, since their conversion, adopted the distinctive term of *Baloch*. The Bhatti chronicle calls the Langas in one page *Pat'han*, and in another *Rajpoot*, which are perfectly reconcilable, and by no means indicative that the Pat'han or Afghan of that early period, or even in the time of Raé Sehra, was a Mahomedan. The title of *Raé* is sufficient proof that they were even then Hindus. Mr. Elphinstone scouts the idea of the descent of the Afghans from the Jews; and not a trace of the Hebrew is found in the Pooshtoo, or language of this tribe, although it has much affinity to the Zend and Sanscrit. I cannot refrain from repeating my conviction of the origin of the Afghans from the Yadu, converted into *Yahudi*, or 'Jew.' Whether these Yadus are or are not *Yuti*, or Getes, remains to be proved.

To the south of Deorawul dwelt the Lodra Rajpoots ; their capital was Lodorva, an immense city, having twelve gates. The family Purohit, having been offended, took sanctuary (*sirna*) with Deoraj, and stimulated him to dispossess his old masters of their territory. A marriage was proposed to Nirp-bhan, the chief of the Lodras, which being accepted, Deoraj, at the head of twelve hundred chosen horse, departed for Lodorva. The gates of the city were thrown open as the bridegroom approached ; but no sooner had he entered with his suite, than swords were drawn, and Deoraj made himself master of Lodorva.¹ He married the chief's daughter, left a garrison in Lodorva, and returned to Deorawul. Deoraj was now lord of fifty-six thousand horse, and a hundred thousand camels.²

At this period, a merchant of Deorawul, named Jiskurn, having gone to Dharanagari, was imprisoned by its prince, Brij-bhan Püar, and compelled to pay a ransom for his liberty. On his return to Deorawul, he showed the mark of the iron-collar to his sovereign, who, indignant at the dishonour put upon his subject, swore he would not drink water until he had avenged the insult. But he had not calculated the distance between him and his foe ; in order, however, to redeem his pledge, a *Dhár* of clay (*gár-rá-dhár*) was constructed, on which he was about to wreak his vengeance, but there were Pramars in his army, who were at their post ready to defend their mock capital ; and, as their astonished prince advanced to destroy it, they exclaimed—

Ján Püar t'hyán Dhár hyn
Or Dhár t'hyán Püär
Dhárbínna Püär nuhyn
Or nuhyn Püär binna Dhár.

which may be thus translated :

“ Wherever there is a Püär, *there* is a Dhár ; and where there is a Dhár, *there* is a Püär. There is no Dhár without a Püär ; neither is there a Püär without a Dhár.”³

Under their leaders, Tejsí and Sarung, they protected the mock Dhár, and were cut to pieces to the number of one hundred and twenty. Deoraj approved their valour, and provided for their children. Being thus released from his oath, he proceeded towards Dhár, reducing those who opposed his progress. Brij-bhan defended Dhár during five days, and fell with eight hundred of his men ; upon which Deoraj unfurled the flag of victory and returned to his late conquest, the city of Lodorva.

¹ We are not told of what race (*cúla*) was the Lodra Rajpoot ; in all probability it was Pramara, or Püar, which at one time occupied the whole desert of India. Lodorva, as will be seen, became the capital of the Bhattis, until the founding of their last and present capital, Jessulmér : it boasts a high antiquity, though now a ruin, occupied by a few families of shepherds. Many towns throughout the desert were formerly of celebrity, but are now desolate, through the conjoined causes of perpetual warfare and the shifting sands. I obtained a copper-plate inscription of the tenth century from Lodorva, of the period of Beejiraj, in the ornamental Jain character ; also some clay signets, given to pilgrims, bearing Jain symbols. All these relics attest the prevailing religion to have been Jain.

² A gross exaggeration of the annalist, or a cypher in each added by the copyist.

³ Dhár, or Dharanagari, was the most ancient capital of this tribe, the most numerous of the Agnicúla races. See a sketch of the Püars, or Pramaras, vol. i. p. 75.

Deoraj had two sons, Moond and Chedoo ; the last, by a wife of the Baraha tribe, had five sons, whose descendants were styled Chéda Rajpoots. Deoraj excavated several large lakes in the territory of Khadál (in which Deorawul is situated) ; one at Tunnote is called Tunno-sirr ; another, after himself, Deo-sirr. Having one day gone to hunt, slightly attended, he was attacked by an ambush of the Chunna Rajpoots, and slain with twenty-six of his attendants, after having reigned fifty-five years. His kin and clans shaved their locks and moustaches, excepting ¹

Moond, who succeeded, and performed all the ceremonies during the twelve days. Having made his ablutions with the water from sixty-eight different wells, in which were immersed the leaves of one hundred and eight different shrubs and trees, a female of spotless virtue waved the burning frankincense over his head. Before him was placed the *punj-amrit*, consisting of curds, milk, butter, sugar, and honey ; likewise pearls, gems, the royal umbrella, the grass called *d'hoob*, various flowers, a looking-glass, a young virgin, a chariot, a flag or banner, the *véla* flower, seven sorts of grain, two fish, a horse, a *nuk'hunk* (unknown), a bullock, a shell, a lotus, a vessel of water, the tail of the wild ox (*cháour*), a sword, a female calf, a litter, yellow clay, and prepared food. Then, seated on the *lion's hide*—(on which were painted the seven *dwipas* or continents of Hindu cosmography, apparelled in the dress of the Jogi, and covered with ashes (*bhuboot*), with the *moodra* in his ears)—the white *cháour* (ox-tail) was waved over his head, and he was inaugurated on the *gadi* of Deoraj, while the Purohit and chiefs presented their offerings. The *techa-dour* was against the assassins of his father, who had congregated for defence, eight hundred of whom were put to death. Rawul Moond had one son, who was called Bachera. When about fourteen years of age the *coco-nut* came from Bullub-sén Solanki, Raja of Patun.² He forthwith proceeded to Patun, where he married the Solanki princess, and died not long after his father.

Bachera succeeded on Saturday the 12th Shavan, S. 1035.³ The same rites of installation were performed ; the *hánferra* (split-cared) Jogi was the first to put the regal *tíluc* on his forehead, and 'his hand upon his back.' Rawul Bachera had five sons, Doosaj, Singh, Bappi Rao, Unkho, and Maal-Pusáo ; all of whom had issue, forming clans.

A merchant came to Lodorva with a caravan of horses, of which there was one of a race so superior, that a lakh of rupees was fixed as his price ; the breed belonged to a Pat'han chief, west of the Indus. To obtain it,

¹ There is no *interregnum* in Rajwarra : the king never dies.

² This affords a most important synchronism, corroborative of the correctness of these annals. Raja Bullub-sén of Patun (Anhulwarra) immediately followed Chamund Rae, who was dispossessed of the throne by Mahmoud of Ghizni, in the year A.D. 1011, or S. 1067. Bullub-sén died the year of his installation, and was succeeded by Doorlubh, whose period has also been synchronically fixed by an inscription belonging to the Pramaras.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

³ This date, S. 1035, is evidently an error of the copyist. Bachera married Bullub-sén's daughter in S. 1067, and he died in S. 1100 ; so that it should be either S. 1055 or 1065. It is important to clear this point, as Rawul Bachera was the opponent of Mahmoud of Ghizni in his invasion of India, A.H. 393, A.D. 1000, =S. 1056 or S. 1066, the Samvat era being liable to a variation of ten years (Colebrooke). If we are right, a passage of Ferishta, which has puzzled the translators, should run thus: "Mahmoud directed his march against the Bhatti, and passing Mooltan arrived at Behera, a Bhatti city."—Compare Dow, vol. i. p. 58 (4to edit.), and Briggs, vol. i. p. 38.

Doosaj and his son Unkho put themselves at the head of a band, crossed the Indus, slew Gazi Khan, the Pat'han chief, and carried off his stud.

Singh had a son, Sacha-raé; his son was Balla, who had two sons, Ruttun and Jugga; they attacked the Purihar prince Juggernath of Mundore, and carried off five hundred camels: their descendants are styled Singráo Rajpoots.

Bappi Rao had two sons, Pahoo and Mandun. Pahoo had likewise two, Beerum and Toolir, whose numerous issue were styled the Pahoo Rajpoots. The Pahoos issued from their abode of Beekumpoor, and conquered the lands of the Johyas, as far as *Devi-jhál*; and having made Poogul¹ their capital, they dug numerous wells in the *t'hul*, which still go by the name of the Pahoo wells.

Near Khátah, in the Nagore district of Marwar, there dwelt a warrior of the Kheechee tribe, named Jiddra, who often plundered even to the gates of Poogul, slaying many of the Jytung Bhattis. Doosaj prepared a *kafila* ('caravan') under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges, invaded unawares the Kheechee chief's territory, and slew him, with nine hundred of his men.

Doosaj, with his three brothers, went to the land of Khér, where dwelt Pertáp Sing, chief of the Gohilotes,² whose daughters they espoused. "In the land of Khér, the Jadoon showered gold, enriching it." In the *dacja* (dower) with his daughter, the Gohilote gave fifteen *Déwa-durries*, or 'virgin lamp-holders.' Soon after, the Baloches made an inroad into the territory of Khádál; a battle ensued, in which five hundred were killed, and the rest fled beyond the river. Bachera died, and was succeeded by

Doosaj, in the month of Asár, S. 1100. Hamfr, prince of the Sodas,³ made an incursion into his territories, which he plundered. Doosaj having unavailingly remonstrated, reminding him of ancient ties, he marched into Dhat, and gained a victory. Doosaj had two sons, Jesul and Beejiraj, and in his old age a third son, by a Ranawut princess of the house of Méwar, called *Lanja* Beejirae, who, when Doosaj died, was placed on the throne by the nobles and civil officers of the state. Previous to his elevation, he had espoused a daughter of Sidraj Jey Sing, Solanki. During the nuptial ceremonies, as the mother of the bride was marking the forehead of the bridegroom with the *tiluk*, or 'inauguration mark,' she exclaimed, "My son, do thou become the portal of the north—the barrier between us and the king, whose power is becoming strong." ⁴ By the princess of

¹ See Map. This was one of the points touched at in Mr. Elphinstone's journey.

² The chief of the Gohilotes is now settled at Bhaonuggur, at the estuary of the Myhie: where I visited him in 1823. The migration of the family from Khérdhur occurred about a century after that period, according to the documents in the Rao's family. And we have only to look at the opening of the Annals of Marwar to see that from its colonisation by the Rakhtores the Gohil community of Khérdhur was finally extinguished. To the general historian these minute facts may be unimportant, but they cease to be so when they prove the character of these annals for fidelity.

³ If this is the Hamfra alluded to in the Annals of Bikanér, in whose time the Caggar river ceased to flow in these lands, we have another date assigned to a fact of great physical importance.

⁴ Here we have another synchronism. In the *Komarpal Charitra*, or history of the kings of Anhulwarra Puttun, the reign of Sidraj was from S. 1150 to S.

Puttun he had a son, who was named Bhojdeo, and who, by the death of his father when he attained the age of twenty-five, became lord of Lodorva. The other sons of Doosaj were at this time advanced in manhood, Jesul being thirty-five, and Beejráj thirty-two years of age.

Some years before the death of Doosaj, Raedhuwal Püar, son (or descendant) of Udyadit of Dhár, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipál (Ajipál) Solanki, son of Sidraj; ¹ another to Beejráj Bhatti, and the third to the Rana of Cheetore. The Bhatti prince left Lodorva for Dhár at the head of seven hundred horse, and arrived at the same time with the Seesodia and Solanki princes. On his return to Lodorva, he erected a temple to *Shéslinga*, close to which he made a lake. By the Püar princess he had a son named Rahir, who had two sons, Nétsi and Kéksi.

Bhojdeo had not long occupied the *gadi* of Lodorva, when his uncle Jesul conspired against him; but being always surrounded by a guard of five hundred Solanki Rajpoots, his person was unassailable. At this time, the prince of Puttun was often engaged with the king's troops from Tat'ha. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to coalesce with the king, and cause an attack on Puttun (Anhulwarra), by which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solanki body-guard. Jesul, with his chief kin, escorted by two hundred horse, marched to the Punjnud, where he saw the king of Ghor, who had just overcome the king of Tat'ha, ² and

1201, or A.D. 1094 to 1145; the point of time intermediate between the invasion of Mahmood of Ghizni and the final conquest of India by Shabudin, during which there were many irruptions into India by the lieutenants of the monarchs of Ghizni. There was one in the reign of Musood, in A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098), four years after the accession of Sidraj; another in A.D. 1120, in the reign of Byram Shah, during which, according to Ferishta, the Ghaznevide general, Balin, rebelled and assailed the Hindu Rajas from Nagore, where he established himself. In all probability this is the event alluded to by the queen of Puttun, when she nominated the Bhatti prince as her champion.

¹ The mention of these simultaneous intermarriages in three of the principal Rajpoot monarchies of that day, namely, Dhár, Puttun, and Cheetore, is important, not only as establishing fresh synchronisms, but as disclosing the intercourse between the Bhattis and the more ancient princely families of India. The period of Udyadit Prammar has been established beyond cavil (see *Trans. R. A. S.* vol. i. p. 223), and that of Sidraj, likewise, whose son and successor, Ajipál, had but a short reign when he was deposed by Komarpal, whose date is also found from inscriptions. It is a singular fact, that all the Rajpoot dynasties of these regions were established about the same epoch, namely, Puttun by the Chauras, Cheetore by the Gehlotes, Dehli, refounded by the Tüars, and the Bhatti principality by the descendant of Salbahan. This was in the middle of the eighth century of Vicramaditya, when the older Hindu governments were broken up. The admission of the Bhatti to intermarry with their families proves one of two facts: either that they were considered Rajpoots, notwithstanding their being inhabitants of the regions beyond the Indus; or, that the families mentioned, with which they intermarried, were Indo-Scythic like themselves.

² At every step we see, however meagre may be the outline, the correctness of this historical sketch. It was, according to Ferishta, in A.H. 555 (A.D. 1159, or S. 1215), that the prince of Ghor conquered Ghizni, and immediately after overran Mooltan and Sind (see Briggs, vol. i. p. 157); and doubtless it was on this occasion that the Bhatti prince swore allegiance to Shabudin, and obtained the force which drove his nephew from Lodorva, which being sacked by his auxiliaries, he founded Jessulmér in S. 1212. The three years' discrepancy between the Mahomedan and Hindu dates is of little consequence; but even this could be remedied, when we recollect that the Samvat, according to Mr. Colebrooke, is liable to a variation of ten years.

placed his own garrison there,¹ and he accompanied him to Arore, the ancient capital of Sind. There he unfolded his views, and having sworn allegiance to the king, he obtained a force to dispossess his nephew of his territory. Lodorva was encompassed, and Bhojdeo slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their effects, and on the third the troops of Ghor were permitted the license of plunder. Lodorva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bekher with the spoils.

Jesul thus obtained the *gadi* of Lodorva ; but it being open to invasion, he sought a spot better adapted for defence, and he found one only five coss (ten miles) from Lodorva. Upon the summit of a rocky ridge, he discovered a Brahmin, whose solitary hermitage adjoined the fountain of Brimsir. Having paid homage, and disclosed the purport of his visit, the recluse related the history of the triple-peaked hill, which overlooked his hermitage. He said, that in the *Treta*, or 'silver age,' a celebrated ascetic called Kák, or Kaga, resided at this fountain, after whom the rivulet which issued thence had its name of Kaga ; that the Pandu Arjoon, with Heri Crishna, came there to attend a great sacrifice, on which occasion Crishna foretold that, in some distant age, a descendant of his should erect a town on the margin of that rivulet, and should raise a castle on *Tricúta*, the triple-peaked mount.² While Crishna thus prophesied, it was observed to him by Arjoon that the water was bad, when Crishna smote the rock with his *chakra* (discus), whereupon a sweet spring bubbled up, and on its margin were inscribed the prophetic stanzas which the hermit Eesul now pointed out to the Bhatti prince, who read as follows :—

1.

"Oh prince of Jidoo-vansa ! come into this land, and on this mountain's top erect a triangular castle.

2.

"Lodorva is destroyed, but only five coss therefrom is Jesanoh, a site of twice its strength.

3.

"Prince, whose name is Jesul, who will be of Yadu race, abandon Lodorpoora ; here erect thy dwelling."

The hermit Eesul alone knew the existence of the fountain on whose margin these lines were engraved. All that he stipulated for himself was, that the fields to the westward of the castle should retain his name, "the fields of Eesul." He foretold that the intended castle should twice and a half times be sacked ; that rivers of blood would flow, and that for a time all would be lost to his descendants.

On *Rubwár*, 'the day of the sun' (a favourite day for commencing any grand undertaking with all these tribes), the 12th of Sravan, the enlightened half of the moon, S. 1212 (A.D. 1156), the foundation of Jessulmér was laid, and soon the inhabitants, with all that was valuable, abandoned Lodorva,³ and began to erect new habitations. Jesul had two sons, Kailun

¹ Tat'ha was not then in existence. It was founded about the middle of the fifteenth century.

² If there were no better support for the assumed descent of the Bhatti founder of Jessulmér from the *Yádus* of the *Bhárat*, than this prophecy, we should be confirmed in our suspicion that they are a colony of the *Yuti*, and that the Brahmins took advantage of the nominal resemblance to incorporate them in the *Chaters Rajcúla*, or thirty-six royal races.

³ Lodorva remains in ruins ; a journey thither might afford subject-matter

and Salbahan. He chose his chief ministers and advisers from the children of Sodil, of the Pahoo tribe, who became too powerful. Their old enemies, the Chunna Rajpoots, again invaded the lands of Khadál; but they suffered for their audacity. Jesul survived this event five years, when he died, and was succeeded by his youngest son, Salbahan the Second.

CHAPTER III

Preliminary observations—The early history of the Bhattis not devoid of interest—Traces of their ancient manners and religion—The chronicle resumed—Jesul survives the change of capital twelve years—The heir Kailun banished—Salbahan, his younger brother, succeeds—Expedition against the Catti or Cat'hi—Their supposed origin—Application from the Yadu prince of Badrinat'h for a prince to fill the vacant *gadi*—During Salbahan's absence, his son Beejil usurps the *gadi*—Salbahan retires to Khadál, and falls in battle against the Baloches—Beejil commits suicide—Kailun recalled and placed on the *gadi*—His issue form clans—Khizzur Khan Baloch again invades Khadál—Kailun attacks him, and avenges his father's death—Death of Kailun—Succeeded by Chachick Deo—He expels the Chunna Rajpoots—Defeats the Sodas of Amerkote—The Rahtores lately arrived in the desert become troublesome—Important synchronisms—Death of Chachick—He is succeeded by his grandson Kurrun, to the prejudice of the elder, Jaetsi, who leaves Jessulmér—Redresses the wrongs of a Baraha Rajpoot—Kurrun dies—Succeeded by Lakhun Sên—His imbecile character—Replaced by his son Poonpál, who is dethroned and banished—His grandson, Raning-deo, establishes himself at Marote and Poogul—On the deposal of Poonpál, Jaetsi is recalled and placed on the *gadi*—He affords a refuge to the Purihar prince of Mundore, when attacked by Alla-o-dín—The sons of Jaetsi carry off the imperial tribute of Tat'ha and Mooltan—The king determines to invade Jessulmér—Jaetsi and his sons prepare for the storm—Jessulmér invested—First assault repulsed—The Bhattis keep an army in the field—Rawul Jaetsi dies—The siege continues—Singular friendship between his son Ruttun and one of the besieging generals—Moolraj succeeds—General assault—Again defeated—Garrison reduced to great extremity—Council of war—Determination to perform the *saka*—Generous conduct of the Mahomedan friend of Ruttun to his sons—Final assault—Rawul Moolraj and Ruttun and their chief kin fall in battle—Jessulmér taken, dismantled, and abandoned.

HAVING thus epitomised the Bhatti annals, from the expulsion of the tribe from the Punjâb, and the establishment of Tunnote in the Indian desert, in A.D. 731, to the foundation of the existing capital, Jessulmér, in A.D. 1156, we shall continue the sketch to the present day, nearly in the language of the chronicle, adding explanatory notes as we proceed.

The interval between the erection of the castle of Tunnote and the present time is exactly eleven hundred years; during which the historical narrative, whatever may be its value, is at least continuous, and the events recorded are corroborated, even in the darkest period, by numerous synchronisms in the annals of the other states; and viewed synoptically, it presents matter of deep interest to the explorer of Indian history. The period of four hundred and twenty-five years, embraced in the preceding chapter, is full of incidents. It is a record of a people who once deemed

for the antiquary, and enable him to throw light upon the origin of the Bhatti tribe. I omitted to place it in the Map: it is ten miles N.W. of the present capital.

their consequence and their fame imperishable. And even were it less diversified by anecdotes descriptive of manners, it would still possess claims to interest as a simple relation of the gradual peopling of a great portion of the Indian desert. We see tribes and cities disappearing ; new races and new capitals taking their place ; and although not a syllable is written which bears directly upon religion, we can see, incidentally, the analogy of these Indo-Scythic tribes, from Zabulist'han and Salbahana, with the Hindu, confirming what Menu says, that the *Sácás*, *Yavanas*, *Pehlavis*, and the *Khasas*¹ of Central Asia, were all Ch'hettiris or Rajpoots. We now proceed with the chronicle.

Jesul, the founder of Jessulmér, survived the change of capital only twelve years. His elder son, Kailun, having given displeasure to the Pahoo minister, was expelled, and his younger brother placed upon the *gadî*.

Salbahana, a name of celebrity in the annals, renewed in the son of Jesul, succeeded in S. 1224 (A.D. 1168). His first expedition was against the Catti or Cat'hi tribe, who, under their leader, Jugbhan, dwelt between the city of Jhalore and the Aravulli.² The Cat'hi Rao was killed, and his horses and camels were carried to Jessulmér. The fame of this exploit exalted the reputation of Salbahana. He had three sons, Beejir, Banar, and Hasso.

In the mountains of Bhadrinath, there was a state, whose princes were of the Jadoon (Yadu) race, descended from the first Salbahana at the period of the expulsion from Gujni.³ At this time, the prince of this state dying without issue, a deputation came to Jessulmér to obtain a prince to fill the vacant *gadî*. Hasso was accordingly sent, but died just as he arrived. His wife, who was pregnant, was taken with the pains of labour on the journey, and was delivered of a son under the shade of a *palas* tree, whence the child was called *Palaseo*. This infant succeeding, the *raj* (principality) was named after him *Plaseoh*.⁴

¹ There is a race in the desert, now Mahomedan, and called *Khossas*. Elphinstone mentions the *Khasa-Khél*. Khasgar is 'the region of the Khasas,' the *Casia Regia* of Ptolemy

² We can scarcely refuse our assent to the belief, that the Cathi, or Catti tribe, here mentioned, is the remnant of the nation which so manfully opposed Alexander. It was then located about Mooltan, at this period occupied by the Langas. The colony attacked by the Bhatti was near the Aravulli, in all probability a predatory band from the region they peopled and gave their name to, Cattiawar, in the Saurashtra peninsula.

³ Mr. Elphinstone enumerates the Jadoon as a subdivision of the Eusofzyes, one of the great Afghan tribes, who were originally located about Cabul and Ghizni. I could not resist surmising the probability of the term Jadoon, applied to a subdivision of the Afghan race, originating from the Hindu-Scythic Jadoon, or Yadu ; whence the boasted descent of the Afghans from Saul, king of the Jews (*Ydhúdis*). The customs of the Afghans would support this hypothesis : "The Afghans (says the Emperor Baber, p. 159), when reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth, being as much as to say, 'I am your ox.' " This custom is entirely Rajpoot, and ever recurring in inscriptions recording victories. They have their bards or poets in like manner, of whom Mr. Elphinstone gives an interesting account. In features, also, they resemble the Northern Rajpoots, who have generally aquiline noses, or, as Mr. Elphinstone expresses it, in the account of his journey through the desert, "Jewish features"; though this might tempt one to adopt the converse of my deduction, and say, that these *Yadús* of Gujni were, with the Afghans, also of *Ydhúdi* origin : from the lost tribes of Israel.

⁴ See Mr. Elphinstone's map for the position of the Jadoon branch of the Eusofzyes at the foot of the Sewalik hills.

Proposals of marriage came from Maunsi Deora of Sirohi. The Rawul left Jessulmér to the care of his eldest son Beejil. Soon after his departure, the foster-brother (*dhahbaé*) of the young prince propagated the report of the Rawul's death in an encounter with a tiger, and prompted Beejil to assume the dignity. Salbahan, on his return, finding his seat usurped, and having in vain expostulated with his traitorous son, proceeded to Khadál, of which Deorawul is the capital, where he was slain, with three hundred of his followers, in repelling an irruption of the Baloches. Beejil did not long enjoy the dignity: having in a fit of passion struck the *dhahbaé*, the blow was returned, upon which, stung with shame and resentment, he stabbed himself with his dagger.

Kailun, the elder brother of Salbahan, who was expelled by the Pahoos, was now (A.D. 1200) recalled, and installed at the age of fifty. He had six sons, Chachick Deo, Palhan, Jeichund, Peetumsi, Petumchund, and Usrao. The second and third had numerous issue, who are styled Jaseir and Seehana Rajpoots.

Khizzur Khan Baloch, with five thousand men, at this time again crossed the Mehran (Indus), and invaded the land of Khadál, which was the second irruption since he slew Salbahan. Kailun marched against him at the head of seven thousand Rajpoots, and, after a severe engagement, slew the Baloch leader and fifteen hundred of his men. Kailun ruled nineteen years.

Chachick Deo succeeded, in S. 1275 (A.D. 1219). Soon after his accession, he carried on war against the Chunna Rajpoots (now extinct), of whom he slew two thousand, capturing fourteen thousand cows, and compelling the tribe to take refuge with the Johyas. Soon after, the Rawul invaded the lands of Rana Urmsi, prince of the Sodas, who, though taken by surprise, assembled four thousand horse: but was defeated, and forced to fly for shelter to the walls of his capital, Amerkote. The Püar was glad to obtain the absence of his foe by the offer of his daughter in marriage.¹

The Rahtores, recently established in the land of Khér, had become troublesome neighbours; Chachick obtained the aid of the Soda troops to chastise them, and he proceeded to Jessule and Bhalotra, where they were

¹ In this single passage we have revealed the tribe (*gotc*), race (*cúla*), capital, and proper name, of the prince of *Dhát*. The Soda tribe, as before stated, is an important branch of the Pramara (Püar) race, and with the *Oomras* and *Soomras* gave dynasties to the valley of Sind from the most remote period. The *Sodas*, I have already observed, were probably the *Sogái* of Alexander, occupying Upper Sind when the Macedonian descended that stream. The *Soomra* dynasty is mentioned by Ferishta from ancient authorities, but the Mahomedan historians knew nothing, and cared nothing, about Rajpoot tribes. It is from such documents as these, scattered throughout the annals of these principalities, and from the ancient Hindu epic poems, that I have concentrated the "Sketches of the Rajpoot Tribes," introductory to the first volume, which, however slight they appear, cost more research than the rest of the book. I write this note chiefly for the information of the patriarch of oriental lore on the Continent, the learned and ingenious De Sacy. If this mentor ask, "Where are now the Sodas?" I reply, the ex-prince of Amerkote, with whose ancestors Hemayoon took refuge—in whose capital in the desert the great Akbér was born—and who could on the spur of the moment oppose four thousand horse to invasion, has only one single town, that of Chore, left to him. The Rahtores, who, in the time of Urmsi Rana and Rawul Chachick, were hardly known in *Mariúds*, have their flag waving on the battlements of the "immortal castle" (*ámurcúta*), and the Ameers of Sind have incorporated the greater part of *Dhát* with their state of Hyderabad.

established ; but Chadoo and his son Theedo averted his wrath by giving him a daughter to wife.¹

Rawul Chachick ruled thirty-two years. He had only one son, Tej Rao, who died at the age of forty-two, from the small-pox, leaving two sons, Jaetsi and Kurrun. To the youngest the Rawul was much attached ; and having convened the chiefs around his death-bed, he entreated they would accede to his last wish, that his youngest grandson might be his successor.

Kurrun having succeeded, his elder brother, Jaetsi, abandoned his country, and took service with the Mahomedans in Guzzerat. About this time, Mozuffer Khan, who occupied Nagore with five thousand horse, committed great outrages. There was a Bhomia of the Baraha tribe, named Bhagaoti-das, who resided fifteen coss from Nagore, and was master of one thousand five hundred horse. He had an only daughter, who was demanded by the Khan, and being unwilling to comply, and unable to resist, he resolved to abandon the country. For this purpose he prepared carriages, in which he placed his family and chattels, and at night proceeded towards Jessulmér ; but the Khan, gaining intelligence of his motions, intercepted the convoy. A battle ensued, in which four hundred of the Barahas were killed, and his daughter and other females were carried off. The afflicted Baraha continued his route to Jessulmér, and related his distress to Rawul Kurrun, who immediately put himself at the head of his followers, attacked the Khan, whom he slew, with three thousand of his people, and re-inducted the Bhomia in his possessions. Kurrun ruled twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son,

Lakhun Sén, in S. 1327 (A.D. 1271). He was so great a simpleton, that when the jackals howled at night, being told that it was from being cold, he ordered quilted dresses (*duglas*) to be prepared for them. As the howling still continued, although he was assured his orders had been fulfilled, he commanded houses to be built for the animals in the royal preserves (*rumma*), many of which yet remain. Lakhun was the contemporary of Kanirdeo Sonigurra, whose life was saved by his (Lakhun's) wife's knowledge of omens. Lakhun was ruled by this Raní, who was of the Soda tribe. She invited her brethren from Amerkote ; but the madman, her husband, put them to death, and threw their bodies over the walls. He was allowed to rule four years, and was then replaced by his son,

Poonpál. This prince was of a temper so violent that the nobles dethroned him, and recalled the exiled Jaetsi from Guzzerat. Poonpál had a residence assigned him in a remote quarter of the state. He had a son, Lakumsi, who had a son called Rao Raningdeo, who by a stratagem pointed out by a Khurí² Rajpoot, took Marote from the Johyas, and Poogul from the Thorics, thieves by profession, whose chief, styled Rao, he made captive ; and in Poogul he settled his family. Rao Raning had a son called Sadool, who alternately bathed in the sea of pleasure, and

¹ To those interested in the migration of these tribes, it must be gratifying to see these annals thus synchronically corroborating each other. About two centuries before this, in the reign of Doosāj, when the Bhatti capital was at Lodorva, an attack was made on the land of Khér, then occupied by the Gohilotes, who were, as related in the Annals of Marwar, dispossessed by the Rahtores. None but an inquirer into these annals of the desert tribes can conceive the satisfaction arising from such confirmation.

² This tribe is unknown to Central India.

struggled in that of action : to their retreat the father and son conveyed the spoils seized from all around them.

Jaetsi obtained the *gadi* in S. 1332 (A.D. 1276). He had two sons, Moolraj and Ruttunsi. Deoraj, the son of Moolraj, espoused the daughter of the Sonigurra chief of Jhalore. Mahomed [Khooni] Padsha invaded the dominions of Rana Roopsi, the Purihar prince of Mundore ¹ who, when defeated, fled with his twelve daughters, and found refuge with the Rawul, who gave him Baroo as a residence.

Deoraj, by his Sonigurra wife, had three sons, Janghan, Sirwun, and Hamir. This Hamir was a mighty warrior, who attacked Kompoh Sên of Mehwo, and plundered his lands. He had issue three sons, Jaito, Loonkurn, and Mairoo. At this period, Ghorî Alla-o-dîn commenced the war against the castles of India. The tribute of Tat'ha and Mooltan, consisting of fifteen hundred horses and fifteen hundred mules laden with treasure and valuables, was at Bekher in progress to the king at Dehli. The sons of Jaetsi determined to lay an ambush and capture the tribute. Disguised as grain-merchants, with seven thousand horse and twelve hundred camels, they set out on their expedition, and on the banks of the Punjnad found the convoy, escorted by four hundred Mogul and the like number of Pat'han horse. The Bhattis encamped near the convoy ; and in the night they rose upon and slew the escort, carrying the treasure to Jessulmér. The survivors carried the news to the king, who prepared to punish this insult. When tidings reached Rawul Jaetsi that the king was encamped on the *Anasagur* at Ajmér, he prepared Jessulmér for defence. He laid in immense stores of grain, and deposited all round the ramparts of the fort large round stones to hurl on the besiegers. All the aged, the infirm, and his female grand-children, were removed into the interior of the desert, while the country around the capital for many miles was laid waste, and the towns made desolate. The Rawul, with his two elder sons and five thousand warriors, remained inside for the defence of the castle, while Deoraj and Hamir formed an army to act against the enemy from without. The sultan in person remained at Ajmér and sent forward an immense force of Khorasanis and Koreishes, cased in steel armour, " who rolled on like the clouds in Bhadoon." The fifty-six bastions were manned, and three thousand seven hundred heroes distributed amongst them for their defence, while two thousand remained in reserve to succour the points attacked. During the first week that the besiegers formed their entrenchments, seven thousand Moosulmans were slain, and Meer Mohabet and Alli Khan remained on the field of battle. For two years the invaders were confined to their camp by Deoraj and Hamir, who kept the field, after cutting off their supplies, which came from Mundore, while the garrison was abundantly furnished from Khadál, Barmair, and Dhât. Eight years ² had the siege lasted, when Rawul Jaetsi died, and his body was burnt inside the fort.

During this lengthened siege, Ruttunsi had formed a friendship with the Nawab Maboob Khan, and they had daily friendly meetings under a

¹ The title, tribe, and capital of this race, show that the Bhattis were intimately connected with the neighbouring states.

² This can mean nothing more than that desultory attacks were carried on against the Bhatti capital. It is certain that Alla never carried his arms in person against Jessulmér.

khajira tree, between the advanced posts, each attended by a few followers. They played at chess together, and interchanged expressions of mutual esteem. But when duty called them to oppose each other in arms, the whole world was enamoured with their heroic courtesies. Jaetsi had ruled eighteen years when he died.

Moolraj III., in S. 1350 (A.D. 1294), ascended the *gadi* surrounded by foes. On this occasion, the customary rejoicings on installation took place, at the moment when the two friends, Ruttunsi and Maboob Khar had met, as usual, under the *khajira* tree. The cause of rejoicing being explained to the Nawab, he observed that the Sooltan had heard of, and was offended with, these meetings, to which he attributed the protracted defence of the castle, and acquainted Ruttunsi that next day a general assault was commanded, which he should lead in person. The attack took place; it was fierce, but the defence was obstinate, and the assailants were beaten back with the loss of nine thousand men. But the foe obtained reinforcements, and towards the conclusion of the year, the garrison was reduced to the greatest privations, and the blockade being perfect, Moolraj assembled his kinsmen and thus addressed them: "For so many years we have defended our dwellings; but our supplies are expended, and there is no passage for more. What is to be done?" The chiefs, Schir and Bikumsi, replied, "A *saka* must take place; we must sacrifice ourselves": but that same day the royal army, unaware of the distress of the besieged, retreated.

The friend of Ruttunsi had a younger brother, who, on the retreat of the royal forces, was carried inside the fort, when, seeing the real state of things, he escaped and conveyed intelligence of it, upon which the siege was renewed. Moolraj reproached his brother as the cause of this evil, and asked what was fit to be done? to which Ruttunsi replied, "There is but one path open; to immolate the females, to destroy by fire and water whatever is destructible, and to bury what is not; then open wide the gates, and sword in hand rush upon the foe, and thus attain *swerga*." The chiefs were assembled; all were unanimous to make *Jesa-nuggur* resplendent by their deeds, and preserve the honour of the Jadoo race. Moolraj thus replied: "You are of a warlike race, and strong are your arms in the cause of your prince; what heroes excel you, who thus tread in the Chetrie's path? In battle, not even the elephant could stand before you. For the maintenance of my honour the sword is in your hands; let Jessulmér be illumined by its blows upon the foe." Having thus inspired the chiefs and men, Moolraj and Ruttunsi repaired to the palace of their queens. They told them to take the *sohag*,¹ and prepare to meet in heaven, while they gave up their lives in defence of their honour and their faith. Smiling, the Soda Rani, replied, "This night we shall prepare, and by the morning's light we shall be inhabitants of *swerga*" (heaven); and thus it was with the chiefs and all their wives. The night was passed together for the last time in preparation for the awful morn. It came; ablutions and prayers were finished, and at the *Rajdwara*² were convened *bála*, *prúde*, and *bridú*.³ They bade a last farewell to all their kin; the *johur* com-

¹ *Sohágun*, one who becomes *sati* previous to her lord's death: *Dohágun*, who follows him after death.

² Literally, 'the royal gate'; an allusion to the female apartments, or *Raj-loca*.

³ *Bála*, is under sixteen; *prúde*, middle-aged; *bridú*, when forty.

menced, and twenty-four thousand females, from infancy to old age, surrendered their lives, some by the sword, others in the volcano of fire. Blood flowed in torrents, while the smoke of the pyre ascended to the heavens : not one feared to die, every valuable was consumed with them, not the worth of a straw was preserved for the foe. This work done, the brothers looked upon the spectacle with horror. Life was now a burden, and they prepared to quit it. They purified themselves with water, paid adoration to the divinity, made gifts to the poor, placed a branch of the *toolsi*¹ in their casques, the *saligram*² round their neck ; and having cased themselves in armour and put on the saffron robe, they bound the *mor*² (crown) around their heads, and embraced each other for the last time. Thus they awaited the hour of battle. Three thousand eight hundred warriors, with faces red with wrath, prepared to die with their chiefs.

Ruttunsi had two sons, named Garsi and Kanur, the eldest only twelve years of age. He wished to save them from the impending havoc, and applied to his courteous foeman. The Mooslem chief swore he would protect them, and sent two confidential servants to receive the trust ; to whom, bidding them a last farewell, their father consigned them. When they reached the royal camp they were kindly welcomed by the Nawab, who, putting his hand upon their heads, soothed them, and appointed two Brahmins to guard, feed, and instruct them.

On the morrow, the army of the Sooltan advanced to the assault. The gates were thrown wide, and the fight began. Ruttun was lost in the sea of battle ; but one hundred and twenty Meers fell before his sword ere he lay in the field. Moolraj plied his lance on the bodies of the barbarians : the field swam in blood. The unclean spirits were gorged with slaughter ; but at length the Jidoon chief fell, with seven hundred of the choice of his kin. With his death the battle closed ; the victors ascended the castle, and Maboob Khan caused the bodies of the brothers to be carried from the field and burned. The *saka* took place in S. 1351, or A.D. 1295. Deoraj, who commanded the force in the field, was carried off by a fever. The royal garrison kept possession of the castle during two years, and at length blocked up the gateways, and dismantled and abandoned the place, which remained long deserted, for the Bhattis had neither means to repair the *kangras* (battlements) nor men to defend them.

¹ The funereal qualities of the *toolsi* plant, and the emblematic *saligram*, or stone found in the Gunduc river, have been often described.

² On two occasions the Rajpoot chieftain wears the *mor*, or 'coronet' ; on his marriage, and when going to die in battle ; symbolic of his nuptials with the *Apsara*, or 'fair of heaven.'

CHAPTER IV

The Rahtores of Mehwo settle amidst the ruins of Jessulmér—Driven out by the Bhatti chieftain Doodoo, who is elected Rawul—He carries off the stud of Feeroz Shah—Second storm and *saka* of Jessulmér—Doodoo slain—Moghul invasion of India—The Bhatti princes obtain their liberty—Rawul Gursi re-establishes Jessulmér—Kehur, son of Deoraj—Disclosure of his destiny by a prodigy—Is adopted by the wife of Rawul Gursi, who is assassinated by the tribe of Jesur—Kehur proclaimed—Beemladé becomes *sati*—The succession entailed on the sons of Hamir—Matrimonial overture to Jaita from Méwar—Engagement broken off—The brothers slain—Penitential act of Rao Raning—Offspring of Kehur—Soma the elder departs with his *hussie* and settles at Giraup—Sons of Rao Raning become Mooslems to avenge their father's death—Consequent forfeiture of their inheritance—They mix with the Abhorja Bhattis—Kailun, the third son of Kehur, settles in the forfeited lands—Drives the Dahyas from Khadál—Kailun erects the fortress of Kerroh on the Behah or Gara—Assailed by the Jolyas and Langas under Ameer Khan Korai, who is defeated—Subdues the Chahils and Mohils—Extends his authority to the Punjnud—Rao Kailun marries into the Samma family—Account of the Samma race—He seizes on the Samma dominions—Makes the river Indus his boundary—Kailun dies—Succeeded by Chachick—Makes Marote his headquarters—League headed by the chief of Mooltan against Chachick, who invades that territory, and returns with a rich booty to Marote—A second victory—Leaves a garrison in the Punjáb—Defeats Maipal, chief of the Doondis—Asini, or Aswini-Kote—Its supposed position—Anecdote—Feud with Satilmér—Its consequences—Alliance with Hybut Khan—Rao Chachick invades Peeleebunga—The Khokurs or Ghukers described—The Langas drive his garrison from Dhooniapoor—Rao Chachick falls sick—Challenges the prince of Mooltan—Reaches Dhooniapoor—Rites preparatory to the combat—Worship of the sword—Chachick is slain with all his hands—Koombho, hitherto insane, avenges his father's feud—Birsil re-establishes Dhooniapoor—Repairs to Kerore—Assailed by the Langas and Baloches—Defeats them—Chronicle of Jessulmér resumed—Rawul Bersf meets Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjáb—Conquest of Mooltan by Baber—Probable conversion of the Bhattis of the Punjáb—Rawul Bersf, Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, and Subbul Sing, six generations.

SOME years subsequent to this disastrous event in the Bhatti annals, Jugmal, son of Maloji Rahtore, chief of Mehwo, attempted a settlement amidst the ruins of Jessulmér, and brought thither a large force, with seven hundred carts of provisions. On hearing this, the Bhatti chiefs, Doodoo and Tiluksi, the sons of Jesir, assembled their kinsmen, surprised the Rahtores, drove them from the castle, and captured the supplies. Doodoo, for this exploit, was elected Rawul, and commenced the repairs of Jessulmér. He had five sons. Tiluksi, his brother, was renowned for his exploits. He despoiled the Baloch, the Mangulco, the Mehwo, and the Deoras and Sonigurras of Aboo and Jhalore felt his power. He even extended his raids to Ajmér, and carried off the stud of Feeroz Shah from the Anasagur (lake), where they were accustomed to be watered. This indignity provoked another attack upon Jessulmér, attended with the same disastrous results. Again the *saka* was performed, in which sixteen thousand females¹ were destroyed; and Doodoo, with Tiluksi and seven hundred of the clan, fell in battle, after he had occupied the *gadî* ten years.

¹ The Rajpoots, by their exterminating *sakas*, facilitated the views of the Mahomedans. In every state we read of these horrors.

The coco-nut was sent by Koombho, Rana of Cheetore, to Jaita. The Bhatti prince marched for Méwar, and when within twelve coss of the Aravulli hills, was joined by the famous Sankla Meera, chief of Salbanny. Next morning, when about to resume the march, a partridge began to call from the right : a bad omen, which was interpreted by the brother-in-law of the Sankla, deeply versed in the science of the *Sookuni* and the language of birds.¹ Jaita drew the rein of his horse, and to avert the evil, halted that day. Meanwhile, the partridge was caught and found to be blind of an eye, and its ovary quite filled. The next morning, as soon as they had taken horse, a tigress began to roar, and the *Sookuni* chieftain was again called upon to expound the omen. He replied that the secrets of great houses should not be divulged, but he desired them to despatch a youth, disguised as a female *Nae* (barber class), to Komulmér, who there would learn the cause. The youth gained admission to 'the ruby of Méwar' (*Lálá Mewar*), who was anointing for the nuptials. He saw things were not right, and returning made his report ; upon hearing which, the Bhatti prince married Marrud, the daughter of the Sankla chief. The Rana was indignant at this insult, but a sense of shame prevented his resenting it ; and instead of proclaiming the slight, he offered his daughter's hand to the famous Kheechee prince, Achildas of Gagrown, and it was accepted.² Jaita met his death, together with his brother Loonkurn, and his brother-in-law, in an attempt to surprise Poogul : he fell with a hundred and twenty followers. When the old Rao, Raningdeo, discovered against whom he had thus successfully defended himself, he clad himself in black garments, and in atonement performed pilgrimage to all the shrines in India.³ On his return, he was forgiven and consoled with by Kehur.

Kehur had eight sons : 1, Somaji, who had a numerous offspring, called the Soma-Bhattis ; 2, Lukmun ; 3, Kailun, who forcibly seized Beekumpoor, the appanage of his elder brother Soma, who departed with all his *bussie*,⁴ and settled at Giraup ; 4, Kilkurn ; 5, Satul, who gave his

¹ It is scarcely necessary to repeat that this is a free translation of the chronicle.

² The Kheechee prince, we may suppose, had no follower skilled in omens—they lived very happily, as appears by the Kheechee chronicle, and she bore him a son, who was driven from Gagrown. The scandal propagated against the 'ruby of Mewar' was no doubt a *ruse* of the Sankla chief, as the conclusion shows. However small the intrinsic worth of these anecdotes, they afford links of synchronisms, which constitute the value of the annals of all these states.

³ Sadoo was the son and heir of Raningdeo, and it was from this portion of the Bhatti annals I extracted that singular story, related at p. 498, vol. i., to illustrate the influence which the females of Rajpootana have on national manners. The date of this tragical event was S. 1462, according to the Bhatti annals ; and Rana Mokul, the contemporary of Rawul Jait and Rao Raningdeo, was on the throne of Méwar from S. 1454 to S. 1475. The annals of this state (p. 229, vol. i.) notice the marriage of the 'Ruby' to Dheruj, son of Achildas, but say nothing on the other point. A vague recollection of some matrimonial insult being offered evidently yet prevails, for when a marriage was contracted in A.D. 1821, through the author's intervention, between the Rana of Oodipoor's daughter and the present Rawul Guj Sing of Jessulmér, it was given out that there was no memorial of any marriage-alliance between the two houses. After all, it may be a vain-glorious invention of the Bhatti annalist.

⁴ The term *bussie* has been explained in vol. i, p. 143. The *bussie* is a slave in the mildest sense ; one who in distress sells his liberty. His master cuts the *choti*, or lock of hair, from the centre of the head, as a mark of bondage. They are transferable, like cattle. This custom prevails more in the desert states than in central Rajwarra ; there every great man has his *bussie*. Shiam Sing Champawut

name to an ancient town, and called it Satulmér. The names of the rest were Beejo, Tunno, and Tejsi.

When the sons of Raningdeo became converts to Islám, in order to avenge their father's feud with the Rahtore prince of Nagore, they forfeited their inheritance of Poogul and Marote, and thenceforward mixed with the Abhorja Bhattis, and their descendants are termed Momun Moosulmán Bhutti. On this event, Kailun, the third son of the Rawul, took possession of the forfeited lands, and besides Beekumpoor, regained Deorawul, which had been conquered by their ancient foes, the Dahya Rajpoots.

Kailun built a fort on the Beyah, called, after his father, Kerroh, or Kerore, which again brought the Bhattis into collision with the Johyas and Langas, whose chief, Ameer Khan Korai, attacked him, but was defeated. Kailun became the terror of the Chalhís,¹ the Mohils,¹ and Johyas,¹ who lived in this quarter, and his authority extended as far as the Punjnud. Kailun married into the Samma family of Jam,² and arbitrated their disputes on succession, which had caused much bloodshed. Shujahit Jam, whom he supported, accompanied him to Marote, on whose death, two years after, Kailun possessed himself of all the Samma territory, when the Sinde river became the boundary of his dominion. Kailun died at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded by ³

Chachick-deo, who made Marote his headquarters, to cover his territories from the attacks of Mooltan, which took umbrage at the return of the Bhattis across the Garah. The chief of Mooltan united in a league all the ancient foes of the Bhattis, the Langas, the Johyas, the Kheechees, of Pokurna had two hundred when he fled to Jeipoor, and they all fell with him fighting against the Mahrattas. All castes, Brahmins and Rajpoots, become *bussies*: they can redeem their liberty by purchase.

¹ These three tribes are either extinct, or were lost on becoming proselytes to Islamism.

² The Samma or Summa tribe, which is well known in Mahomedan history, as having given a dynasty to Sinde in modern times, is a great branch of the Yadus, and descended from *Samba*, son of Crishna; and while the other branch colonised Zabulisthan, maintaining the original name of Yadus, the sons of Samba made his name the patronymic in Seistan and the lower valley of the Indus. Samma-ka-kote, or Samma-nagari, was the capital, which yet exists, and doubtless originated the Minagara of the Greeks. Sambus, the opponent of Alexander, it is fair to infer, was the chief of the Samma tribe. Samba, meaning 'of, or belonging to *Sham* or *Sama*' (an epithet of Crishna, from his dark complexion), was son of Jambuvati, one of the eight wives of this deified Yadu. The Jharejas of Cutch and Jams of Sinde and Saurashtra are of the same stock. The Sind-Samma dynasty, on the loss of their faith and coming into contact with Islám, to which they became proselytes, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors; *Sam* was transformed into *Jam*, and the Persian king, Jamshíd, was adopted as the patriarch of the Sammas, in lieu of the legitimate Samba. Ferishta gives an account of this dynasty, but was ignorant of their origin. He says, "The Zemindars of Sinde were originally of two tribes or families, Somuna and Soomura; and the chief of the former was distinguished by the appellation of Jam."—Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 422. The historian admits they were Hindus until A.H. 782 (A.D. 1380, S. 1436); a point of little doubt, as we see the Bhatti prince intermarrying with this family about twenty years subsequent even to the date assigned by Ferishta for their proselytism.

I may here again state, once for all, that I append these notes in order not to interfere with the text, which is abridged from the original chronicle.

³ It is said that Rinnul succeeded; but this was only to the northern portion, his appanage: he lived but two months.

and all the tribes of that region. Chachick formed an army of seventeen thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot, and crossed the Beyah to meet his foes. The encounter was desperate; but the Bhattis were victorious, and returned with rich spoil to Marote. In the year following another battle took place, in which seven hundred and forty Bhattis were slain, and three thousand of the men of Mooltan. By this success, the conquests of Chachick were extended, and he left a garrison (*thanna*) under his son in Asini-kote, beyond the Behah, and returned to Poogul. He then attacked Maipâl, chief of the Doonds, whom he defeated. After this victory he repaired to Jessulmér, to visit his brother Lukmun, reserving the produce of the lands dependent on Asini-kote¹ for his expenses at court. On his return home by Baroo, he was accosted by a Jinj Rajpoot,² pasturing an immense flock of goats, who presented the best of his flock, and demanded protection against the raids of Birjung Rahtore. This chief had wrested the celebrated fortress of Satulmér,³ the abode of wealthy merchants, from a Bhatti chief, and extended his forays far into the desert, and the Jinj was one of those who had suffered by his success. Not long after Rao Chachick had passed by the pastures of the Jinj, he received a visit from him, to complain of another inroad, which had carried off the identical goat, his offering. Chachick assembled his kinsmen, and formed an alliance with Shoomar Khan, chief of the Séta tribe,⁴ who came with three thousand horse. It was the custom of the Rahtores of Satulmér to encamp their horse at a *tank* some distance from the city, to watch, while the chief citizens used daily to go abroad. Chachick surprised and made prisoners of the whole. The bankers and men of wealth offered large sums for their ransom; but he would not release them from bondage, except on condition of their settling in the territory of Jessulmér. Three hundred and sixty-five heads of families embraced this alternative, and hence Jessulmér dates the influx of her wealth. They were distributed over the principal cities, Dcorawul, Poogul, Marote, etc.⁵ The three sons of the Rahtore were also made prisoners; the two youngest were released, but Mairah, the eldest, was detained as a hostage for his father's good conduct. Chachick dismissed his ally, the Séta chief, whose granddaughter, Sonaldévi, he married. The father of the bride, Hybat Khan,⁶ gave with her in *daéja* (dower) fifty horses, thirty-five

¹ Position unknown, unless it be the *Tchin-kot* of D'Anville at the confluence of the river of Cabul with the Indus. There is no doubt that this castle of the Bhatti prince was in the Punjáb; and coupled with his alliance with the chief of Sehat or Swât, that it is the Tchin-kot, or Ashnagur of that celebrated geographer, whence the Acesines of the Greeks.

² I may here repeat, that the Jinj and Johya were no doubt branches of the same race; the Jenjûhéh of Baber, who locates them about the mountains of Joude.

³ Now belonging to Marwar, and on its north-western frontier; but I believe in ruins.

⁴ Most likely the Swatees, or people of Swât, described by Mr. Elphinstone (vol. i. p. 506), as of Indian origin, and as possessing a kingdom from the Hydaspes to Jellalabad, the *Suastene* of Ptolemy.

⁵ It must not be forgotten, that Satulmér was one of the Bhatti castles wrested from them by the Rahtores, who have greatly curtailed their frontiers.

⁶ From this and many other instances we come to the conclusion that the Tatar or Indo-Scythic title of Khan is by no means indicative of the Mahomedan faith. Here we see the daughter of the prince of Swat, or Suvat, with a genuine Hindi name.

slaves, four palkis, and two hundred female camels, and with her Chachick returned to Marote.

Two years after this, Chachick made war on Thir-raj Khokur, the chief of Peeleebunga,¹ on account of a horse stolen from a Bhatti. The Khokurs were defeated and plundered; but his old enemies the Langas, taking advantage of this occasion, made head against Chachick, and drove his garrison from the new possession of Dhooniapoor.² Disease at length seized on Rawul Chachick, after a long course of victorious warfare, in which he subdued various tracts of country, even to the heart of the Punjâb. In this state he determined to die as he had lived, with arms in his hands; but having no foe near with whom to cope, he sent an embassy to the Langa prince of Mooltan, to beg, as a last favour, the *jood-dân*, or 'gift of battle,' that his soul might escape by the steel of his foeman, and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease.³ The prince, suspecting treachery, hesitated; but the Bhatti messenger pledged his word that his master only wished an honourable death, and that he would only bring five hundred men to the combat. The challenge being accepted, the Rawul called his clansmen around him, and on recounting what he had done, seven hundred select Rajpoots, who had shared in all his victories, volunteered to take the last field, and make *sunkhuf* (oblation) of their lives with their leader. Previous to setting forth, he arranged his affairs. His son Guj Sing, by the Sêta Ranî, he sent with her to her father's house. He had five other sons, namely, Koombho, Birsil, Bheemdeo (by Lala Ranî, of the Sôda tribe), Rutto and Rindheer, whose mother was Sooraj-dévi, of Chohan race. Birsil, his eldest son, he made heir to all his dominions, except the land of Khádál (whose chief town is Deorawul), which he bestowed upon Rindheer, and to both he gave the *tika*, making them separate states. Birsil marched to Kerore,⁴ his capital, at the head of seventeen thousand men.

Meanwhile, Rawul Chachick marched to Dhooniapoor, 'to part with life.' There he heard that the prince of Mooltan was within two coss. His soul was rejoiced; he performed his ablutions, worshipped the sword⁵ and the gods, bestowed charity, and withdrew his thoughts from this world.

¹ The position of *Peeleebunga* is unknown; in all probability it has undergone a metamorphosis with the spread of 'the faith' over these regions. As before mentioned, I believe this race called *Khokur* to be the Ghiker, so well known to Baber, and described as his inveterate foes in all his irruptions into India. Their manners, especially that distinctive mark, polyandry, mentioned by Ferishta, mark the Ghikers as Indo-Scythic. The names of their chiefs are decidedly Hindu. They were located with the Joudis in the upper part of the Punjâb, and, according to Elphinstone, they retain their old position, contiguous to the Eusotzye *Jadoons*.

² Dhooniapoor is not located.

³ In this chivalrous challenge, or demand of the *jood-dân*, we recognise another strong trait of Scythic manners, as depicted by Herodotus. The ancient Gète of Transoxiana could not bear the idea of dying of disease; a feeling which his offspring carried with them to the shores of the Baltic, to Yeut-land, or Jutland!

⁴ This fortress, erected by Rao Kailun, is stated to be twenty-two coss, about forty miles, from Bahwulpoor; but though the direction is not stated, there is little doubt of its being to the northward, most probably in that *do-âbeh* called *Sind-Sagur*.

⁵ Couple this martial rite with the demand of *jood-dân*, and there is an additional reason for calling these Yadús, Indo-Scythic. See vol. i. p. 464, for an account of the worship of the sword, or *Kharg-thâpnâ*.

The battle lasted four *ghurris* (two hours), and the Jadoon prince fell with all his kin after performing prodigies of valour. Two thousand Khans fell beneath their swords: rivers of blood flowed in the field; but the Bhatti gained the abode of Indra, who shared his throne with the hero. The king crossed the Behah, and returned to Mooltan.

While Rindheer was performing at Deorawul the rites of the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' his elder brother, Koombho, afflicted with insanity, rushed into the assembly, and swore to avenge his father's death. That day he departed, accompanied by a single slave, and reached the prince's camp. It was surrounded by a ditch eleven yards wide, over which the Bhatti leaped his horse in the dead of night, reached the harem, and cut off the head of Kaloo Shah, with which he rejoined his brethren at Deorawul. Birsil re-established Dhooniapoor, and then went to Kerore. His old foes, the Langas, under Hybat Khan, again attacked him, but they were defeated with great slaughter. At the same time, Husein Khan Baloch invaded Beekumpoor.¹

Rawul Bérsi, who at this time occupied the *gadî* of Jessulmér, went forth to meet Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjâb. In S. 1530 (A.D. 1474), he made the gates and palace of Beekumpoor.

We may, in this place, desert the literal narrative of the chronicle; what follows is a record of similar border-feuds and petty wars, between 'the sons of Kailun'² and the chiefs of the Punjâb, alternately invaders and invaded, which is pregnant with mighty words and gallant deeds, but yielding no new facts of historical value. At length, the numerous offspring of Kailun separated, and divided amongst them the lands on both sides of the Garah; and as Sultân Baber soon after this period made a final conquest of Mooltan from the Langas, and placed therein his own governor, in all probability the Bhatti possessors of Kerore-kot and Dhooniapoor, as well as Poogul and Marote (now Mahomedans), exchanged their faith (sanctioned even by Menu) for the preservation of their estates.³ The bard is so much occupied with this Poogul branch that the chronicle appears almost devoted solely to them.

He passes from the main stem, Rawul Bérsi, to Rawuls Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, to Subbul Sing, five generations, with little further notice than the mere enumeration of their issue. With this last prince, Subbul Sing, an important change occurred in the political condition of the Bhattis.

¹ The foregoing (from p. 205), including the actions of Kailun, Chachick, and Birsil, must be considered as an episode, detailing the exploits of the Raos of Poogul, established by Kailun, third son of Rawul Kehur of Jessulmér. It was too essential to the annals to be placed in a note.

² Rao Kailun had established his authority over nine castle, heads of districts, namely, Asini, or Aswini-kote, Beekumpoor, Marote, Poogul, Deorawul, Kehrore (twenty-two coss, or about forty miles, from Bahwulpore), Goomun, Bahun, Nadno, and Matailoh, on the Indus.

³ There never was anything so degrading to royalty as the selfish protection guaranteed to it by this Lycurgus of the Hindus, who says, "Against misfortune, let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife; but let him at all events preserve himself, even at the hazard of his wife and riches."—Menu, *On Government, or on the Military Class*. The entire history of the Rajpoots shows they do not pay much attention to such unmanly maxims.

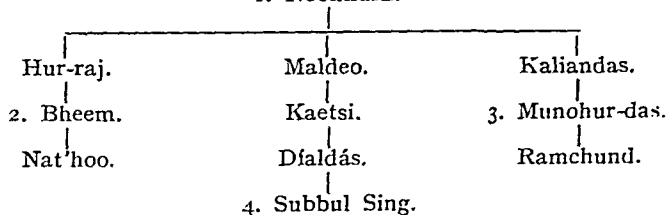
CHAPTER V

Jessulmér becomes a fief of the empire—Changes in the succession—Subbul Sing serves with the Bhatti contingent—His services obtain him the *gadi* of Jessulmér—Boundaries of Jessulmér at the period of Baber's invasion—Subbul succeeded by his son, Umra Sing, who leads the *tika-dour* into the Baloch territory—Crowned on the field of victory—Demands a relief from his subjects to portion his daughter—Puts a chief to death who refuses—Revolt of the Chunna Rajpoots—The Bhatti chiefs retaliate the inroads of the Rahtores of Bikanér—Origin of frontier-feuds—Bhattis gain a victory—The princes of Jessulmér and Bikanér are involved in the feuds of their vassals—Raja Anóp Sing calls on all his chiefs to revenge the disgrace—Invasion of Jessulmér—The invaders defeated—The Rawul recovers Poogul—Makes Barmair tributary—Umra dies—Succeeded by Jeswunt—The chronicle closes—Decline of Jessulmér—Poogul—Barmair—Filodi wrested from her by the Rahtores—Importance of these transactions to the British Government—Khadál to the Gárah seized by the Dáódpotras—Akhi Sing succeeds—His uncle, Tej Sing, usurps the government—The usurper assassinated during the ceremony of *Lás*—Akhi Sing recovers the *gadi*—Reigns forty years—Bahwul Khan seizes on Khadál—Rawul Moolraj—Suroop Sing Mehta made minister—His hatred of the Bhatti nobles—Conspiracy against him by the heir-apparent, Raé Sing—Deposal and confinement of the Rawul—The prince proclaimed—Refuses to occupy the *gadi*—Moolraj emancipated by a Rajpootní—Resumption of the *gadi*—The prince Raé Sing receives the *black khelat* of banishment—Retires to Jodpoor—Outlawry of the Bhatti nobles—Their lands sequestrated and castles destroyed—After twelve years, restored to their lands—Raé Sing decapitates a merchant—Returns to Jessulmér—Sent to the fortress of Dewoh—Salim Sing becomes minister—His character—Falls into the hands of his enemies, but is saved by the magnanimity of Zoorawur Sing—Plans his destruction, through his own brother's wife—Zoorawur is poisoned—The Mehta then assassinates her and her husband—Fires the castle of Dewoh—Raé Sing burnt to death—Murder of his sons—The minister proclaims Guj Sing—Younger sons of Moolraj fly to Bikanér—The longest reigns in the Rajpoot annals are during ministerial usurpation—Retrospective view of the Bhatti history—Reflections.

WE have now reached that period in the Bhatti annals, when Shah Jehan was emperor of India. Elsewhere, we have minutely related the measure which the great Akber adopted to attach his Rajpoot vassalage to the empire; a policy pursued by his successors. Subbul Sing, the first of the princes of Jessulmér, who held his dominions as a fief of the empire, was not the legitimate heir to the '*gadi* of Jessul.' ¹ Munohur-das had

¹ Noonkurn had three sons, Hur-raj, Maldeo, and Kaliandas; each had issue. Hur-raj had Bheem (who succeeded his grandfather Noonkurn). Maldeo had Kaetsi, who had Dfaldás, father of Subbul Sing, to whom was given in appanage the town of Mundilla, near Pokurn. The third son, Kaliandas, had Munohur-das, who succeeded Bheem. Ramchund was the son of Munohur-das. A slip from the genealogical tree will set this in a clear light.

1. Noonkurn.



obtained the *gadi* by the assassination of his nephew, Rawul Nat'hoo, the son and heir of Bheem, who was returning from his nuptials at Bikanér, and had passed the day at Filodi, then a town of Jessulmér, when poison was administered to him by the hands of a female. But it was destined that the line of the assassin should not rule, and the dignity fell to Subbul Sing, the third in descent from Maldeo, second son of Rawul Noonkurn.

The good qualities of young Subbul, and the bad ones of Ramchund, son of the usurper, afforded another ground for the preference of the former. Moreover, Subbul was nephew to the prince of Ambér, under whom he held a distinguished post in the government of Peshore, where he saved the royal treasure from being captured by the Afghan mountaineers. For this service, and being a favourite of the chiefs who served with their contingents, the king gave Jeswunt Sing of Jodpoor command to place him on the *gadi*. The celebrated Nahur Khan Koompawut¹ was entrusted with this duty, for the performance of which he received the city and domain of Pokurna, ever since severed from Jessulmér.

This was the first considerable abstraction from the territories which had been progressively increased by Rawul Jessul and his successors, but which have since been woefully curtailed. A short time before Baber's invasion, the dependencies of Jessulmér extended on the north to the Garah river,² west to the Mehran or Indus; and on the east and south they were bounded by the Rahtores of Bikanér and Marwar who had been gradually encroaching for two centuries, and continue to do so to this day. The entire *t'hul* of Barmair and Kottorah, in the south, were Bhatti chieftainships, and eastward to the site of Bikanér itself.

Umra Sing, son of Subbul, succeeded. He led the *tika-dour* against the Baloches, who had invaded the western tracts, and was installed on the field of victory. Soon after, he demanded aid from his subjects to portion his daughter, and being opposed by his Rajpoot minister, Raghonath, he put him to death. The Chunna Rajpoots, from the north-east, having renewed their old raids, he in person attacked and compelled them to give bonds, or written obligations, for their future good conduct.

Provoked by the daily encroachments of the Kandulote Rahtores, Soonder-das and Dilput, chiefs of Beekumpoor, determined to retaliate: "let us get a name in the world," said Dilput, "and attack the lands of the Rahtores." Accordingly, they invaded, plundered, and fired the town of Jujoo, on the Bikanér frontier. The Kandulotes retaliated on the towns of Jessulmér, and an action took place, in which the Bhattis were victorious, slaying two hundred of the Rahtores. The Rawul partook in the triumph of his vassals. Raja Anóp Sing of Bikanér was then serving with the imperial armies in the Dekhan. On receiving this account, he commanded his minister to issue a summons to every Kandulote capable of carrying arms to invade Jessulmér, and take and raze Beekumpoor, or he would consider them traitors. The minister issued the summons; every Rahtore obeyed it, and he added, as an auxiliary,

¹ Another synchronism (see Annals of Marwar for an account of Nahur Khan) of some value, since it accounts for the first abstraction of territory by the Rahtores from the Bhattis.

² The Garah is invariably called the Behah in the chronicle. Garah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Garah is composed of the waters of the Behah and Sutlej.

a Pat'han chief with his band from Hissar. Rawul Umra collected his Bhattis around him, and instead of awaiting the attack, advanced to meet it; he slew many of the chiefs, burnt the frontier towns, and recovered Poogul, forcing the Rahtore chiefs of Barmair and Kottorah to renew their engagements of fealty and service.

Umra had eight sons, and was succeeded by Jeswunt, the eldest, in S. 1758 (A.D. 1702), whose daughter was married to the heir-apparent of Méwar.

Here ends the chronicle, of which the foregoing is an abstract: the concluding portion of the annals is from a MS. furnished by a living chronicler, corrected by other information. It is but a sad record of anarchy and crime.

Soon after the death of Rawul Umra, Poogul, Barmair, Filodi, and various other towns and territories in Jessulmér, were wrested from this state by the Rahtores.¹

The territory bordering the Garah was taken by Dâod Khan, an Afghan chieftain from Shikarpoor, and it became the nucleus of a state called after himself, Dâódpotra.

Jeswunt Sing succeeded. He had five sons, Juggut Sing, who committed suicide, Esuri Sing, Tej Sing, Sirdar Sing, and Sooltan Sing. Juggut Sing had three sons, Akhi Sing, Bood Sing, and Zoorawur Sing.

Akhi Sing succeeded. Bood Sing died of the small-pox; Tej Sing, uncle to the Rawul, usurped the government, and the princes fled to Dehli to save their lives. At this period, their grand-uncle, Hurri Sing (brother of Rawul Jeswunt), was serving the king, and he returned in order to displace the usurper. It is customary for the prince of Jessulmér to go annually in state to the lake Gursi-sirr, to perform the ceremony of *Lâs*, or clearing away the accumulation of mud and sand. The Raja first takes out a handful, when rich and poor follow his example. Hurri Sing chose the time when this ceremony was in progress to attack the usurper. The attempt did not altogether succeed; but Tej Sing was so severely wounded that he died, and was succeeded by his son,

Sowaé Sing, an infant of three years of age. Akhi Sing collected the Bhattis from all quarters, stormed the castle, put the infant to death, and regained his rights.

Akhi Sing ruled forty years. During this reign, Bahwul Khan, son of Dâod Khan, took Derawul, and all the tract of Khádál, the first Bhatti conquest, and added it to his new state of Bahwulpoor, or Dâódpotra.

Moolraj succeeded in S. 1818 (A.D. 1762). He had three sons, Raé Sing, Jaet Sing, and Mân Sing. The unhappy choice of a minister by Moolraj completed the demoralisation of the Bhatti principality. This minister was named Suroop Sing, a Banfa of the Jain faith and Mehta family, destined to be the exterminators of the laws and fortunes of the

¹ The most essential use to which my labours can be applied, is that of enabling the British Government, when called upon to exercise its functions, as protector and arbitrator of the international quarrels of Rajpootana, to understand the legitimate and original grounds of dispute. Here we perceive the germ of the border-feuds, which have led to so much bloodshed between Bikanér and Jessulmér, in which the former was the first aggressor; but as the latter, for the purpose of redeeming her lost territory, most frequently appears as the agitator of public tranquillity, it is necessary to look for the remote cause in pronouncing our award.

'sons of Jessul.' The cause of hatred and revenge of this son of commerce to the Bhatti aristocracy arose out of a disgraceful dispute regarding a *Bukhtun*, a fair frail one, a favourite of the Mehta, but who preferred the Rajpoot, Sirdar Sing, of the tribe of Aéf. The Bhatti chief carried his complaint of the minister to the heir-apparent, Raé Sing, who had also cause of grievance in the reduction of his income. It was suggested to the prince to put this presumptuous minister to death; this was effected by the prince's own hand, in his father's presence; and as the Mehta, in falling, clung to Moolraj for protection, it was proposed to take off Moolraj at the same time. The proposition, however, was rejected with horror by the prince, whose vengeance was satisfied. The Rawul was allowed to escape to the female apartments; but the chieftains, well knowing they could not expect pardon from the Rawul, insisting on investing Raé Sing, and if he refused, on placing his brother on the *gadí*. The *án* of Raé Sing was proclaimed; but no entreaty or threat would induce him to listen to the proposal of occupying the throne; in lieu of which he used a pallet (*khát*). Three months and five days had passed since the deposal and bondage of Moolraj, when a female resolved to emancipate him: this female was the wife of the chief conspirator, and confidential adviser of the regent prince. This noble dame, a Rahtore Rajpootní, of the Malécha clan, was the wife of Anóp Sing of Jinginalli, the premier noble of Jessulmér, and who, wearied with the tyranny of the minister and the weakness of his prince, had proposed the death of the one and the deposal of the other. We are not made acquainted with any reason, save that of *swam'd'herma*, or 'fealty,' which prompted the Rahtorní to rescue her prince even at the risk of her husband's life; but her appeal to her son Zoorawur, to perform his duty, is preserved, and we give it *verbatim*: "should your father oppose you, sacrifice him to your duty, and I will mount the pyre with his corpse." The son yielded obedience to the injunction of his magnanimous parent, who had sufficient influence to gain over Arjoon, the brother of her husband, as well as Meg'h Sing, chief of Baroo. The three chieftains forced an entrance into the prison where their prince was confined, who refused to be released from his manacles, until he was told that the Mahéchi had promoted the plot for his liberty. The sound of the grand *nakarra*, proclaiming Moolraj's repossession of the *gadí*, awoke his son from sleep; and on the herald depositing at the side of his pallet the sable *siropa*,¹ and all the insignia of exile—the black steed and black vestments—the prince, obeying the command of the emancipated Rawul, clad himself therein, and accompanied by his party, bade adieu to Jessulmér and took the road to Kottoroh. When he arrived at this town, on the southern frontier of the state, the chiefs proposed to 'run the country'; but he replied, "the country was his mother, and every Rajpoot his foe who injured it." He repaired to Jodpoor, but the chieftains abided about Sheo Kottoroh and Barmair, and during the twelve years they remained outlaws, plundered even to the gates of Jessulmér. In the first three years they devastated the country, their castles were dismantled, the wells therein filled up, and their estates

¹ *Siropa* is the Rajpoot term for *khelat*, and is used by those who, like the Rana of Oodipoor, prefer the vernacular dialect to the corrupt jargon of the Islamite. *Sir-o-pá* (from 'head,' *sir*, to 'foot,' *pá*) means a complete dress; in short, *cap-à-pied*.

sequestered. At the end of the twelve, having made the *tīlāk*, or oath against further plunder, their estates were restored, and they were re-admitted into their country.

The banished prince remained two years and a half with Raja Beejy Sing, who treated him like a son. But he carried his arrogant demeanour with him to Jodpoo; for one day, as he was going out to hunt, a Bania, to whom he was indebted, seized his horse by the bridle, and invoking the *ān* of Beejy Sing, demanded payment of his debt. The prince, in turn, required him, with the invocation "by Moolraj!" to unloose his hold. But the man of wealth, disregarding the appeal, insolently replied, "what is Moolraj to me?" It was the last word he spoke; the sword of Raé Sing was unsheathed, and the Bania's head rolled on the ground: then, turning this horse's head to Jessulmér, he exclaimed, "better be a slave at once, than live on the bounty of another." His unexpected arrival outside his native city brought out the entire population to see him. His father, the Rawul, sent to know what had occasioned his presence, and he replied, that it was merely preparatory to pilgrimage. He was refused admittance; his followers were disarmed, and he was sent to reside at the fortress of Dewoh, together with his sons Abhé Sing and Dhonkul Sing, and their families.

Salim Sing, who succeeded his father as prime minister of Jessulmér, was but eleven years of age at the time of his murder. His young mind appears, even at that early age, to have been a hotbed for revenge; and the seeds which were sown soon quickened into a luxuriance rarely equalled even in those regions, where human life is held in little estimation. Without any of that daring valour which distinguishes the Rajpoot, he overcame, throughout a long course of years, all who opposed him, uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. In person he was effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in demeanour; promising, without hesitation, and with all the semblance of sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil. Salim, or, as he was generally designated by his tribe, *the Mehta*, was a signal instance of a fact of which these annals exhibit too many examples, namely, the inadequacy of religious professions, though of a severe character, as a restraint on moral conduct; for though the tenets of his faith (the Jain) imperatively prescribe the necessity of "hurting no sentient being," and of sitting in the dark rather than, by luring a moth into the flame of a lamp, incur the penalty attached to the sin of insect-murder, this man has sent more of "the sons of Jessoh" to *Yamaloca*,¹ than the sword of their external foes during his long administration. He had scarcely attained man's estate when the outlawed chiefs were restored to their estates by a singular intervention. Raja Bheem Sing had acceded to the *gadi* of Marwar, and the Mehta was chosen by the prince of Jessulmér, as his representative, to convey his congratulations, and the *tika* of acknowledgment on his succession, to Raja Beejy Sing. On his return from this mission, he was waylaid and captured by the outlawed chieftains, who instantly passed sentence of death upon the author of their miseries. The sword was uplifted, when, 'placing his turban at the feet of Zoorawur Sing,' he implored his protection—and he found it! Such is the Rajpoot—an anomaly amongst his species; his character a compound of the opposite

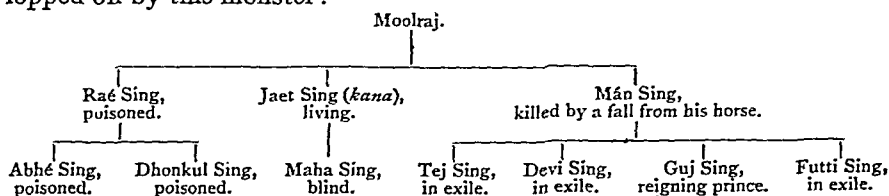
¹ Pluto's realm.

and antagonistical qualities which impel mankind to virtue and to crime. Let me recall to the mind of the reader, that the protector of this vampire was the virtuous son of the virtuous Rajpootni who, with an elevation of mind equal to whatever is recorded of Greek or Roman heroines, devoted herself, and a husband whom she loved, to the one predominant sentiment of the Rajpoot, *swam-d'herma*, or 'fealty to the sovereign.' Yet had the wily Mehta effected the disgrace of this brave chief, to whom the Rawul owed his release from bondage and restoration to his throne, and forced him to join the outlaws amidst the sand-hills of Barmair. Nothing can paint more strongly the influence of this first of the Bhatti chiefs over his brethren than the act of preserving the life of their mortal foe, thus cast into their hands; for not only did they dissuade him from the act, but prophesied his repentance of such mistaken clemency. Only one condition was stipulated, their restoration to their homes. They were recalled, but not admitted to court: a distinction reserved for Zoorawur alone.

When Raé Sing was incarcerated in Dewoh, his eldest son, Abhé Sing, *Rajkomar*, 'heir-apparent,' with the second son, Dhonkul, were left at Barmair, with the outlawed chiefs. The Rawul, having in vain demanded his grandchildren, prepared an army and invested Barmair. It was defended during six months, when a capitulation was acceded to, and the children were given up to Moolraj on the bare pledge of Zoorawur Sing, who guaranteed their safety; and they were sent to the castle of Dewoh, where their father was confined. Soon after, the castle was fired, and Raé Sing and his wife were consumed in the flames. On escaping this danger, which was made to appear accidental, the young princes were confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, in the most remote corner of the desert, bordering the valley of Sinde, for their security and that of the Rawul (according to the Mehta's account), and to prevent faction from having a nucleus around which to form. But Zoorawur, who entertained doubts of the minister's motives, reminded the Rawul that the proper place for the heir-apparent was the court, and that his honour stood pledged for his safety. This was sufficient for the Mehta, whose mind was instantly intent upon the means to rid himself of so conscientious an adviser. Zoorawur had a brother named Kaitsi, whose wife, according to the courtesy of Rajwarra, had adopted the minister as her brother. Salim sounded his adopted sister as to her wish to see her husband become lord of Jinginialli. The tempter succeeded: he furnished her with poisoned comfits, which she administered to the gallant Zoorawur; and her lord was inducted into the estates of Jinginialli. Having thus disposed of the soul of the Bhatti nobility, he took off in detail the chiefs of Baroo, Dangri, and many others, chiefly by the same means, though some by the dagger. Kaitsi, who, whether innocent, or a guilty participant in his brother's death, had benefited thereby, was marked in the long list of proscription of this fiend, who determined to exterminate every Rajpoot of note. Kaitsi knew too much, and those connected with him shared in this dangerous knowledge: wife, brother, son, were therefore destined to fall by the same blow. The immediate cause of enmity was as follows. The minister, who desired to set aside the claims of the children of Raé Sing to the *gadi*, and to nominate the youngest son of Moolraj as heir-apparent, was opposed by Kaitsi, as it could only be effected by the destruction of the former; and he replied, that "no co-operation of his should sanction the

spilling of the blood of any of his master's family." Salim treasured up the remembrance of this opposition to his will, though without any immediate sign of displeasure. Soon after, Kaitsi and his brother Suroop were returning from a nuptial ceremony at Kunero, in the district of Bhalotra. On reaching Beejoraye, on the Jessulmér frontier, where the ministers of the Mehta's vengeance were posted, the gallant Zoorawur and his brother were conducted into the castle, out of which their bodies were brought only to be burnt. Hearing of some intended evil to her lord, Kaitsi's wife, with her infant son, Megha, sought protection in the minister's own abode, where she had a double claim, as his adopted sister, to sanctuary and protection. For five days, the farce was kept up of sending food for herself and child; but the slave who conveyed it remarking, in coarse, unfeeling language, that both her husband and her brother were with their fathers, she gave a loose to grief and determined on revenge. This being reported to the Mehta, he sent a dagger for her repose.

The princes, Abhé Sing and Dhonkul Sing, confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, soon after the murder of Kaitsi were carried off, together with their wives and infants, by poison. The murderer then proclaimed Guj Sing, the youngest but one of all the posterity of Moolraj, as heir-apparent. His brothers sought security in flight from this fiend-like spirit of the minister, and are now refugees in the Bikanér territory. The following slip from the genealogical tree will show the branches so unmercifully lopped off by this monster:—



Maha Sing, being blind of one eye ¹ (*kana*), could not succeed; and Mán Sing being killed by a fall from his horse, the Mehta was saved the crime of adding one more "mortal murder to his crown."

It is a singular fact, that the longest reigns we know of in Rajwarra occurred during ministerial usurpations. The late Maharao of Kotah occupied the *gadí* upwards of half a century, and the Rawul Moolraj swayed the nominal sceptre of this *oasis* of the desert upwards of fifty-

¹ A person blind of one eye is incompetent to succeed, according to Hindu law. *Kana* is the nickname given to a person labouring under this personal defect, which term is merely an anagram of *ánka*, 'the eye.' The loss of an eye does not deprive an occupant of his rights—of which we had a curious example in the siege of the imperial city of Dehli, which gave rise to the remark, that the three greatest men therein had only the complement of one man amongst them: the emperor had been deprived of both eyes by the brutality of Gholam Kadir; the besieging chief Holcar was *kana*, as was the defender, Sir D. Ochterlony. Holcar's name has become synonymous with *kana*, and many a horse, dog, and man, blind of an eye, is called after this celebrated Mahratta leader. The Hindus, by what induction I know not, attach a degree of moral obliquity to every individual *kana*, and appear to make no distinction between the natural and the acquired defect; though to all *kanas* they apply another and more dignified appellation, *Súkrá-cháryá*, the Jupiter of their astro-mythology, which very grave personage came by his misfortune in no creditable way,—for, although the *gúrú*, or spiritual head of the Hindu gods, he set as bad a moral example to them as did the classical Jupiter to the tenants of the Greek and Roman Pantheon.

eight years. His father ruled forty years, and I doubt whether, in all history, we can find another instance of father and son reigning for a century. This century was prolific in change to the dynasty, whose whole history is full of strange vicissitudes. If we go back to Jeswunt Sing, the grandfather of Moolraj, we find the Bhatti principality touching the Garah on the north, which divided it from Mooltan; on the west it was bounded by the Punjnud, and thus included a narrow slip of the fertile valley of Sinde; and we have seen it stretch, at no remote period, even to the ancient capital Mansoorah, better known to the Hindu as Rorí-Bekher,¹ the islandic capital of the Sogdi (*Soda*) of Alexander. To the south, it rested on Dhat, including the castles of Sheo, Kottoroh, and Barmair, seized on by Marwar; and in the east embraced the districts of Filodi, Pokurn, and other parts, also in the possession of Marwar or Bikanér. The whole of the state of Bhawalpoor is formed out of the Bhatti dominion, and the Rahtores have obtained therefrom not a small portion of their western frontier. This abstraction of territory will account for the heart-burnings and border-feuds which continually break out between the Bhattis and Rahtores, and "the children of David (*Dáádpotras*)."

Could the same prophetic steel which carved upon the pillar of Brimsir the destinies of the grandson of the deified Heri, eleven hundred years before Christ, have subjoined to that of Jessoh the fate which awaited his descendant Moolraj, he would doubtless have regarded the prophecy as conveying a falsehood too gross for belief. That the offspring of the deified prince of Dwarica, who founded Guzni, and fought the united kings of Syria and Bactria, should, at length, be driven back on India, and compelled to seek shelter under the sign of the cross, reared amidst their sand-hills by a handful of strangers, whose ancestors, when they were even in the maturity of their fame, were wandering in their native woods, with painted bodies, and offering human sacrifices to the sun-god,—more resembling Balsíva than Balcrishna,—these would have seemed prodigies too wild for faith.

CHAPTER VI

Rawul Moolraj enters into treaty with the English—The Raja dies—His grandson, Guj Sing, proclaimed—He becomes a mere puppet in the minister's hands—Third article of the treaty—Inequality of the alliance—Its importance to Jessulmér—Consequences to be apprehended by the British Government—Dangers attending the enlarging the circle of our political connections—Importance of Jessulmér in the event of Russian invasion—British occupation of the valley of the Indus considered—Salim Sing's administration resumed—His rapacity and tyranny increase—Wishes his office to be hereditary—Report of the British agent to his Government—Palliwal's self-exiled—Bankers' families kept as hostages—Revenues arising from confiscation—Wealth of the minister—Border feud detailed to exemplify the interference of the paramount power—The Maldotes of Baroo—Their history—Nearly exterminated by the Rahtores of Bikanér—Stimulated by the minister Salim Sing—Cause of this treachery—He calls for British interference—Granted—Result—Rawul Guj Sing arrives at Oodipoor—Marries the Rana's daughter—Influence of this lady.

It was in the *Samvat* (era) of Vicrama, 1818, that Rawul Moolraj was inaugurated on the throne of Jessoh; and it was in the year of our Lord

¹ Mansura was many miles south of Bakher.

1818, that a treaty of "perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests" was concluded between the Honourable East-India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj, the Raja of Jessulmér, his heirs and successors, the latter agreeing "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy."¹ This was almost the last act of Rawul Moolraj, who had always been a mere puppet in the hands of Mehtâ Salim Sing or his father. He died A.D. 1820, when his grandson, Guj Sing, was proclaimed.

Rawul Guj Sing was fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Salim Sing required. Isolated, in every sense, from intercourse with the rest of mankind, by the policy of the minister, he had no community of sympathy with them, and no claim upon their aid. Surrounded by the creatures of Salim Sing, who, even to their daily dole, ascribe everything to this man's favour, each word, each gesture, is watched and reported. The prince himself, his wives and family, are alike dependents on the minister's bounty, often capriciously exercised. If he requires a horse, he must solicit it; or if desirous of bestowing some recompense, he requests to be furnished with the means, and deems himself fortunate if he obtain a moiety of his suit.

It will be observed from the date of this treaty (Dec. 1818), that Jessulmér was the last of the states of India received under the protection of the British Government. Its distance made it an object of little solicitude to us; and the minister, it is said, had many long and serious consultations with his oracles before he united his destiny with ours. He doubted the security of his power if the Rawul should become subordinate to the British Government; and he was only influenced by the greater risk of being the sole state in Rajwarra without the pale of its protection, which would have left him to the mercy of those enemies whom his merciless policy had created around him. The third and most important article of the treaty² tranquillised his apprehensions as to external foes; with these apprehensions all fear as to the consequences arising from ministerial tyranny towards the princely exiles was banished, and we shall presently find that this alliance, instead of checking his rapacity and oppression, incited them. But it is necessary, in the first place, to bestow a few remarks on the policy of the alliance as regards the British Government.

Its inequality requires no demonstration: the objects to be attained by it to the respective parties having no approximation to parity. The advantages to Jessulmér were immediate; and to use the phraseology of the treaty, were not only of "great magnitude," but were vitally important. From the instant the treaties were exchanged, her existence as a permanent state, which was not worth half a century's purchase, was secured. Her power had been gradually declining, and reign after reign was narrowing her possessions to the vicinity of the capital. One state, Bhawulpoor, had

¹ See Appendix No. III. for a copy of this treaty.

² Art. III. "In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmér, or other danger of great magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality, provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmér."

been formed from her northern territory ; while those of Sindé, Bikanér, and Jodpoor, had been greatly aggrandised at her expense ; and all were inclined, as occasion arose, to encroach upon her feebleness. The faithless character of the minister, Salim Sing, afforded abundant pretexts for quarrel, and the anarchy of her neighbours proved her only safeguard during the later years of her independent existence. Now, the British Government having pledged itself to exert its power for the protection of the principality, in the event of any "serious invasion," her fears either of Sindies, Dâódpotras, or of Rahtores, are at rest. The full extent of this pledge may not have been contemplated when it was given ; like all former alliances, it is the base of another step in advance. Instead of restricting the vast circle of our political connections, it at once carried us out of India, placing us in actual contact and possible collision with the rulers of Sindé and the people beyond the Indus. Marwar and Bikanér being already admitted to our alliance, the power of settling their feuds with the Bhattis is comparatively simple ; but with Dâódpotra we have no political connections, and with Sindé, only those of "perpetual friendship and mutual intercourse" : but no stipulation ensuring respect to our remonstrances in case of the aggression of their subjects on our Bhatti ally. Are we then to push our troops through the desert to repel such acts, or must we furnish pecuniary subsidies (the cheapest mode), that she may entertain mercenaries for that object ? We must view it, in this light, as an event, not only not improbable, but of very likely occurrence. Our alliance with Cutch involved us in this perplexity in 1819. Our armies were formed and moved to the frontier, and a declaration of war was avoided only by accepting a tardy *amende* in no way commensurate with the insult of invading, massacring, and pillaging our allies.¹ In this instance, our means of chastisement were facilitated by our maritime power of grappling with the enemy ; but if the insult proceeds from the government of Upper Sindé (only nominally dependent on Hyderabad); or from Bhawalpoor, how are we to cope with these enemies of our ally ? Such wars might lead us into a *terra incognita* beyond the Indus, or both the spirit and letter of the treaty will be null.

What, therefore, are the advantages we can hold out to ourselves for the volunteer of our amity and protection to this oasis of the desert ? To have disregarded the appeal of Jessulmér for protection, to have made her the sole exception in all Rajpootana from our amicable relations, would have been to consign her to her numerous enemies, and to let loose the spirit of rapine and revenge, which it was the main object of all these treaties to suppress : the Bhattis would have become a nation of robbers, the Bedouins of the Indian desert. Jessulmér was the first link in a chain of free states, which formerly united the commerce of the Ganges with that of the Indus, but which interminable feuds had completely severed ;

¹ The attitude assumed by the energetic governor of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone, on that occasion, will for a long time remain a lesson to the triumvirate government of Sindé. To the Author it still appears a subject of regret, that, with the adequate preparation, the season, and everything promising a certainty of success, the pacific tone of Lord Hastings' policy should have prevented the proper assertion of our dignity, by chastising an insult, aggravated in every shape. A treaty of amity and mutual intercourse was the result of this armament ; but although twelve years have since elapsed, our intercourse has remained *in statu quo* : but this is no ground for quarrel.

the possibility of reunion depending upon a long continuance of tranquillity and confidence. This object alone would have warranted our alliance with Jessulmér. But if we look to futurity, to the possible invasion of India, which can be best effected through the maritime provinces of Persia, the valley of the Indus will be the base of the invader's operations. The possession of Jessulmér would then be of vital importance, by giving us the command of Upper Sinde, and enabling us to act against the enemy simultaneously with our armies east of the Delta, the most practicable point of advance into India. We may look upon invasion by the ancient routes pursued by Alexander, Mahmood, and Timoor, as utterly visionary, by an army encumbered with all the *matériel* necessary to success, and thus the valley of Sinde presents the only practicable route. But it would be a grand error, both in a political and military point of view, to possess ourselves of this valley, even if an opportunity were again to occur. It is true, the resources of that fertile region, so analogous to Egypt, would soon, under our management, maintain an army sufficient to defend it ; and this would bring us at once into contact with the power (Persia) which clings to us for support, and will be adverse to us only when rendered subservient to Russia. It were well to view the possible degradation and loss of power to Russia, in Europe, as likely to afford a fresh stimulant to her ancient schemes of oriental aggrandisement. By some these schemes are looked upon as Quixotic, and I confess myself to be of the number. The better Russia is acquainted with the regions she would have to pass, the less desire will she evince for an undertaking, which, even if successful in the outset, would be useless ; for if she conquered, she could not maintain India. But, to me, it still appears imperative that this power should formally renounce such designs ; the state of perpetual preparation rendered necessary by her menacing position, being so injurious to our finances, is worse than the actual attempt, which would only entail upon her inevitable loss. We lost, through our unwise economy, a noble opportunity of maintaining an ascendancy at the court of Caubul, which would have been easily prevailed upon, for our pecuniary aid, to make over to us the sovereignty of Sinde (were this desirable), which is still considered a grand division of Caubul.

But setting the political question aside, and considering our possession of the valley of Sinde only in a military point of view, our occupation of it would be prejudicial to us. We should have a long line to defend, and rivers are no barriers in modern warfare. Whilst an impassable desert is between us, and we have the power, by means of our allies, of assailing an enemy at several points, though we are liable to attack but from one, an invader could not maintain himself a single season. On this ground, the maintenance of friendship with this remote nook of Rajpoot civilisation is defensible, and we have the additional incitement of rescuing the most industrious and wealthy commercial communities in India from the fangs of a harpy : to whom, and the enormities of his government, we return.

No language can adequately represent the abuse of power with which the treaty has armed the rapacious minister of Jessulmér, and it is one of the many instances of the inefficacy of our system of alliances to secure prosperity, or even tranquillity to these long-afflicted regions ; which although rescued from external assailants, are still the prey of discord and passion within. It will not be difficult, at the proper time and place, to

make this appear.¹ The Mehtâ felt the advantages which the treaty gave him, in respect to neighbouring states ; but he also felt that he had steeped himself too deeply in the blood of his master's family, and in that of his noblest chieftains, to hope that any repentance, real or affected, could restore to him the confidence of those he had so outraged. With commercial men, with the industrious husbandman or pastoral communities, he had so long forfeited all claim to credit, that his oath was not valued at a single grain of the sand of their own desert dominion.

The bardic annalist of Rajpootana, when compelled to record the acts of a tyrant, first announces his moral death ; then comes the metempsychosis,—the animating his frame with the spirit of a demon. In this manner is delineated the famed Visaldeo, the Chohan king of Ajmér. Whether the Bhatti minister will obtain such a posthumous apology for his misdeeds, a future historian will learn ; but assuredly he is never mentioned, either in poetry or prose, but as a vampire, draining the life-blood of a whole people. For a short time after the treaty was formed, he appeared to fall in with the march of universal reformation ; but whether it was that his crimes had outlawed him from the sympathies of all around, or that he could feel no enjoyment but in his habitual crimes, he soon gave indulgence to his rapacious spirit. The cause of his temporary forbearance was attributed to his anxiety to have an article added to the treaty, guaranteeing the office of prime minister in his family, perhaps with a view to legalise his plunder ; but seeing no hope of fixing an hereditary race of vampires on the land, his outrages became past all endurance, and compelled the British agent, at length, to report to his government (on the 17th December 1821), that he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection. Representations to the minister were a nullity ; he protested against their fidelity ; asserted in specious language his love of justice and mercy ; and recommenced his system of confiscations, contributions, and punishments, with redoubled severity. All Rajwarra felt an interest in these proceedings, as the bankers of Jessulmér, supported by the capital of that singular class, the Palliwals, are spread all over India. But this rich community, amounting to five thousand families, are nearly all in voluntary exile, and the bankers fear to return to their native land with the fruits of their industry, which they would renounce for ever, but that he retains their families as hostages. Agriculture is almost unknown, and commerce, internal or external, has ceased through want of security. The sole revenue arises from confiscation. It is asserted that the minister has amassed no less than *two crores*, which wealth is distributed in the various cities of Hindust'han, and has been obtained by pillage and the destruction of the most opulent families of his country during the last twenty years. He has also, it is said, possessed himself of all the crown-jewels and property of value, which he has sent out of the country. Applications were continually being made to the British agent for passports (*perwanas*), by commercial men, to withdraw their families from the country. But all have some ties which would be hazarded by their withdrawing, even if such a step were

¹ It is my intention (if space is left) to give a concise statement of the effects of our alliances, individually and collectively, in the states of Rajwarra, with a few hints towards amending the system, at the conclusion of this volume.

otherwise free from danger ; for while the minister afforded passports, in obedience to the wish of the agent, he might cut them off in the desert. This makes many bear the ills they have.

We shall terminate our historical sketch of Jessulmér with the details of a border feud, which called into operation the main condition of the British alliance,—the right of universal arbitration in the international quarrels of Rajpootana. The predatory habits of the Maldotes of Baroo originated a rupture, which threatened to involve the two states in war, and produced an invasion of the Rahtores, sufficiently serious to warrant British interference. It will hardly be credited that this aggression, which drew down upon the Maldotes the vengeance of Bikanér, was covertly stimulated by the minister, for the express purpose of their extirpation, for reasons which will appear presently ; yet he was the first to complain of the retaliation. To understand this matter, a slight sketch of the Maldote tribe is requisite.

The Maldotes, the Kailuns, the Birsungs, the Pohurs, and Tezmalotes, are all Bhatti tribes ; but, from their lawless habits, these names have become, like those of Bedouin, Kuzzak, or Pindarri, synonymous with 'robber.' The first are descended from Rao Maldoo, and hold the fief (*putta*) of Baroo, consisting of eighteen villages, adjoining the tract called Khari-puttā, wrested from the Bhattis by the Rahtores of Bikanér, who, to confess the truth, morally deserve the perpetual hostility of this Bhatti lord-marcher, inasmuch as they were the intruders, and have deprived them (the Bhattis) of much territory. But the Rahtores, possessing the right of the strongest, about twenty-five years ago exercised it in the most savage manner ; for, having invaded Baroo, they put almost the entire community to the sword, without respect to age or sex, levelled the towns, filled up the wells, and carried off the herds and whatever was of value. The survivors took shelter in the recesses of the desert, and propagated a progeny, which, about the period of connection with the British, reoccupied their deserted lands. The minister, it is asserted, beheld the revival of this infant colony with no more favourable eye than did their enemies of Bikanér, whom, it is alleged, he invited once more to their destruction. The lawless habits of this tribe would have been assigned by the minister as his motive for desiring their extermination ; but if we look back (p. 214), we shall discover the real cause in his having incurred the lasting enmity of this clan for the foul assassination of their chief, who had been a party to the views of the heir-apparent, Raé Sing, to get rid of this incubus on their freedom. The opportunity afforded to take vengeance on the Maldotes arose out of a service indirectly done to the British Government. On the revolt of the Peshwa, he sent his agents to Jessulmér to purchase camels. One herd, to the number of four hundred, had left the Bhatti frontiers, and whilst passing through the Bikanér territory, were set upon by the Maldotes, who captured the whole, and conveyed them to Baroo. It is scarcely to be supposed that such an aggression on the independence of Bikanér would have prompted her extensive armament, or the rapidity with which her troops passed the Bhatti frontier to avenge the insult, without some private signal from the minister, who was loud in his call for British interference ; though not until Nokha and Baroo, their principal towns, were levelled, the chief killed, the wells filled up, and the victorious army following up its success

by a rapid march on Beekumpoor, in which the fiscal lands began to suffer. The minister then discovered he had overshot the mark, and claimed our interference,¹ which was rapid and effectual ; and the Bikanér commander the more willingly complied with the request to retire within his own frontier, having effected more than his object.

The tortuous policy, the never-ending and scarcely-to-be-comprehended border feuds of these regions, must, for a long while, generate such appeals. Since these associated bands attach no dishonour to their predatory profession, it will be some time before they acquire proper notions ; but when they discover there is no retreat in which punishment may not reach them, they will learn the benefits of cultivating the arts of peace, of whose very name no trace exists in their history.

We have lost sight of the Rawul, the title of the prince of Jessulmér, in the prominent acts of his minister. Guj Sing, who occupies the *gadi* of Jessoh, to the prejudice of his elder brothers, who are still in exile in Bikanér, appears very well suited to the minister's purpose, and to have little desire beyond his horses, and vegetating in quiet. The physiognomists of Jessulmér, however, prognosticate the development of moral-worth in due season ; a consummation devoutly to be wished, and the first symptom of which must be the riddance of his minister by whatever process. The artful Salim deemed that it would redound to his credit, and bolster up his interest, to seek a matrimonial alliance with the Rana's family of Méwar. The overture was accepted, and the coco-symbol transmitted to the Rawul, who put himself at the head of the Bhatti chivalry to wed and escort his bride through the desert. The Rahtore princes of Bikanér and Kishengurh, who were at the same time suitors for the hands of another daughter and a granddaughter of the Rana, simultaneously arrived at Oodipoori with their respective cortèges ; and this triple alliance threw a degree of splendour over the capital of the Seesodias, to which it had long been a stranger. Guj Sing lives very happily with his wife, who has given him an heir to his desert domain. The influence of high rank is seen in the respect paid to the Ranawut-ji (the title by which she is designated), even by the minister, and she exerts this influence most humanely for the amelioration of her subjects.²

¹ The Author has omitted to mention that he was political agent for Jessulmér ; so that his control extended uninterruptedly, almost from Sindé to Sindé : i.e. from the Indus, or great Sind'h, to the *Choota-Sind'h*, or little river (see map). There are several streams designated Sind'h, in Central India, a word purely Tatar, or Scythic. *Abd-Sin*, 'the Father-river,' is one of the many names of the Indus.

² I had the honour of receiving several letters from this queen of the desert, who looked to her father's house and his friends, as the best objects for support, whilst such a being as Salim was the master of her own and her husband's destiny.

CHAPTER VII

Geographical position of Jessulmér—Its superficial area—List of its chief towns—Population—Jessulmér chiefly desert—*Muggro*, a rocky ridge, traced from Cutch—*Sirrs*, or salt-marshes—*Kanoad Sirr*—Soil—Productions—Husbandry—Manufactures—Commerce—*Kuttars*, or caravans—Articles of trade—Revenues—Land and transit taxes—*Dhanni*, or Collector—Amount of land-tax exacted from the cultivator—*Dhood*, or hearth-tax—*T'hali*, or tax on food—*Dind*, or forced contribution—Citizens refuse to pay—Enormous wealth accumulated by the minister by extortion—Establishments—Expenditure—Tribes—*Bhattis*—Their moral estimation—Personal appearance and dress—Their predilection for opium and tobacco—*Palliwalis*, their history—Numbers, wealth, employment—Curious rite or worship—*Palli* coins—*Pokurna* Brahmins—Title—Numbers—Singular typical worship—Race of Jut—Castle of Jessulmér.

THE country still dependent on the Rawul extends between 70° 30' and 72° 30' E. long., and between the parallels of 26° 20' and 27° 50' N. lat., though a small strip protrudes, in the N.-E. angle, as high as 28° 30'. This irregular surface may be roughly estimated to contain fifteen thousand square miles. The number of towns, villages, and hamlets, scattered over this wide space, does not exceed two hundred and fifty; some estimate it at three hundred, and others depress it to two hundred: the mean cannot be wide of the truth. To enable the reader to arrive at a conclusion as to the population of this region, we subjoin a calculation, from data furnished by the best-informed natives, which was made in the year 1815; but we must add, that from the tyranny of the minister, the population of the capital (which is nearly half of the country), has been greatly diminished.

| Towns. | Fiscal and Feudal. | Number of Houses. | Number of Inhabitants. | Remarks. |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---|
| Jessulmér | Capital | 7,000 | 35,000 | The chief has the title of Rao, and twenty-four villages dependent, not included in this estimate. Kailun Bhatti: the Kailun tribe extends to Poogul. Rawulote chief. |
| Beekumpoor | Puttâét | 500 | 2,000 | |
| Seeruroh | Do. | 300 | 1,200 | |
| Nachna | Do. | 400 | 1,600 | |
| Katori | Fiscal | 300 | 1,200 | Rawulote: first noble of Jessulmér. |
| Kahah | Do. | 300 | 1,200 | |
| Kooldurro | Do. | 200 | 800 | |
| Suttoh | Puttâét | 300 | 1,200 | |
| Jinjinialli | Do. | 300 | 1,200 | Maldote: has eighteen villages attached, not included in this. |
| Devi-Kote | Fiscal | 200 | 800 | |
| Bhaup | Do. | 200 | 800 | |
| Balana | Puttâét | 150 | 600 | |
| Sutiasoh | Do. | 100 | 400 | All of the Rawulote clan. |
| Baroo | Do. | 200 | 800 | |
| Chaun | Do. | 200 | 800 | |
| Loharki | Do. | 150 | 600 | |
| Noantulloh | Do. | 150 | 600 | |
| Lahti | Do. | 300 | 1,200 | |
| Danguri | Do. | 150 | 600 | |
| Beejoraye | Fiscal | 200 | 800 | |
| Mundaye | Do. | 200 | 800 | |
| Ramgurh | Do. | 200 | 800 | |
| Birsilpoor | Puttâét | 200 | 800 | |
| Girajsir | Do. | 150 | 600 | |
| | | | 56,400 | Two hundred and twenty-five villages and hamlets, from four to fifty houses each; say, each average twenty, at four inhabitants to each |
| | | | 18,000 | |
| TOTAL | | | 74,400 | |

According to this census, we have a population not superior to one of the secondary cities of Great Britain, scattered over fifteen thousand square miles ; nearly one-half, too, belonging to the capital, which being omitted, the result would give from two to three souls only for each square mile.

Face of the country.—The greater part of Jessulmér is *t'hul*, or *rooé*, both terms meaning 'a desert waste.' From Lowar, on the Jodpoor frontier, to Kharra, the remote angle touching Sinde, the country may be described as a continuous tract of arid sand, frequently rising into lofty *teebas* (sand-hills), in some parts covered with low jungle. This line, which nearly bisects Jessulmér, is also the line of demarcation of positive sterility and comparative cultivation. To the north is one uniform and naked waste ; to the south are ridges of rock termed *muggro*, *rooé*, and light soil.

The ridge of hills is a most important feature in the geology of this desert region. It is to be traced from Cutch Bhooj, strongly or faintly marked, according to the nature of the country. Sometimes it assumes, as at Chohtun, the character of a mountain ; then dwindles into an insignificant ridge scarcely discernible, and often serves as a bulwark for the drifting sands, which cover and render it difficult to trace it at all. As it reaches the Jessulmér country it is more developed ; and at the capital, erected on a peak about two hundred and fifty feet high, its presence is more distinct, and its character defined. The capital of the Bhattis appears as the nucleus of a series of ridges, which diverge from it in all directions for the space of fifteen miles. One branch terminates at Ramghur, thirty-five miles north-west of Jessulmér ; another branch extends easterly to Pokurn (in Jodpoor), and thence, in a north-east direction, to Filodi ; from whence, at intervals, it is traceable to Gurriala, nearly fifty miles due north. It is a yellow-coloured sandstone, in which ochre is abundantly found, with which the people daub their houses.

These barren ridges, and the lofty undulating *teebas* of sand, are the only objects which diversify the almost uniform sterility of these regions. No trees interpose their verdant foliage to relieve the eye, or shelter the exhausted frame of the traveller. It is nearly a boundless waste, varied only by a few stunted shrubs of the acacia or *mimosa* family, some succulent plants, or prickly grapes, as the *bhoorut* or burr, which clings to his garment and increases his miseries. Yet compared with the more northern portion, where "a sea of sand without a sign of vegetation"¹ forms the prospect, the vicinity of the capital is a paradise.

There is not a running stream throughout Jessulmér ; but there are many temporary lakes or salt-marshes, termed *sirr*, formed by the collection of waters from the sand-hills, which are easily dammed-in to prevent escape. They are ephemeral, seldom lasting but a few months ; though after a very severe monsoon they have been known to remain throughout the year. One of these, called the Kanoad Sirr, extends from Kanoad

¹ So Mr. Elphinstone describes the tract about Poogul, one of the earliest possessions of the Bhattis, and one of the *No-kott Maru-ca*, or 'nine castles of the desert,' around whose sand-hills as brave a colony was reared and maintained as ever carried lance. Rao Raning was lord of Poogul, whose son originated that episode given, vol. i. p. 498. Even these sand-hills, which in November appeared to Mr. Elphinstone without a sign of vegetation, could be made to yield good crops of bajra.

to Mohungurh, covering a space of eighteen miles, and in which some water remains throughout the year. When it overflows, a small stream issues from the Sirr, and pursues an easterly direction for thirty miles before it is absorbed : its existence depends on the parent lake. The salt which it produces is the property of the crown, and adds something to the revenue.

Soil, husbandry, and products.—Notwithstanding the apparent poverty of this desert soil, nature has not denied it the powers of production ; it is even favourable to some grains, especially the *bajra*, which prefers a light sand. In a favourable season, they grow sufficient for the consumption of two and even three years, and then they import only wheat from Sindh. When those parts favourable for *bajra* have been saturated with two or three heavy showers, they commence sowing, and the crops spring up rapidly. The great danger is that of too much rain when the crops are advanced, for, having little tenacity, they are often washed away. The *bajra* of the sandhills is deemed far superior to that of Hindusthan, and prejudice gives it a preference even to wheat, which does not bear a higher price, in times of scarcity. *Bajra*, in plentiful seasons, sells at one and a half maunds for a rupee :¹ but this does not often occur, as they calculate five bad seasons for a good one. *Jowar* is also grown, but only in the low flats. Cotton is produced in the same soil as the *bajra*. It is not generally known that this plant requires but a moderate supply of water ; it is deteriorated in the plains of India from over-irrigation : at least such is the idea of the desert-farmer, who perhaps does not make sufficient allowance for the cooler substratum of his sandhills, compared with the black loam of Malwa. A variety of pulses grows on the sheltered sides of the *teebas*, as *mong*, *moth*, etc. ; also the oil-plant (*til*) and abundance of the *gowar*, a diminutive melon, not larger than a hen's egg, which is sent hundreds of miles, as a rarity. Around the capital, and between the ridges where soil is deposited or formed, and where they dam-up the waters, are grown considerable quantities of wheat of very good quality, turmeric, and garden-stuffs. Barley and *gram* are, in good seasons, reared in small quantities, but rice is entirely an article of import from the valley of Sindh.

Implements of husbandry.—Where the soil is light, it will be concluded that the implements are simple. They have two kinds of plough, for one or two oxen, or for the camel, which animal is most in requisition. They tread out the grain with oxen, as in all parts of India, and not unfrequently they yoke the cattle to their *hakerries*, or carts, and pass the whole over the grain.

Manufactures.—There is little scope for the ingenuity of the mechanic in this tract. They make coarse cotton cloths ; but the raw material is almost all exported. Their grand article of manufacture is from the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert, which is fabricated into *looes*, or blankets, scarfs,² petticoats, turbans, of every quality. Cups and platters are made from a mineral called *aboor*, a calcareous substance, of a dark chocolate ground, with light brown vermiculated stripes ; female ornaments of elephants' teeth, and arms of an inferior quality. These comprehend the artificial productions of this desert capital.

¹ About a hundred-weight for two shillings.

² I brought home several pairs of these, with crimson borders, sufficiently fine to be worn as a winter shawl in this country.

Commerce.—Whatever celebrity Jessulmér possesses, as a commercial mart, arises from its position as a place of transit between the eastern countries, the valley of the Indus, and those beyond that stream, the *Kuttars* (the term for a caravan of camels) to and from Hyderabad, Rory-Bekher, Shikarpoor and Ootch, from the Gangetic provinces, and the Punjáb, passing through it. The indigo of the Dóâb, the opium of Kotah and Malwa, the famed sugar-candy of Bîkanér, iron implements from Jeipoor, are exported to Shikarpoor¹ and lower Sindé; whence elephants' teeth (from Africa), dates, coco-nuts, drugs, and chundus,² are imported, with pistachios and dried fruits from Bhawalpoor.

Revenues and taxes.—The personal revenue of the princes of Jessulmér³ is, or rather was, estimated at upwards of four lakhs of rupees, of which more than one lakh was from the land. The transit duties were formerly the most certain and most prolific branch of the fiscal income; but the bad faith of the minister, the predatory habits of the Bhatti chiefs proceeding mainly from thence, and the general decrease of commerce, have conspired nearly to annihilate this source of income, said at one time to reach three lakhs of rupees. These imposts are termed *dân*, and the collector *dannic*, who was stationed at convenient points of all the principal routes which diverge from the capital.

Land-tax.—From one-fifth to one-seventh of the gross produce of the land is set aside as the tax of the crown, never exceeding the first nor falling short of the last.⁴ It is paid in kind, which is purchased on the spot by the Palliwal Brahmins, or Banias, and the value remitted to the treasury.

Dhooâ.—The third and now the most certain branch of revenue is the *dhooâ*, literally 'smoke,' and which we may render 'chimney or hearth-tax,' though they have neither the one nor the other in these regions. It is also termed *l'hâli*, which is the brass or silver platter out of which they eat, and is tantamount to a table-allowance. It never realises above twenty thousand rupees annually, which, however, would be abundant for the simple fare of Jessulmér. No house is exempt from the payment of this tax.

Dind.—There is an arbitrary tax levied throughout these regions, universally known and detested under the name of *dind*, the make-weight of all their budgets of ways and means. It was first imposed in Jessulmér in S. 1830 (A.D. 1774), under the less odious appellation of "additional *dhooâ* or *l'hâli*," and the amount was only two thousand seven hundred

¹ Shikarpoor, the great commercial mart of the valley of Sindé, west of the Indus.

² *Chundus* is a scented wood for *mallas*, or 'chaplets.'

³ I have no correct data for estimating the revenues of the chieftains. They are generally almost double the land-revenue of the princes in the other states of Rajwarra; perhaps about two lakhs, which ought to bring into the field seven hundred horse.

⁴ This, if strictly true and followed, is according to ancient principles: Menu ordains the sixth. I could have wished Colonel Briggs to have known this fact, when he was occupied on his excellent work on *The Land-tax of India*; but it had entirely escaped my recollection. In this most remote corner of Hindusthan, in spite of oppression, it is curious to observe the adherence to primitive custom. These notes on the sources of revenue in Jessulmér were communicated to me so far back as 1811, and I laid them before the Bengal Government in 1814-15.

rupees, to be levied from the monied interest of the capital. The Mahésrés agreed to pay their share, but the Oswals (the two chief mercantile classes) holding out, were forcibly sent up to the castle, and suffered the ignominious punishment of the bastinado. They paid the demand, but immediately on their release entered into a compact on oath, never again to look on the Rawul's (Moolraj's) face, which was religiously kept during their mutual lives.* When he passed through the streets of his capital, the Oswals abandoned their shops and banking-houses, retiring to the interior of their habitations in order to avoid the sight of him. This was strenuously persevered in for many years, and had such an effect upon the prince, that he visited the principal persons of this class, and "spreading his scarf" (*pulla pussáoná*),¹ intreated forgiveness, giving a writing on oath never again to impose *dind*, if they would make the *dhooá* a permanent tax. The Oswals accepted the repentance of their prince, and agreed to his terms. In S. 1841 and 1852, his necessities compelling him to raise money, he obtained by loan, in the first period, twenty-seven thousand, and in the latter, forty thousand rupees, which he faithfully repaid. When the father of the present minister came into power, he endeavoured to get back the bond of his sovereign abrogating the obnoxious *dind*, and offered, as a bait, to renounce the *dhooá*. The Oswals placed more value on the virtue of this instrument than it merited, for in spite of the bond, he in S. 1857 levied sixty thousand, and in 1863, eighty thousand rupees. A visit of the Rawul to the Ganges was seized upon as a fit opportunity by his subjects to get this oppression redressed, and fresh oaths were made by the prince, and broken by the minister, who has bequeathed his rapacious spirit to his son.

Since the accession of Guj Sing, only two years ago,² Salim Sing has extorted fourteen lakhs (£140,000). Burdbhan, a merchant of great wealth and respectability, and whose ancestors are known and respected throughout Rajwarra as *Sahoocars*, has been at various times stripped of all his riches by the minister and his father, who, to use the phraseology of the sufferers, "will never be satisfied while a rupee remains in Jessulmér."

Establishments, Expenditure.—We subjoin a rough estimate of the household establishment, etc., of this desert king.

| | Rupees. |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Burr ³ | 20,000 |
| Rozgar Sirdar ⁴ | 40,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| Carry forward . | 60,000 |

¹ *Pulla pussáoná*, or 'spreading the cloth or scarf,' is the figurative language of intreaty, arising from the act of spreading the garment, preparatory to bowing the head thereon in token of perfect submission.

² This was written in 1821-2.

³ The *Burr* includes the whole household or personal attendants, the guards, and slaves. They receive rations of food, and make up the rest of their subsistence by labour in the town. The *Burr* consists of about 1000 people, and is estimated to cost 20,000 rupees annually.

⁴ *Rozgar-Sirdar* is an allowance termed *kansa*, or 'dinner,' to the feudal chieftains who attend the Presence. Formerly they had an order upon the Dannis, or collectors of the transit-duties; but being vexatious, Pansa Sah, minister to Rawul Chaitra, commuted it for a daily allowance, varying, with the rank of the person, from half a silver rupee to seven rupees each, daily. This disbursement is calculated at 40,000 rupees annually.

| | Rupees. |
|--|--------------------|
| Brought forward . | 60,000 |
| Sebundies or Mercenaries ¹ . | 75,000 |
| Household horse, 10 elephants, 200 camels, and chariots | 36,000 |
| 500 Bargeer horse | 60,000 |
| Ran's or queen's establishment | 15,000 |
| The wardrobe | 5,000 |
| Gifts | 5,000 |
| The kitchen | 5,000 |
| Guests, in hospitality. | 5,000 |
| Feasts, entertainments | 5,000 |
| Annual purchase of horses, camels, oxen, etc. | 20,000 |
| TOTAL . | Rs. 291,000 |

The ministers and officers of government receive assignments on the transit-duties, and some have lands. The whole of this state-expenditure was more than covered, in some years, by the transit-duties alone ; which have, it is asserted, amounted to the almost incredible sum of three lakhs, or £30,000.

Tribes.—We shall conclude our account of Jessulmér with a few remarks on the tribes peculiar to it ; though we reserve the general enumeration for a sketch of the desert.

Of its Rajpoot population, the Bhattis, we have already given an outline in the general essay on the tribes.² Those which occupy the present limits of Jessulmér retain their Hindu notions, though with some degree of laxity from their intercourse with the Mahomedans on the northern and western frontiers ; while those which long occupied the north-east tracts, towards Phoolra and the Garah, on becoming proselytes to Islâm ceased to have either interest in or connection with the parent state. The Bhatti has not, at present, the same martial reputation as the Rahtore, Chohan, or Seesodia, but he is deemed at least to equal if not surpass the Cuchwaha, or any of its kindred branches, Nirooka or Shékhavat. There are occasional instances of Bhatti intrepidity as daring as may be found amongst any other tribe ; witness the feud between the chiefs of Poogul and Mundore. But this changes not the national characteristic as conventionally established : though were we to go back to the days of chivalry and Pirthiraj, we should select Achilésa Bhatti, one of the bravest of his champions, for the portrait of his race. The Bhatti Rajpoot, as to physical power, is not perhaps so athletic as the Rahtore, or so tall as the Cuchwaha, but generally fairer than either, and possessing those Jewish features which Mr. Elphinstone remarked as characteristic of the Bikanér Rajpoots. The Bhatti intermarries with all the families of Rajwarra, though seldom with the Ranas of Méwar. The late Juggut Sing of Jeipoor had five wives of this stock, and his posthumous son, real or reputed, has a Bhattian for his mother.

Dress.—The dress of the Bhattis consists of a *jamah*, or tunic of white

¹ Sebundies are mercenary soldiers in the fort, of whom 1000 are estimated to cost 75,000 rupees annually.

² Vol. i. p. 72.

cloth or chintz reaching to the knee ; the *cumurbund*, or ceinture, tied so high as to present no appearance of waist ; trousers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ankle, and a turban, generally of a scarlet colour, rising conically full a foot from the head. A dagger is stuck in the waistband ; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer-skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material. The dress of the common people is the *dhóti*, or loin-robe, generally of woollen stuff, with a piece of the same material as a turban. The dress of the Bhattianís which discriminates the sex, consists of a *gagrá*, or petticoat, extending to thirty feet in width, made generally of the finer woollen, dyed a brilliant red, with a scarf of the same material. The grand ornament of rich and poor, though varying in the materials, is the *chaori*, or rings of ivory or bone, with which they cover their arms from the shoulder to the wrist.¹ They are in value from sixteen to thirty-five rupees a set, and imported from Muska-Mandvie, though they also manufacture them at Jessulmér. Silver *kurris* (massive rings or anklets) are worn by all classes, who deny themselves the necessities of life until they attain this ornament. The poorer Rajpootnís are very masculine, and assist in all the details of husbandry.

The Bhatti is to the full as addicted as any of his brethren to the immoderate use of opium. To the *umlpáni*, or 'infusion,' succeeds the pipe, and they continue inhaling mechanically the smoke long after they are insensible to all that is passing around them ; nay, it is said, you may scratch or pinch them while in this condition without exciting sensation. The *hooka* is the dessert to the *umlpáni* ; the panacea for all the ills which can overtake a Rajpoot, and with which he can at any time enjoy a paradise of his own creation. To ask a Bhatti for a whiff of his pipe would be deemed a direct insult.

*Palliwal*s.—Next to the lordly Rajpoots, equalling them in numbers and far surpassing them in wealth, are the Palliwal's. They are Brahmins, and denominated *Palliwal* from having been temporal proprietors of *Palli*, and all its lands, long before the Rahtores colonised Marwar. Tradition is silent as to the manner in which they became possessed of this domain ; but it is connected with the history of the *Pali*, or pastoral tribes, who from the town of Palli to Palit'hana, in Saurashtra, have left traces of their existence ; and I am much mistaken if it will not one day be demonstrated, that all the ramifications of the races figuratively denominated *Agnicúla*, were Pali in origin : more especially the Chohans, whose princes and chiefs for ages retained the distinctive affix of *pal*.

¹ The chaori of ivory, bone, or shell, is the most ancient ornament of the Indo-Scythic dames, and appears in old sculpture and painting. I was much struck with some ancient sculptures in a very old Gothic church at Moissac, in Languedoc. The porch is the only part left of this most antique fane, attributed to the age of Dagobert. It represents the conversion of Clovis, and when the subject was still a matter of novelty. But interesting as this is, it is as nothing when compared to some sculptured figures below, of a totally distinct age ; in execution as far superior as they are dissimilar in character, which is decidedly Asiatic : the scarf, the *champakulli* or necklace, representing the buds of the jessamine (*champa*), and *chaoris*, such as I have been describing. To whom but the Visigoths can we ascribe them ?—and does not this supply the connecting link of this Asiatic race, destined to change the moral aspect of Europe ? I recommend all travellers, who are interested in tracing such analogies, to visit the church at Moissac, though it is not known as an object of curiosity in the neighbourhood.

These Brahmins, the Palliwals, as appears by the Annals of Marwar, held the domain of Palli when Séôji, at the end of the twelfth century, invaded that land from Canouj, and by an act of treachery first established his power.¹ It is evident, however, that he did not extirpate them, for the cause of their migration to the desert of Jessulmér is attributed to a period of a Mahomedan invasion of Marwar, when a general war-contribution (*dind*) being imposed on the inhabitants, the Palliwals pleaded *caste*, and refused. This exasperated the Raja ; for as their habits were almost exclusively mercantile, their stake was greater than that of the rest of the community, and he threw their principal men into prison. In order to avenge this, they had recourse to a grand *chândî*, or 'act of suicide' ; but instead of gaining their object, he issued a manifesto of banishment to every Palliwal in his dominions. The greater part took refuge in Jessulmér, though many settled in Bikanér, Dhat, and the valley of Sindé. At one time their number in Jessulmér was calculated to equal that of the Rajpoots. Almost all the internal trade of the country passes through their hands, and it is chiefly with their capital that its merchants trade in foreign parts. They are the *Metayers* of the desert, advancing money to the cultivators, taking the security of the crop ; and they buy up all the wool and *ghee* (clarified butter), which they transport to foreign parts. They also rear and keep flocks. The minister, Salim Sing, has contrived to diminish their wealth, and consequently to lose the main support of the country's prosperity. They are also subject to the visits of the Maldotes, Tejmalotes, and other plunderers ; but they find it difficult to leave the country owing to the restrictive *cordon* of the Mehtâ. The Palliwals never marry out of their own tribe ; and, directly contrary to the laws of Menu, the bridegroom gives a sum of money to the father of the bride. It will be deemed a curious incident in the history of superstition, that a tribe, Brahmin by name, at least, should worship the bridle of a horse. When to this is added the fact that the most ancient coins discovered in these regions bear the Pali character and the effigies of the horse, it aids to prove the Scythic character of the early colonists of these regions, who, although nomadic (*Pali*), were equestrian. There is little doubt that the Palliwal Brahmins are the remains of the priests of the Palli race, who, in their pastoral and commercial pursuits, have lost their spiritual power.

Pokurna Brahmins.—Another singular tribe, also Brahminical, is the Pokurna, of whom it is calculated there are fifteen hundred to two thousand families in Jessulmér. They are also numerous in Marwar and Bikanér, and are scattered over the desert and valley of the Indus. They follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits chiefly, having little or no concern in trade. The tradition of their origin is singular : it is said that they were *Bildárs*, and excavated the sacred lake of Poshkur or Pokur, for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brahmins, with the title of *Pokurna*. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *khodálâ*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition.

Juts or Jits.—The Juts here, as elsewhere, form a great part of the agricultural population : there are also various other tribes, which will be better described in a general account of the desert.

Castle of Jessulmér.—The castle of this desert king is erected on an

¹ See p. 11.

almost insulated peak, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet in height, a strong wall running round the crest of the hill. It has four gates, but very few cannon mounted. The city is to the north, and is surrounded by a *seherpunna*, or circumvallation, encompassing a space of nearly three miles, having three gates and two wickets. In the city are some good houses belonging to rich merchants, but the greater part consists of huts. The Raja's palace is said to possess some pretension to grandeur, perhaps comparative. Were he on good terms with his vassalage, he could collect for its defence five thousand infantry and one thousand horse, besides his camel-corps; but it may be doubted whether, under the oppressive system of the monster who has so long continued to desolate that region, one half of this force could be brought together.¹

¹ It has been reported that the dagger has since rid the land of its tyrant. The means matter little, if the end is accomplished. Even assassination loses much of its odious character when resorted to for such a purpose.

SKETCH OF THE INDIAN DESERT

CHAPTER I

General aspect—Boundaries and divisions of the desert—Probable etymology of the Greek *oasis*—Absorption of the Caggar river—The Looni, or salt-river—The Runn, or Rin—Distinction of *t'hul* and *rooé*—*T'hul* of the Looni—Jhalore—Sewanchí—Macholah and Morseen—Beenmal and Sanchoe—Bhadrajoon—Mehwo—Bhalotra and Tilwarra—Eendováti—Gogadeo-ca-t'hul—*T'hul* of Tirruoe—*T'hul* of Khawur—Mallinat'h-ca-t'hul, or Barmair—Khérdhur—Junah Chotun—Nuggur Goorah.

HAVING never penetrated personally farther into the heart of the desert than Mundore, the ancient capital of all Marooost'hali, the old castle of Hissar on its north-eastern frontier, and Aboo, Nehrwalla, and Bhooj, to the south, it may be necessary, before entering upon the details, to deprecate the charge of presumption or incompetency, by requesting the reader to bear in mind, that my parties of discovery have traversed it in every direction, adding to their journals of routes living testimonies of their accuracy, and bringing to me natives of every *t'hul* from Bhutnair to Omurkote, and from Aboo to Arore.¹ I wish it, however, to be clearly understood, that I look upon this as a mere outline, which, by showing what might be done, may stimulate further research; but in the existing dearth of information on the subject I have not hesitated to send it forth, with its almost inevitable errors, as (I trust) a pioneer to more extended and accurate knowledge.

After premising thus much, let us commence with details, which, but for the reasons already stated, should have been comprised in the geographical portion of the work, and which, though irrelevant to the historical part, are too important to be thrown into notes. I may add, that the conclusions formed, partly from personal observation, but chiefly from the resources described above, have been confirmed by the picture drawn by Mr. Elphinstone of his passage through the northern desert in the embassy to Cabul, which renders perfectly satisfactory to me the views I before entertained. It may be well, at this stage, to mention that some slight repetitions must occur as we proceed, having incidentally noticed many of the characteristic features of the desert in the Annals of Bikanér, which was unavoidable from the position of that state.

The hand of Nature has defined, in the boldest characters, the limits of

¹ The journals of all these routes, with others of Central and Western India, form eleven moderate-sized folio volumes, from which an itinerary of these regions might be constructed. It was my intention to have drawn up a more perfect and detailed map from these, but my health forbids the attempt. They are now deposited in the archives of the Company, and may serve, if judiciously used, to fill up the only void in the great map of India, executed by their commands.

the great desert of India, and we only require to follow minutely the line of demarcation ; though, in order to be distinctly understood, we must repeat the analysis of the term *Maroost'hali*, the emphatic appellation of this 'region of death.' The word is compounded of the Sanscrit *mri*, 'to die,' and *st'hali*, 'arid or dry land,' which last, in the corrupted dialect of those countries, becomes *t'hul*, the converse of the Greek *oasis*, denoting tracts particularly sterile. Each *t'hul* has its distinct denomination, as the '*t'hul* of Kawue,' the '*t'hul* of Goga,' etc. ; and the cultivated spots, compared with these, either as to number or magnitude, are so scanty, that instead of the ancient Roman simile, which likened Africa to the leopard's hide, reckoning the spots thereon as the *oasis*, I would compare the Indian desert to that of the tiger, of which the long dark stripes would indicate the expansive belts of sand, elevated upon a plain only less sandy, and over whose surface numerous thinly-peopled towns and hamlets are scattered.

Maroost'hali is bounded on the north by the flat skirting the Garah ; on the south by that grand salt-marsh, the Rin, and Kolfwarra ; on the east by the Aravulli ; and on the west by the valley of Sinde. The two last boundaries are the most conspicuous, especially the Aravulli, but for which impediment, Central India would be submerged in sand ; nay, lofty and continuous as is this chain, extending almost from the sea to Dehli, wherever there are passages or depressions, these floating sand-clouds are wafted through or over, and form a little *t'hul* even in the bosom of fertility. Whoever has crossed the Bunas near Tonk, where the sand for some miles resembles waves of the sea, will comprehend this remark. Its western boundary is alike defined, and will recall to the English traveller, who may be destined to journey up the valley of Sinde, the words of Napoleon on the Lybian desert : " Nothing so much resembles the sea as the desert ; or a coast, as the valley of the Nile " : for this substitute " Indus," whence in journeying northward along its banks from Hyderabad to Ootch, the range of vision will be bounded to the east by a bulwark of sand, which, rising often to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the river, leads one to imagine that the chasm, now forming this rich valley, must have originated in a sudden melting of all the glaciers of Caucasus, whose congregated waters made this break in the continuity of Maroost'hali, which would otherwise be united with the deserts of Arachosia.

We may here repeat the tradition illustrating the geography of the desert, *i.e.* that in remote ages it was ruled by princes of the Powár (Pramara) race, which the *sloca*, or verse of the bard, recording the names of the nine fortresses (*No-koti Maroo-ca*), so admirably adapted by their position to maintain these regions in subjection, further corroborates. We shall divest it of its metrical form, and begin with Poogul, to the north ; Mundore, in the centre of all Maroo ; Aboo, Khéraloo, and Parkur, to the south ; Chotun, Omurkote, Arore, and Lodorva, to the west ; the possession of which assuredly marks the sovereignty of the desert. The antiquity of this legend is supported by the omission of all modern cities, the present capital of the Bhattis not being mentioned. Even Lodorva and Arore, cities for ages in ruins, are names known only to a few who frequent the desert ; and Chotun and Khéraloo, but for the traditional stanzas which excited our research, might never have appeared on the map.

We purpose to follow the natural divisions of the country, or those employed by the natives, who, as stated above, distinguish them as *t'huls*; and after describing these in detail, with a summary notice of the principal towns whether ruined or existing, and the various tribes, conclude with the chief lines of route diverging from, or leading to, Jessulmér.

The whole of Bikanér, and that part of Shékhavatí north of the Aravulli, are comprehended in the desert. If the reader will refer to the map, and look for the town of Kanorh, within the British frontier, he will see what Mr. Elphinstone considered as the commencement of the desert, in his interesting expedition to Cabul.¹ "From Delly to Canound (the Kanorh of my map), a distance of one hundred miles is through the British dominions, and need not be described. It is sufficient to say that the country is sandy, though not ill cultivated. On approaching Canound, we had the first specimen of the desert, to which we were looking forward with anxious curiosity. Three miles before reaching that place we came to sand-hills, which at first were covered with bushes, but afterwards were naked piles of loose sand, rising one after another like the waves of the sea, and marked on the surface by the wind like drifted snow. There were roads through them, made solid by the treading of animals; but off the road our horses sunk into the sand above the knee." Such was the opening scene; the route of the embassy was by Singana, Jhoonjoonoo, to Chooroo, when they entered Bikanér. Of Shékhavatí, which he had just left, Mr. Elphinstone says: "It seems to lose its title to be included in the desert, when compared with the two hundred and eighty miles between its western frontier and Bahawalpoor, and, even of this, only the last hundred miles is absolutely destitute of inhabitants, water, or vegetation. Our journey from Shékhavatí to Poogul was over hills and valleys of loose and heavy sand. The hills were exactly like those which are sometimes formed by the wind on the sea-shore, but far exceeding them in height, which was from twenty to a hundred feet. They are said to shift their position and alter their shapes according as they are affected by the wind; and in summer the passage is rendered dangerous by the clouds of moving sand; but when I saw the hills (in winter), they seemed to have a great degree of permanence, for they bore grass, besides *phoke*, the *babool*, and *bair* or *jujube*, which altogether give them an appearance that sometimes amounted to verdure. Amongst the most dismal hills of sand one occasionally meets with a village, if such a name can be given to a few round huts of straw, with low walls and conical roofs, like little stacks of corn." This description of the northern portion of the desert, by an author whose great characteristics are accuracy and simplicity, will enable the reader to form a more correct notion of what follows.²

With these remarks, and bearing in mind what has already been said of the physiognomy of these regions, we proceed to particularise the various *t'huls* and *oasis* in this "region of death." It will be convenient to disre-

¹ It left Dehli the 13th October 1808.

² "Our marches," says Mr. Elphinstone, "were seldom very long. The longest was twenty-six miles, and the shortest fifteen; but the fatigue which our people suffered bore no proportion to the distance. Our line, when in the closest order, was two miles long. The path by which we travelled wound much, to avoid the sand-hills. It was too narrow to allow of two camels going abreast; and if an animal stepped to one side, it sunk in the sand as in snow," etc. etc.—*Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*, vol. i. p. 13.

gard the ancient Hindu geographical division, which makes Mundore the capital of *Maroost'hali*, a distinction both from its character and position better suited to Jessulmér, being nearly in the centre of what may be termed entire desert. It is in fact an *oasis*, everywhere insulated by immense masses of *t'hul*, some of which are forty miles in breadth, without the trace of man, or aught that could subsist him. From Jessulmér we shall pass to Marwar, and without crossing the Looni, describe Jhalore and Sewánchez; then conduct the reader into the almost unknown *raj* of Parkur and Vírâ-Bah, governed by princes of the Chohan race, with the title of Rana. Thence, skirting the political limits of modern Rajpootana, to the regions of Dhât and Oomur-soomra, now within the dominion of Sindé, we shall conclude with a very slight sketch of Dâod-potra, and the valley of the Indus. These details will receive further illustration from the remarks made on every town or hamlet diverging from the "hill of Jessoh" (*Jessulmér*). Could the beholder, looking westward from this 'triple-peaked hill,'¹ across this sandy ocean to the blue waters (*Nîl-âb*)² of the Indus, embrace in his vision its whole course from Hyderabad to Ootch, he would perceive, amidst these valleys of sand-hills, little colonies of animated beings, congregated on every spot which water renders habitable. Throughout this tract, from four hundred to five hundred miles in longitudinal extent, and from one hundred to two hundred of diagonal breadth, are little hamlets, consisting of the scattered huts of the shepherds of the desert, occupied in pasturing their flocks or cultivating these little *oases* for food. He may discern a long line of camels (called *kutâr*, a name better known than either *kafila* or *carwân*), anxiously toiling through the often doubtful path, and the Charun conductor, at each stage, tying a knot on the end of his turban. He may discover, lying in ambush, a band of *Schráés*, the Bedouins of our desert (*sehwa*), either mounted on camels or horses, on the watch to despoil the caravan, or engaged in the less hazardous occupation of driving off the flocks of the Rajur or Mangulfa shepherds, peacefully tending them about the *turs* or *bâwâs*, or hunting for the produce stored amidst the huts of the ever-green *j'hâl*, which serve at once as grain-pits and shelter from the sun. A migratory band may be seen flitting with their flocks from ground which they have exhausted, in search of fresh pastures:

" And if the following day they chance to find
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
Will bless their stars, and think it luxury!"

Or they may be seen preparing the *rabri*, a mess quite analogous to the *kouskous* of their Numidian brethren, or quenching their thirst from the *Wah* of their little *oasis*, of which they maintain sovereign possession so long as the pasture lasts, or till they come in conflict with some more powerful community.

We may here pause to consider whether in the *bâh*, *bâwâ*, or *wâh*, of the Indian desert, may not be found the *oasis* of the Greeks, corrupted by them from *el-wah*, or, as written by Belzoni (in his account of the Libyan desert, while searching for the temple of Ammon), *Elloah*. Of the numerous

¹ *Trî-cûta*, the epithet bestowed on the rock on which the castle of Jessulmér is erected.

² A name often given by Ferishta to the Indus.

terms used to designate water in these arid regions, as *pár*, *rár*, *tir*, *dé* or *dey*, *báh*, *báwá*, *wáh*, all but the latter are chiefly applicable to springs or pools of water, while the last (*wáh*), though used often in a like sense, applies more to a water-course or stream. *El-wah*, under whatever term, means—'the water.' Again, *dey* or *dé*, is a term in general use for a pool, even not unfrequently in running streams and large rivers, which, ceasing to flow in dry weather, leave large stagnant masses, always called *dé*. There are many of the streams of Rajpootana, having such pools, particularised as *hatí-dé*, or 'elephant-pool,' denoting a sufficiency of water even to drown that animal. Now the word *dé* or *dey*, added to the generic term for water, *wáh*, would make *wadey* (pool of water), the Arabian term for a running stream, and commonly used by recent travellers in Africa for these habitable spots. If the Greeks took the word *wadey* from any MS., the transposition would be easily accounted for: *wadey* would be written thus وادي, and by the addition of a point وادي, *wazey*, easily metamorphosed, for a euphonous termination, into *oasis*.¹

At the risk of somewhat of repetition, we must here point out the few grand features which diversify this sea of sand, and after defining the difference between *rooé* and *t'hul*, which will frequently occur in the itinerary, at once plunge in *medias res*.

We have elsewhere mentioned the tradition of the absorption of the Caggar river, as one of the causes of the comparative depopulation of the northern desert. The couplet recording it I could not recall at the time, nor any record of the Soda prince Hamir, in whose reign this phenomenon is said to have happened. But the utility of these ancient traditional couplets, to which I have frequently drawn the reader's attention, has again been happily illustrated, for the name of Hamir has been incidentally discovered from the trivial circumstance of an intermarriage related in the Bhatti annals. His contemporary of Jessulmér was Doosauj, who succeeded in S. 1100 or A.D. 1044, so that we have a precise date assigned, supposing this to be the Hamir in question. The Caggar, which rises in the Sewaluk, passes Hansi Hissar, and flowed under the walls of Bhutnair, at which place they yet have their wells in its bed. Thence it passed Rung-

¹ When I penned this conjectural etymology, I was not aware that any speculation had been made upon this word: I find, however, the late M. Langlès suggested the derivation of *oasis* (variously written by the Greeks *oasis*, *taois* and *taois*) from the Arabic واح: and Dr. Wait, in a series of interesting etymologies (see *Asiatic Journal*, May 1830), suggests वसि. *vasi* from वस, *vas*, 'to inhabit.' *Vasi* and *taois* quasi *vasis* are almost identical. My friend, Sir W. Ouseley, gave me nearly the same signification of وادي, *Wadey*, as appears in Johnson's edition of Richardson, namely, a valley, a desert, a channel of a river—a river; وادي الكبير, *wadey-al-kabir*, 'the great river,' corrupted into Guadalquivir, which example is also given in d'Herbelot (see *Vadi Gehennem*), and by Thompson, who traces the word *water* through all the languages of Europe—the Saxon *wæter*, the Greek *ὕδωρ*, the Islandic *vár*, the Slavonic *wod* (whence *woder* and *oder*, 'a river'): all appear derivable from the Arabic *wad*, 'a river'—or the Sanscrit *wah*; and if Dr. W. will refer to p. 276 of the Itinerary, he will find a singular confirmation of his etymology in the word *bás* (classically *vás*) applied to one of these habitable spots. The word *bustee*, also of frequent occurrence therein, is from *vasná*, to inhabit; *vasí*, an inhabitant; or *vás*, a habitation, perhaps derivable from *wáh*, indispensable to an oasis!

mahel, Bullur, and Phoolra, and through the flats of Khâdâl (of which Derrawul is the capital), emptying itself according to some below Ootch, but according to Abû-Bîrkât (whom I sent to explore in 1809, and who crossed the dry bed of a stream called the *Khuggur*, near Shahgur'h), between Jessulmér and Rori-Bekher. If this could be authenticated, we should say at once that, united with the branch from Dura, it gave its name to the Sangra, which unites with the Looni, enlarging the eastern branch of the Delta of the Indus.

The next, and perhaps most remarkable feature in the desert, is the Looni, or Salt River, which, with its numerous feeders, has its source in the springs of the Aravulli. Of Marwar it is a barrier between the fertile lands and the desert; and as it leaves this country for the *t'hul* of the Chohans, it divides that community, and forms a geographical demarcation; the eastern portion being called the Raj of Sooé-Bah; and the western part, Parkur, or *beyond the Khar*, or Looni.

We shall hereafter return to the country of the Chohans, which is bounded to the south by that singular feature in the physiognomy of the desert, the Runn, or Rin, already slightly touched upon in the geographical sketch prefixed to this work. This immense salt-marsh, upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in breadth, is formed chiefly by the Looni, which, like the Rhone, after forming Lake Leman, resumes its name at its further outlet, and ends as it commences with a sacred character, having the temple of Narayn at its embouchure, where it mingles with the ocean, and that of Brimha at its source of Poshkur. The Runn, or Rin, is a corruption of *Aranya*, or 'the waste'; nor can anything in nature be more dreary in the dry weather than this parched desert of salt and mud, the peculiar abode of the *khur-gudda*, or wild-ass, whose love of solitude has been commemorated by an immortal pen. That this enormous depository of salt is of no recent formation we are informed by the Greek writers, whose notice it did not escape, and who have preserved in *Erinos* a nearer approximation to the original *Aranya* than exists in our 'Rin' or 'Runn.' Although mainly indebted to the Looni for its salt, whose bed and that of its feeders are covered with saline deposits, it is also supplied by the overflowings of the Indus, to which grand stream it may be indebted for its volume of water. We have here another strong point of physical resemblance between the valleys of the Indus and the Nile, which Napoleon at once referred to the simple operations of nature; I allude to the origin of Lake Moëris, a design too vast for man.¹

As the reader will often meet with the words *t'hul* and *rooé*, he should be acquainted with the distinction between them. The first means an arid and bare desert; the other is equally expressive of desert, but implies the presence of natural vegetation; in fact, the jungle of the desert.

¹ "The greatest breadth of the valley of the Nile is four leagues, the least, one": so that the narrowest portion of the valley of Sinde equals the largest of the Nile. Egypt alone is *said* to have had eight millions of inhabitants; what then might Sinde maintain! The condition of the peasantry, as described by *Bourienne*, is exactly that of Rajpootana: "The villages are fiefs belonging to any one on whom the prince may bestow them; the peasantry pay a tax to their superior, and are the actual proprietors of the soil: amidst all the revolutions and commotions, their privileges are not infringed." This right (still obtaining), taken away by Joseph, was restored by Sesostris.

INDIAN DESERT

T'hul of the Looni.—This embraces the tracts on both sides of the river, forming Jhalore and its dependencies. Although the region south of the stream cannot be included in the *t'hul*, yet it is so intimately connected with it, that we shall not forego the only opportunity we may have of noticing it.

Jhalore.—This tract is one of the most important divisions of Marwar. It is separated from Sewānchī by the Sookri and Khāri,¹ which, with many smaller streams, flow through them from the Aravulli and Aboo, aiding to fertilise its three hundred and sixty towns and villages, forming a part of the fiscal domains of Marwar. Jhalore, according to the geographical stanza so often quoted, was one of the 'nine castles of Maroo,' when the Pramār held paramount rule in Marooost'hali. When it was wrested from them we have no clue to discover; but it had long been held by the Chohans, whose celebrated defence of their capital against Alla-o-dīn, in A.D. 1301, is recorded by Ferishta, as well as in the chronicles of their bards. This branch of the Chohan race was called *Mallani*, and will be again noticed, both here and in the annals of Harouti. It formed that portion of the Chohan sovereignty called the *Hāppa Raj*, whose capital was Junah-chotun, connecting the sway of this race in the countries along the Looni from Ajmer to Parkur, which would appear to have crushed its Agnicula brother, the Pramār, and possessed all that region marked by the course of the 'Salt river' to Parkur.

Sonāgir, the 'golden mount,' is the more ancient name of this castle, and was adopted by the Chohans as distinctive of their tribe, when the older term, *Mallani*, was dropped for *Sonigurra*. Here they enshrined their tutelary divinity, *Mallinat'h*, 'god of the Malli,' who maintained his position until the sons of Sēōji entered these regions, when the name of Sonagir was exchanged for that of Jhalore, contracted from *Jhalinder-nat'h*, whose shrine is about a coss west of the castle. Whether *Jhalinder-nat'h*, the 'divinity of Jhalinder,' was imported from the Ganges, or left as well as the god of the *Malli* by the *ci-devant* Mallanis, is uncertain: but should this prove to be a remnant of the foes of Alexander, driven by him from Mooltan,² its probability is increased by the caves of Jhalinder (so celebrated as a Hindu pilgrimage even in Baber's time) being in their vicinity. Be this as it may, the Rahtores, like the Roman conquerors, have added these indigenous divinities to their own pantheon. The descendants of the expatriated Sonigurras now occupy the lands of Cheetulwano, near the *furca* of the Looni.

Jhalore comprehends the inferior districts of Sewānchī, Beenmal, Sanchoire, Morseen, all attached to the *khalisa* or fisc; besides the great *puttāḍis*, or chieftainships, of Bhadrājooṇ, Mehwo, Jessole, and Sindri—a tract of ninety miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, with

¹ Another salt river.

² Mooltan and Jūnāh (Chótun, *qu.* Chohán-tán?) have the same signification, 'the ancient abode,' and both were occupied by the tribe of Malli or Mallani, said to be of Chohan race; and it is curious to find at Jhalore (classically Jhalinder) the same divinities as in their haunts in the Punjāb, namely, *Mallinat'h*, *Jhalinder-nath*, and *Balnath*. Abulfuzil says (p. 108, vol. ii.) "The cell of Bulnaut is in the middle of Sind-sagur"; and Baber (p. 293), places "*Bāḍind-jogi* below the hill of Jud, five marches east of the Indus," the very spot claimed by the Yadus, when led out of India by their deified leader Buldeo, or *Balnath*.

fair soil, water near the surface, and requiring only good government to make it as productive as any of its magnitude in these regions, and sufficient to defray the whole personal expenses of the Rajas of Jodpoor, or about nine lakhs of rupees ; but in consequence of the anarchy of the capital, the corruption of the managers, and the raids of the *Schrâés* of the desert and the *Meenas* of Aboo and the *Aravulli*, it is deplorably deteriorated. There are several ridges (on one of which is the castle) traversing the district, but none uniting with the table-land of Méwar, though with breaks it may be traced to near Aboo. In one point it shows its affinity to the desert, *i.e.* in its vegetable productions, for it has no other timber than the *jhál*, the *babool*, the *khureel*, and other shrubs of the *t'hul*.

The important fortress of Jhalore, guarding the southern frontier of Marwar, stands on the extremity of the range extending north to Sewanoh. It is from three to four hundred feet in height, fortified with a wall and bastions, on some of which cannon are mounted. It has four gates ; that from the town is called the *Sooruj-pól*, and to the north-west is the *Bál-pól* ('the gate of Bál,' the sun-god), where there is a shrine of the Jain pontiff, *Parswanat'h*. There are many wells, and two considerable *bawarts*, or reservoirs of good water, and to the north a small lake formed by damming-up the streams from the hills ; but the water seldom lasts above half the year. The town, which contains three thousand and seventeen houses, extends on the north and eastern side of the fort, having the *Sookrie* flowing about a mile east of it. It has a circumvallation as well as the castle, having guns for its defence ; and is inhabited by every variety of tribe, though, strange to say, there are only five families of Rajpoots in its motley population. The following census was made by one of my parties, in A.D. 1813 :—

| | Houses. |
|--|---------|
| <i>Mallis</i> , or gardeners | 140 |
| <i>Tailis</i> , or oilmen, here called <i>ghatchi</i> | 100 |
| <i>Khomars</i> , or potters | 60 |
| <i>Thâtairas</i> , or braziers | 30 |
| <i>Cheepas</i> , or printers | 20 |
| Bankers, merchants, and shopkeepers | 1156 |
| Moosulmaun families | 936 |
| <i>Khutecks</i> , or butchers | 20 |
| <i>Náés</i> , or barbers | 16 |
| <i>Khuláls</i> , or spirit-distillers | 20 |
| Weavers | 100 |
| Silk weavers | 15 |
| Yatis (Jain priests) | 2 |
| Brahmins | 100 |
| Goojurs | 40 |
| Rajpoots | 5 |
| Bhojuks | 20 |
| Meenas | 60 |
| Bhils | 15 |
| Sweetmeat shops | 8 |
| Ironsmiths and carpenters (<i>Lohars</i> and <i>Sootars</i>) | 14 |
| <i>Chooriwallas</i> , or bracelet-manufacturers | 4 |

The general accuracy of this census was confirmed.

Sewánchez is the tract between the Looní and Sookrie, of which Sewanoh a strong castle placed on the extremity of the same range with Jhalore, is the capital. The country requires no particular description, being of the same nature as that just depicted. In former times it constituted, together with Nagore, the appanage of the heir-apparent of Marwar; but since the setting-up of the pretender, Dhonkul Sing, both have been attached to the fisc: in fact, there is no heir to Maroo! Ferishta mentions the defence of Sewanoh against the arms of All-o-dín.

Macholah and Mooseem are the two principal dependencies of Jhalore within the Looní, the former having a strong castle guarding its south-east frontier against the depredations of the Meenas; the latter, which has also a fort and town of five hundred houses, is on the western extremity of Jhalore.

Beenmal and *Sanchoe* are the two principal subdivisions to the south, and together nearly equal the remainder of the province, each containing eighty villages. These towns are on the high road to Cutch and Guzzerat, which has given them from the most remote times a commercial celebrity. *Beenmal* is said to contain fifteen hundred houses, and *Sanchoe* about half the number. Very wealthy *Mahajuns*, or 'merchants,' used to reside here, but insecurity both within and without has much injured these cities, the first of which has its name, *Mal* (not *Mahl*, as in the map), from its wealth as a mart. There is a temple of Baraha (*Váráha*, the incarnation of the hog), with a great sculptured boar. *Sanchoe* possesses also a distinct celebrity from being the cradle of a class of Brahmins called *Sanchora*, who are the officiating priests of some of the most celebrated temples in these regions, as that of *Dwarica*, *Mat'hura*, *Poshkur*, *Nuggur-Parkur*, etc. The name of *Sanchoe* is corrupted from *Sattí-poora*, *Sátí*, or *Suttee's* town, said to be very ancient.

Bhadrajoon.—A slight notice is due to the principal fiefs of Jhalore, as well as the fiscal towns of this domain. *Bhadrajoon* is a town of five hundred houses (three-fourths of which are of the Meena class), situated in the midst of a cluster of hills, having a small fort. The chief is of the *Joda* clan; his fief connects Jhalore with *Palli* in *Godwar*.

Mehwo is a celebrated little tract on both banks of the Looní, and one of the first possessions of the *Rahtores*. It is, properly speaking, in *Sewánchez*, to which it pays a tribute, besides service when required. The chief of *Mehwo* has the title of *Rawul*, and his usual residence is the town of *Jessole*. *Soorut Sing* is the present chief; his relative, *Soorajmul*, holds the same title, and the fief and castle of *Sindrí*, also on the Looní, twenty-two miles south of *Jessole*. A feud reigns between them: they claim co-equal rights, and the consequence is that neither can reside at *Mehwo*, the capital of the domain. Both chiefs deemed the profession of robber no disgrace, when this memoir was written (1813); but it is to be hoped they have seen the danger, if not the error, of their ways, and will turn to cultivating the fertile tracts along the 'Salt River,' which yield wheat, jooár, and bajra in abundance.

Bhalotra, *Tilwarra*, are two celebrated names in the geography of this region, and have an annual fair, as renowned in *Rajpootana* as that of *Leipsic* in *Germany*. Though called the *Bhalotra méléá* (literally, an assemblage, or concourse of people'), it was held at *Tilwarra*, several

miles south, near an island of the Loonf, which is sanctified by a shrine of Málli-nát'h, 'the divinity of the Malli,' who, as already mentioned, is now the patron god of the Rahtores. Tilwarra forms the fief of another relative of the Mehwo family, and Bhalotra, which ought to belong to the fisc, did and may still belong to Ahwa, the chief noble of Marwar. But Bhalotra and Sindri have other claims to distinction, having, with the original estate of Droonara, formed the fief of Doorgadas, the first character in the annals of Maroo, and whose descendant yet occupies Sindri. The fief of Mehwo, which includes them all, was rated at fifty thousand rupees annually. The *Puttáhts* with their vassalage occasionally go to court, but hold themselves exempt from service except on emergencies. The call upon them is chiefly for the defence of the frontier, of which they are the *sim-íswara*, or lord-marchers.

Eendováti.—This tract, which has its name from the Rajpoot tribe of Eendo, the chief branch of the Purihars (the ancient sovereigns of Mundore), extends from Bhalotra north, and west of the capital, Jodpoor, and is bounded on the north by the *t'hul* of Gogá. The *t'hul* of Eendováti embraces a space of about thirty coss in circumference.

Gogadeo-ca-t'hul.—The *t'hul* of Gogá, a name celebrated in the heroic history of the Chohans, is immediately north of Eendováti, and one description will suit both. The sand-ridges (*t'hul-ca-teeba*) are very lofty in all this tract; very thinly inhabited; few villages; water far from the surface, and having considerable jungles. Thobe, Phulsoond, and Beemasir are the chief towns in this *rooé*. They collect rain-water in reservoirs called *tanka*, which they are obliged to use sparingly, and often while a mass of corruption, producing that peculiar disease in the eyes called *rât-andá* (corrupted by us to *rotunda*) or night-blindness,¹ for with the return of day it passes off.

The *t'hul* of *Tirruróé* intervenes between that of Gogadeo and the present frontier of Jessulmér, to which it formerly belonged. Pokurn is the chief town, not of Tirruróé only, but of all the desert interposed between the two chief capitals of Marooost'hali. The southern part of this *t'hul* does not differ from that described, but its northern portion, and more especially for sixteen to twenty miles around the city of Pokurn, are low disconnected ridges of loose rock, the continuation of that on which stands the capital of the Bhattís, which give, as we have already said, to this oasis the epithet of *Mér*, or rocky. The name of Tirruróé is derived from *tirr*, which signifies moisture, humidity from springs, or the springs themselves, which rise from this *rooé*. Pokurn, the residence of Salim Sing (into the history of whose family we have so fully entered in the annals of Marwar), is a town of two thousand houses, surrounded by a stone wall, and having a fort, mounting several guns on its eastern side. Under the west side of the town, the inhabitants have the unusual sight in these regions of running water, though only in the rainy season, for it is soon absorbed by the sands. Some say it comes from the *Sirr* of Kanoad, others from the springs in the ridge; at all events, they derive a good and plentiful supply of water from the wells excavated in its bed. The chief of Pokurn, besides its twenty-four villages, holds lands between the Loonf

¹ It is asserted by the natives to be caused by a small thread-like worm, which also forms in the eyes of horses. I have seen it in the horse, moving about with great velocity. They puncture and discharge it with the aqueous humour.

and Bandy rivers to the amount of a lakh of rupees. Droonara and Munzil, the fief of the loyal Doorgadas, are now in the hands of the traitor Salim. Three coss to the north of Pokurn is the village of Ramdéora, so named from a shrine to Ramdeo, one of the Paladins of the desert, and which attracts people from all quarters to the *melá*, or fair, held in the rainy month of Bhadoon. Merchants from Koratchy-bundur, Tatta, Mooltan, Shikarpoor, and Cutch, here exchange the produce of various countries: horses, camels, and oxen used also to be reared in great numbers, but the famine of 1813, and anarchy ever since Raja Maun's accession, added to the interminable feuds between the Bhattis and Rahtores, have checked all this desirable intercourse, which occasionally made the very heart of the desert a scene of joy and activity.

T'hul of Khawur.—This *t'hul*, lying between Jessulmér and Barmair, and abutting at Giráup into the desert of Dhât, is in the most remote angle of Marwar. Though thinly inhabited, it possesses several considerable places, entitled to the name of towns, in this 'abode of death.' Of these, Sheo and Kottoroh are the most considerable, the first containing three hundred, the latter five hundred houses, situated upon the ridge of hills, which may be traced from Bhooj to Jessulmér. Both these towns belong to chiefs of the Rahtore family, who pay a nominal obedience to the Raja of Jodpoor. At no distant period, a smart trade used to be carried on between Anhulwarra Patun and this region; but the lawless Sehraés plundered so many *kafilas*, that it is at length destroyed. They find pasture for numerous flocks of sheep and buffaloes in this *t'hul*.

Malli-nal'h-ca-t'hul, or Barmair.—The whole of this region was formerly inhabited by a tribe called Mallí or Mallaní, who, although asserted by some to be Rahtore in origin, are assuredly Chohan, and of the same stock as the ancient lords of Junah Chotun. Barmair was reckoned, before the last famine, to contain one thousand two hundred houses, inhabited by all classes, one-fourth of whom were Sanchora Brahmins. The town is situated in the same range as Sheo-Kottoroh, here two to three hundred feet in height. From Sheo to Barmair there is a good deal of flat intermingled with low *teebas* of sand, which in favourable seasons produces enough food for consumption. Puddum Sing, the Barmair chief, is of the same stock as those of Sheo-Kottoroh and Jessole; from the latter they all issue, and he calculates thirty-four villages in his feudal domain. Formerly, a *dannie* (which is, literally rendered, *douánier*) resided here to collect the transit duties; but the Sehraés have rendered this office a sinecure, and the chief of Barmair takes the little it realises to himself. They find it more convenient to be on a tolerably good footing with the Bhattis, from whom this tract was conquered, than with their own head, whose officers they very often oppose, especially when a demand is made upon them for *dind*; on which occasion they do not disdain to call in the assistance of their desert friends, the Sehraés. Throughout the whole of this region they rear great numbers of the best camels, which find a ready market in every part of India.

Khérd'hur.—'The land of Khér'¹ has often been mentioned in the

¹ Named, in all probability, from the superabundant tree of the desert termed *Khér*, and *d'hur*, 'land.' It is also called *Kherdloo*, but more properly *Kherála*, 'the abode of Khér': a shrub of great utility in these regions. Its astringent

annals of these states. It was in this distant nook that the Rahtores first established themselves, expelling the Gohil tribe, which migrated to the Gulf of Cambay, and are now lords of Gogá and Bhaonuggur; and instead of steering 'the ship of the desert' in their piracies on the *kafilas*, plied the Great Indian Ocean, even "to the golden coast of Sofala," in the yet more nefarious trade of slaves. It is difficult to learn what latitude they affixed to the 'land of Khér,' which in the time of the Gohils approximated to the Looní; nor is it necessary to perplex ourselves with such niceties, as we only use the names for the purpose of description. In all probability it comprehended the whole space afterwards occupied by the Mallaní or Chohans, who founded Júnáh-Chotun, etc., which we shall therefore include in Khérd'hur. Kheráloo, the chief town, was one of the 'nine castles of Maroo,' when the Pramár was its sovereign lord. It has now dwindled into an insignificant village, containing no more than forty houses, surrounded on all sides by hills "of a black colour," part of the same chain from Bhooj.

Junáh Chotun, or the 'ancient' Chotun, though always conjoined in name, are two distinct places, said to be of very great antiquity, and capitals of the *Háppá* sovereignty. But as to what this Háppá Raj was, beyond the bare fact of its princes being Chohan, tradition is now mute. Both still present the vestiges of large cities, more especially Júnáh, 'the ancient,' which is enclosed in a mass of hills, having but one inlet, on the east side, where there are the ruins of a small castle which defended the entrance. There are likewise the remains of two more on the summit of the range. The mouldering remnants of *mundurs* (temples), and *bawarís* (reservoirs), now choked up, all bear testimony to its extent, which is said to have included twelve thousand habitable dwellings! Now there are not above two hundred huts on its site, while Chotun has shrunk into a poor hamlet. At Dhorimun, which is at the farther extremity of the range in which are Júnáh and Chotun, there is a singular place of worship, to which the inhabitants flock on the *teej*, or third day of *Sawun* of each year. The patron saint is called Allundeo, through whose means some grand victory was obtained by the Mallaní. The immediate objects of veneration are a number of brass images called *aswámookhí*, from having the 'heads of horses' ranged on the top of a mountain called Allundeo. Whether these may further confirm the Scythic ancestry of the Mallaní, as a branch of the Asi, or Aswa race of Central Asia, can at present be only matter of conjecture.

Nuggur-Gooroh.—Between Barmair and Nuggur-Gooroh on the Looní is one immense continuous *t'hul*, or rather *rooé*, containing deep jungles of khyr, or khér, kajjri, kureel, keip, phoke, whose gums and berries are turned to account by the Bhíls and Kolís of the southern districts. Nuggur and Gooroh are two large towns on the Looní (described in the itinerary), on the borders of the Chohan *raj* of Sooe-bah, and formerly part of it.

Here terminate our remarks on the *t'huls* of western Marwar, which, sterile as it is by the hand of Nature, had its miseries completed by the famine that raged generally throughout these regions in S. 1868 (A.D. 1812),

pods, similar in appearance to those of the *liburnam*, they convert into food. Its gum is collected as an article of trade; the camels browse upon its twigs, and the wood makes their huts.

and of which *this*¹ is the third year. The disorders which we have depicted as prevailing at the seat of government for the last thirty years, have left these remote regions entirely to the mercy of the desert tribes, or their own scarce, less lawless lords: in fact, it only excites our astonishment how man can vegetate in such a land, which has nothing but a few *sirrs*, or salt-lakes to yield any profit to the proprietors, and the excellent camel pastures, more especially in the southern tracts, which produce the best breed in the desert.

CHAPTER II

Chohan Rāj—Antiquity and nobility of the Chohans of the desert—Dimension and population of the Rāj—Nuggur—Bankasiri—Theraud—Face of the Chohan Rāj—Water—Productions—Inhabitants—Kols and Bhils—Pithils—T'huls of Dhât and Omursoomra—Depth of wells—Anecdote—City of Arore, the ancient capital of Sînde—Dynasties of the Soda, the Soomura, and the Samma princes—Their antiquity—Inferred to be the opponents of Alexander the Great, and Menander—Lieutenant of Walid takes Arore—Omurkote: its history—Tribes of Sînde and the desert—Diseases—Narooma or Guinea-worm—Productions, animal and vegetable, of the desert—Dâôdpotra—Itinerary.

Chohan Rāj.—This sovereignty (*rāj*) of the Chohans occupies the most remote corner of Rajpootana, and its existence is now for the first time noticed. As the quality of greatness as well as goodness is, in a great measure, relative, the *rāj* of the Chohans may appear an empire to the lesser chieftains of the desert. Externally, it is environed, on the north and east, by the tracts of the Marwar state we have just been sketching. To the south-east it is bounded by Koliwarra, to the south hemmed-in by the Rin, and to the west by the desert of Dhât. Internally, it is partitioned into two distinct governments, the eastern being termed Virâ-Bâh, and the western from its position 'across the Looni,' Parkur;² which appellation, conjoined to Nuggur, is also applied to the capital, with the distinction of Sir-Nuggur, or metropolis. This is the Negar-Parker of the distinguished Rennel, a place visited at a very early stage of our intercourse with these regions by an enterprising Englishmen, named Whittington.

¹ That is, 1814. I am transcribing from my journals of that day, just after the return of one of my parties of discovery from these regions, bringing with them natives of Dhât, who, to use their own simple but expressive phraseology, "had the measure of the desert in the palm of their hands"; for they had been employed as *kasîds*, or messengers, for thirty years of their lives. Two of them afterwards returned and brought away their families, and remained upwards of five years in my service, and were faithful, able, and honest in the duties I assigned them, as jemadars of dâks, or superintendents of posts, which were for many years under my charge when at Sindia's court, extending at one time from the Ganges to Bombay, through the most savage and little-known regions in India. But with such men as I drilled to aid in these discoveries, I found nothing insurmountable.

² From *Par*, 'beyond,' and *kar* or *khar*, synonymous with *Looni*, the 'salt-river.' We have several *Khari Nadis*, or salt-rivulets, in Rajpootana, though only one *Looni*. The sea is frequently called the *Loonâ-pâni*, 'the salt-water' or *Khara-pâni*, metamorphosed into *Kâlâ-pâni*, or 'the black water,' which is by no means insignificant.

The Chohans of this desert boast the great antiquity of their settlement, as well as the nobility of their blood: they have only to refer to Manik Raé and Beesildeo of Ajmér, and to Pirthiraj, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi, to establish the latter fact; but the first we must leave to conjecture and their bards, though we may fearlessly assert that they were posterior to the Sodas and other branches of the Pramara race, who to all appearance were its masters when Alexander descended the Indus. Neither is it improbable that the Mallik or Mallanî, whom he expelled in that corner of the Punjâb, wrested 'the land of Khér' from the Sodas. At all events, it is certain that a chain of Chohan principalities extended, from the eighth to the thirteenth century, from Ajmér to the frontiers of Sindé, of which Ajmér, Nadole, Jhalore, Sirohi, and Junah-Chotun were the capitals; and though all of these in their annals claim to be independent, it may be assumed that some kind of obedience was paid to Ajmér. We possess inscriptions which justify this assertion. Moreover, each of them was conspicuous in Mooslem history, from the time of the conqueror of Ghuzni to that of Alla-o-dîn, surnamed 'the second Alexander.' Mahmood, in his twelfth expedition, by Mooltan to Ajmér (whose citadel, Ferishta says, "he was compelled to leave in the hands of the enemy"), passed and sacked Nadole (translated *Buzule*); and the traditions of the desert have preserved the recollection of his visit to Junah-Chotun, and they yet point out the mines by which its castle on the rock was destroyed. Whether this was after his visitation and destruction of Nehrvalla (Anhulwarra Puttun), or while on his journey, we have no means of knowing; but when we recollect that in this his last invasion, he attempted to return by Sindé, and nearly perished with all his army in the desert, we might fairly suppose his determination to destroy Junah-Chotun betrayed him into this danger: for besides the all-ruling motive of the conversion or destruction of the 'infidels,' in all likelihood the expatriated princes of Nehrvalla had sought refuge with the Chohans amidst the sandhills of Khérd'hur, and may thus have fallen into his grasp.

Although nominally a single principality, the chieftain of Parkur pays little, if any, submission to his superior of Vîrá-Bâh. Both of them have the ancient Hindu title of Rana, and are said at least to possess the quality of hereditary valour, which is synonymous with Chohan. It is unnecessary to particularise the extent in square miles of *t'hul* in this *râj*, or to attempt to number its population, which is so fluctuating; but we shall subjoin a brief account of the chief towns, which will aid in estimating the population of Maroost'hali. We begin with the first division.

The principal towns in the Chohan *râj* are Sooé, Bah, Dhurnidur, Bankasir, Theraud, Hoteegong, and Cheetulanoh. Rana Narayn Rao resides alternately at Sooé and Bah, both large towns surrounded by an *abbatis*, chiefly of the *babool* and other thorny trees, called in these regions *kâl'h-ca-kote*, which has given these simple, but very efficient fortifications the term of *kant'ha-ca-kote*, or 'fort of thorns.' The resources of Narayn Rao, derived from this desert domain, are said to be three lakhs of rupees, of which he pays a triennial tribute of one lakh to Jodpoor, to which no right exists, and which is rarely realised without an army. The tracts watered by the Loonî yield good crops of the richer grains; and although, in the dry season, there is no constant stream, plenty of sweet water is procured by excavating wells in its bed. But it is asserted that, even

when not continuous, a gentle current is perceptible in those detached portions or pools, filtrating under the porous sand: a phenomenon remarked in the bed of the Coharí river (in the district of Gwalior), where, after a perfectly dry space of several miles, we have observed in the next portion of water a very perceptible current.¹

Nuggur, or Sir-nuggur, the capital of Parkur, is a town containing fifteen hundred houses, of which, in 1814, one-half were inhabited. There is a small fort to the south-west of the town on the ridge, which is said to be about two hundred feet high. There are wells and *bairas* (reservoirs) in abundance. The river Looní is called seven coss south of Nuggur, from which we may infer that its bed is distinctly to be traced through the Rin. The chief of Parkur assumes the title of Rana, as well as his superior of Vírâ-Báh whose allegiance he has entirely renounced, though we are ignorant of the relation in which they ever stood to each other: all are of the same family, the Háppâ-Ráj, of which Junah-Chotun was the capital.

Bankasir ranks next to Sir-nuggur. It was at no distant period a large and, for the desert, a flourishing town; but now (1814) it contains but three hundred and sixty inhabited dwellings. A son of the Nuggur chief resides here, who enjoys, as well as his father, the title of Rana. We shall make no further mention of the inferior towns, as they will appear in the itinerary.

Theraud is another subdivision of the Chohans of the Looní whose chief town of the same name is but a few coss to the east of Sooé-Bah, and which like Parkur is but nominally dependent upon it. With this we shall conclude the subject of Vírâ-Báh, which, we repeat, may contain many errors.

Face of the Chohan Ráj.—As the itinerary will point out in detail the state of the country, it would be superfluous to attempt a more minute description here. The same sterile ridge, already described as passing through Chotun to Jessulmér, is to be traced two coss west of Bankasir, and thence to Nuggur, in detached masses. The tracts on both banks of the Looní yield good crops of wheat and the richer grains, and Vírâ-Báh, though enclosing considerable *t'hul*, has a good portion of flat, especially towards Radhunpoor, seventeen coss from Sooé. Beyond the Looní, the *t'hul* rises into lofty *teebas*: and indeed from Chotun to Bankasir, all is sterile, and consists of lofty sandhills and broken ridges often covered by the sands.

Water productions.—Throughout the Chohan rāj, or at least its most habitable portion, water is obtained at a moderate distance from the surface, the wells being from ten to twenty *poorshes*,² or about sixty-five to a hundred and thirty feet in depth; nothing, when compared with those in Dhát, sometimes near seven hundred. Besides wheat, on the Looní, the oil-plant (*tíl*) *moong*, *mol'h*, and other pulses, with *bajra*, are produced in sufficient quantities for internal consumption; but plunder is the chief pursuit throughout this land, in which the lordly Chohan and the Kolf

¹ One of my journals mentions that a branch of the Looní passes by Sooé, the capital of Vírâ-Báh, where it is four hundred and twelve paces in breadth: an error, I imagine.

² *Poorsh*, the standard measure of the desert, is here from six to seven feet, or the average height of a man, to the tip of his finger, the hand being raised vertically over the head. It is derived from *poorosh*, 'man.'

menial vic in dexterity. Wherever the soil is least calculated for agriculture, there is often abundance of fine pasture, especially for camels, which browse upon a variety of thorny shrubs. Sheep and goats are also in great numbers, and bullocks and horses of a very good description, which find a ready sale at the Tilwarra fair.

Inhabitants.—We must describe the descendants, whether of the Malli, foe of Alexander, or of the no less heroic Pirthiraj, as a community of thieves, who used to carry their raids into Sindé, Guzzerat, and Marwar, to avenge themselves on private property for the wrongs they suffered from the want of all government, or the oppression of those (Jodpoor) who asserted supremacy over, and the right to plunder them. All classes are to be found in the Chohan rāj : but those predominate, the names of whose tribes are synonyms for ‘robber,’ as the Schràé, Khossa, Kolf, Bhíl. Although the Chohan is lord-paramount, a few of whom are to be found in every village, yet the Kolf and Bhíl tribe, with another class called Pit’hil, are the most numerous : the last named, though equally low in caste, is the only industrious class in this region. Besides cultivation, they make a trade of the gums, which they collect in great quantities from the various trees whose names have been already mentioned. The Chohans, like most of these remote Rajpoot tribes, dispense with the *zinar* or *junnoo*, the distinctive thread of a “twice-born tribe,” and are altogether free from the prejudices of those whom association with Brahmins has bound down with chains of iron. But to make amends for this laxity in ceremonials, there is a material amendment in their moral character, in comparison with the Chohans of the *poorub* (east) ; for here the unnatural law of infanticide is unknown, in spite of the examples of their neighbours, the Jharéjas, amongst whom it prevails to the most frightful extent. In eating, they have no prejudices ; they make no *choka*, or fire-place ; their cooks are generally of the barber (*nâé*) tribe, and what is left at one meal, they, contrary to all good manners, tie up and eat at the next.

Kolis and Bhíls.—The first is the most numerous class in these regions, and may be ranked with the most degraded portion of the human species. Although they *pooja* all the symbols of Hindu worship, and chiefly the terrific ‘*Mata*,’ they scoff at all laws, human or divine, and are little superior to the brutes of their own forests. To them every thing edible is lawful food ; cows, buffaloes, the camel, deer, hog ; nor do they even object to such as have died a natural death. Like the other debased tribes, they affect to have Rajpoot blood, and call themselves Chohan Kolf, Rahtore Kolf, Purihar Kolf, etc., which only tends to prove their illegitimate descent from the aboriginal Kolf stock. Almost all the cloth-weavers throughout India are of the Kolf class, though they endeavour to conceal their origin under the term *Jhiláo*, which ought only to distinguish the Mooslem weaver. The Bhíls partake of all the vices of the Kóls, and perhaps descend one step lower in the scale of humanity ; for they will feed on vermin of any kind, foxes, jackals, rats, guánás, and snakes ; and although they make an exception of the camel and the pea-fowl, the latter being sacred to ‘*Mata*,’ the goddess they propitiate, yet in moral degradation their fellowship is complete. The Kóls and Bhíls have no matrimonial intercourse, nor will they even eat with each other—such is caste ! The bow and arrow form their arms, occasionally swords, but rarely the matchlock.

Pit'hil is the chief husbandman of this region, and, with the *Baniah*, the only respectable class. They possess flocks, and are also cultivators, and are said to be almost as numerous as either the *Bhils* or *Kolis*. The *Pit'hil* is reputed synonymous with the *Koormi* of Hindust'han and the *Kolmbi* of Malwa and the *Dekhan*. There are other tribes, such as the *Rebarry*, or rearer of camels, who will be described with the classes appertaining to the whole desert.

Dhat and *Omursoomra*.—We now take leave of *Rajpootana*, as it is, for the desert depending upon *Sinde*, or that space between the frontier of *Rajpootana* to the valley of the *Indus*, on the west, and from *Dâodpotra* north, to *Buliari* on the *Rin*. This space measures about two hundred and twenty miles of longitude, and its greatest breadth is eighty; it is one entire *t'hul*, having but few villages, though there are many hamlets of shepherds sprinkled over it, too ephemeral to have a place in the map. A few of these *pooras* and *vâs*, as they are termed, where the springs are perennial, have a name assigned to them, but to multiply them would only mislead, as they exist no longer than the vegetation. The whole of this tract may be characterised as essentially desert, having spaces of fifty miles without a drop of water, and without great precaution, impassable. The sandhills rise into little mountains, and the wells are so deep, that with a large *kafila*, many might die before the thirst of all could be slaked. The enumeration of a few of these will put the reader in possession of one of the difficulties of a journey through *Maroo*; they range from eleven to seventy-five *poorsh*, or seventy to five hundred feet in depth. One at *Jeysingdésir*, fifty *poorsh*; *Dhote-ca-bustee*, sixty; *Giraup*, sixty; *Hamír-deora*, seventy; *Jinjinialli*, seventy-five; *Chailak*, seventy-five to eighty.

In what vivid colours does the historian *Ferishta* describe the miseries of the fugitive emperor, *Hemayoon*, and his faithful followers, at one of these wells! "The country through which they fled being an entire desert of sand, the *Moghuls* were in the utmost distress for water: some ran mad; others fell down dead. For three whole days there was no water; on the fourth day they came to a well, which was so deep that a drum was beaten, to give notice to the man driving the bullocks, that the bucket had reached the top; but the unhappy followers were so impatient for drink, that, so soon as the first bucket appeared, several threw themselves upon it, before it had quite reached the surface, and fell in. The next day, they arrived at a brook, and the camels, which had not tasted water for several days, were allowed to quench their thirst; but, having drunk to excess, several of them died. The king, after enduring unheard-of miseries, at length reached *Omurkote* with only a few attendants. The *Raja*, who has the title of *Rana*, took compassion on his misfortunes, and spared nothing that could alleviate his sufferings, or console him in his distress."—*Briggs' Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 95.

We are now in the very region where *Hemayoon* suffered these miseries, and in its chief town, *Omurkoté*, *Akber*, the greatest monarch India ever knew, first saw the light. Let us throw aside the veil which conceals the history of the race of *Hemayoon's* protector, and notwithstanding he is now but nominal sovereign of *Omurkote*, and lord of the village of *Chore*, give him "a local habitation and a name," even in the days of the *Macedonian* invader of India.

Dhât, of which Omurkote is the capital, was one of the divisions of Maroost'hali, which from time immemorial was subject to the Pramars. Amongst the thirty-five tribes of this the most numerous of the races called Agnicîla, were the Soda, the Omur, and the Soomura;¹ and the conjunction of the two last has given a distinctive appellation to the more northern *P'hul*, still known as *Omursoomra*, though many centuries have fled since they possessed any power.

Arore, of which we have already narrated the discovery, and which is laid down in the map about six miles east of Bekher on the Indus, was in the region styled Omursoomra, which may once have had a much wider acceptance, when a dynasty of thirty-six princes of the Soomura tribe ruled all these countries during five hundred years.² On the extinction of its power, and the restoration of their ancient rivals, the Sind-Summa princes, who in their turn gave way to the Bhattis, this tract obtained the epithet of Bhattipoh; but the ancient and more legitimate name, Oomursoomra, is yet recognised, and many hamlets of shepherds, both of Oomurs and Soomuras, are still existing amidst its sandhills. To them we shall return, after discussing their elder brethren, the Sodas. We can trace the colonisation of the Bhattis, the Châwuras, and the Solankis, the Gehlotes, and the Rahtores, throughout all these countries, both of central and western Rajpootana; and wherever we go, whatever new capital is founded, it is always on the site of a Pramars establishment. *Pirthi tyn na Prâmâr câ*, or 'the world is the Pramars,' I may here repeat, is hardly hyperbolical when applied to the Rajpoot world.

Arore, or *Alore* as written by Abulfazil, and described by that celebrated geographer, Ebn-Haukal, as "rivalling Mooltan in greatness," was one of the 'nine divisions of Maroo' governed by the Pramars, of which we must repeat, one of the chief branches was the Soda. The islandic Bekher, or Mansoorâ (so named by the lieutenant of the Khalif Al-Munsoor), a few miles west of Arore, is considered as the capital of the Sogdi, when Alexander sailed down the Indus; and if we couple the similarity of name to the well-authenticated fact of immemorial sovereignty over this region, it might not be drawing too largely on credulity to suggest that the Sogdi and Soda are one and the same.³ The Soda princes were the patriarchs of the desert when the Bhattis immigrated thither from the north; but whether they deprived them of Arore as well as Lodorva, the chronicle does not intimate. It is by no means unlikely that the Omurs and Soomras, instead of being coequal or coeval branches with the Soda, may be merely subdivisions of them.

We may follow Abulfazil and Ferishta in their summaries of the history of ancient Sindh, and these races. The former says: "In ancient times there lived a Raja, named Schris, whose capital was Alore, and his dominions extended to Cashmere north, to Mehrân (the Indus) west, while the sea confined them to the south. An army from Persia invaded this kingdom; the Raja was killed in battle, and the Persians, after plundering

¹ See table of tribes, and sketch of the Pramars, vol. i. pp. 69 and 78.

² *Ferishta*, Abulfazil.

³ To convince the reader I do not build upon nominal resemblance, when localities do not bear me out, he is requested to call to mind, that we have elsewhere assigned to the *Yadûs* of the Punjâb the honour of furnishing the well-known king named Porus; although the *Pûâr*, the usual pronunciation of *Pramars*, would afford a more ready solution.

everything, returned home. The Raja was succeeded by his son Roysahy¹ (*qu.* Raé Sa, or Soda?). This dynasty continued until the Khalifát of Walid, when Hejauje, the governor of Irac, sent Mahomed Kasim, A.H. 99, or A.D. 717, who succeeded in the conquest, slaying the Hindu prince, Dahir. After this, the country was governed by the family of Ansary; next, by the family of Soomra; and then came the dynasty of Seemeh (Sammah), who esteemed themselves of the stock of Jumsheed, and each took the name of Jam."²

Ferishta gives a similar version. "On the death of Mahomed Kasim, a tribe who trace their origin from the Ansaris established a government in Sindé; after which the *zemindars* (lords of the soil or indigenous chiefs) usurped the power, and held independent rule over the kingdom of Sindé for the space of five hundred years. These, the Soomuras, subverted the country of another dynasty called Soomuna (the Seemeh of Albufazil), whose chief assumed the title of Jam."³

The difficulty of establishing the identity of these tribes from the cacography of both the Greek and Persian writers, is well exemplified in another portion of Ferishta, treating of the same race, called by him *Somuna*, and *Suma* by Abulfazil. "The tribe of Sahna appears to be of obscure origin, and originally to have occupied the tract lying between Bekher and Tatta in Sindé, and pretend to trace their origin from Jemshid." We can pardon his spelling for his exact location of the tribe, which, whether written Soomuna, Sehna, or Seemeh, is the Summa or Samma tribe of the great Yadú race, whose capital was Summa-ca-kote, or Sammanagari, converted into Minagara, and its princes into Sambas, by the Greeks. Thus the Sodas appear to have ruled at Arore and Bekher, or Upper Sindé, and the Sammas in the lower,⁴ when Alexander passed

¹ Colonel Briggs, in his translation, writes it *Hully Sa*, and in this very place remarks on the "mutilation of Hindu names by the early Mahomedan writers, which are frequently not to be recognised"; or, we might have learned that the adjunct *Sa* to *Hully* (*qu.* Heri), the son of Schris, was the badge of his tribe, Soda. The Roy-sahy, or Rac-sá of Abulfazil, means 'Prince Sa,' or 'Prince of the Sodas.' Of the same family was Dahir, whose capital, in A.H. 99, was (says Abulfazil) "Alore or Debeil," in which this historian makes a geographical mistake: Alore or Arore being the capital of Upper Sindé, and Debeil (correctly Dêwúl, the temple), or Tatta, the capital of Lower Sindé. In all probability Dahir held both. We have already dilated, in the Annals of Méwar, on a foreign prince named "Dahir Déspari," or the sovereign prince, Dahir, being amongst her defenders, on the first Mooslem invasion, which we conjectured must have been that of Mahomed Kasim, after he had subdued Sindé. Bappa, the lord of Cheetore, was nephew of Raja Maun Mori, shewing a double motive in the exiled son of Dahir to support Cheetore against his own enemy Kasim. The Moris and Sodas were alike branches of the Pramara (see vol. i. p. 78). It is also worth while to draw attention to the remark elsewhere made (p. 174) on the stir made by Hejauje of Khorasan (who sent Kasim to Sindé) amongst the Hindu princes of Zabulisthan: dislocated facts, all demonstrating one of great importance, namely, the wide dominion of the Rajpoot race, previous to the appearance of Mahomed.

Oriental literature sustained a loss which can scarcely be repaired, by the destruction of the valuable MSS. amassed by Colonel Briggs, during many years, for the purpose of a general history of the early transactions of the Mahomedans.

² Of the latter stock he gives us a list of seventeen princes. Gladwin's translation of *Ayeen Akbert*, vol. ii. p. 122.

³ See Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. pp. 411 and 422.

⁴ The four races called Agnicúla (of which the Pramara was the most numerous), at every step of ancient Hindu history are seen displacing the dynasty of Yadú.

through this region. The Jharéjas and Jams of Noanuggur in Saurashtra claim descent from the Summas, hence called elsewhere by Abulfazil "the Sinda-Summa dynasty"; but having been, from their amalgamation with the "faithful," put out of the pale of Hinduism, they desired to conceal their Samma-Yadú descent, which they abandoned for Jumshíd, and Samma was converted into Jam.

We may, therefore, assume that a prince of the Soda tribe held that division of the great Püar sovereignty, of which Arore, or the insular Bekher, was the capital, when Alexander passed down the Indus: nor is it improbable that the army, styled Persian by Abulfazil, which invaded Arore, and slew Raja Sehriś, was a Græco-Bactrian army led by Apollodotus, or Menander, who traversed this region, "ruled by Sigertides" (*qu. Rara Sehriś?*) even to "the country of the Σορον," or Saurashtra, where, according to their historian, their medals were existant when he wrote in the second century.¹ The histories so largely quoted give us decided proof that Dahir, and his son Rać-sa, the victims of the first Islamite invasion led by Kasim, were of the same lineage as Raja Sehriś; and the Bhatti annals prove to demonstration, that at this, the very period of their settling in the desert, the Soda tribe was paramount (see p. 181); which, together with the strong analogies in names of places and princes, affords a very reasonable ground for the conclusion we have come to, that the Soda tribe of Püar race was in possession of Upper Sinda, when the Macedonian passed down the stream; and that, amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune, it has continued (contesting possession with its ancient Yadu antagonist, the Samma) to maintain some portion of its ancient sovereignty unto these days. Of this portion we shall now instruct the reader, after hazarding a passing remark on the almost miraculous tenacity which has preserved this race in its desert abode during a period of at least two thousand two hundred years,² bidding defiance to foreign foes, whether Greek, Bactrian, or Mahomedan, and even to those visitations of nature, famines, pestilence, and earthquakes, which have periodically swept over the land, and at length rendered it the scene of

Here the struggle between them is corroborated by the two best Mahomedan historians, both borrowing from the same source, the more ancient histories, few of which have reached us. It must be borne in mind that the Sodas, the Oomurs, the Soomuras, were Pramars (*vulg. Püar*); while the Summas were Yadus, for whose origin see *Annals of Jessulmér*, p. 172.

¹ Of these, the author was so fortunate as to obtain one of Menander and three of Apollodotus, whose existence had heretofore been questioned: the first of the latter from the wreck of Súrapoori, the capital of the Súraceni of Menu and Arrian; another from the ancient Awínti, or Oojein, whose monarch, according to Justin, held a correspondence with Augustus; and the third, in company with a whole jar of Hindu-Scythic and Bactrian medals, at Agra, which was dug up several years since in excavating the site of the more ancient city. This, I have elsewhere surmised, might have been the abode of Aggranes, *Agra-grdm-eswar*, the "lord of the city of Agra," mentioned by Arrian as the most potent monarch in the north of India, who, after the death of Porus, was ready to oppose the further progress of Alexander. Let us hope that the Punjáb may yet afford us another peep into the past. For an account of these medals, see *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 313.

² Captain, now Colonel, Pottinger, in his interesting work on Sinda and Baloochistan, in extracting from the Persian work "*Mujmood Wáridat*," calls the ancient capital of Sinda, *Ulaor*, and mentions the overthrow of the dynasty of "Sahir" (the Sehriś of Abulfazil), whose ancestors had governed Sinda for two thousand years.

desolation it now presents ; for in this desert, as in that of Egypt, tradition records that its increase has been and still is progressive, as well in the valley of the Indus as towards the Jumna.

Omurkote.—This stronghold (*kote*) of the Omurs, until a very few years back, was the capital of the Soda Rāj, which extended, two centuries ago, into the valley of Sindé, and east to the Looní ; but the Rahtores of Marwar, and the family at present ruling Sindé, have together reduced the sovereignty of the Sodas to a very confined spot, and thrust out of Omurkote (the last of the nine castles of Maroo) the descendant of Sehris, who, from Arore, held dominions extending from Cashmere to the ocean. Omurkote has sadly fallen from its ancient grandeur, and instead of the five thousand houses it contained during the opulence of the Soda princes, it hardly reckons two hundred and fifty houses, or rather huts. The old castle is to the north-west of the town. It is built of brick, and the bastions, said to be eighteen in number, are of stone. It has an inner citadel, or rather a fortified palace. There is an old canal to the north of the fort, in which water still lodges part of the year. When Raja Maun had possession of Omurkote, he founded several villages thereunto, to keep up the communication. The Talpooris then found it to their interest, so long as they had any alarms from their own lord paramount of Candahar, to court the Rahtore prince ; but when civil war appeared in that region, as well as in Marwar, the cessation of all fears from the one, banished the desire of paying court to the other, and Omurkote was unhappily placed between the Kulloras of Sindé and the Rahtores, each of whom looked upon this frontier post as the proper limit of his sway, and contended for its possession. We shall therefore give an account of a feud between these rivals, which finally sealed the fate of the Soda prince, and which may contribute something to the history of the ruling family of Sindé, still imperfectly known.

When Beejy Sing ruled Marwar, Meah Noor Mahomed, Kullora, governed Sindé ; but being expelled by an army from Candahar, he fled to Jessulmér, where he died. The eldest son, Untur Khan, and his brothers, found refuge with Buhadoor Khan Khyraní ; while a natural brother, named Gholam Shah, born of a common prostitute, found means to establish himself on the musnud at Hydrabad. The chiefs of Dâodpotra espoused the cause of Untur Khan, and prepared to expel the usurper. Bahadoor Khan, Subzul Khan, Alli Morad, Mohumud Khan, Kaim Khan, Alli Khan, chiefs of the Khyraní tribe, united, and marched with Untur Khan to Hydrabad. Gholam Shah advanced to meet him, and the brothers encountered at Obâora (see map) ; but legitimacy failed : the Khyraní chiefs almost all perished, and Untur Khan was made prisoner, and confined for life in Guja-ca-kote, an island in the Indus, seven coss south of Hydrabad. Gholam Shah transmitted his musnud to his son Serefrâz, who, dying soon after, was succeeded by Abdul Nubbee. At the town of Abhépoora, seven coss east of Sheodadpoor (a town in Lohrí Sindé), resided a chieftain of the Talpoori tribe, a branch of the Baloch, named Goram, who had two sons, named Beejur and Sobdán. Serefrâz demanded Goram's daughter to wife ; he was refused, and the whole family was destroyed. Beejur Khan, who alone escaped the massacre, raised his clan to avenge him, deposed the tyrant, and placed himself upon the musnud of Hydrabad. The Kulloras dispersed ; but Beejur, who was of a

violent and imperious temperament, became involved in hostilities with the Rahtores regarding the possession of Omurkote. It is asserted that he not only demanded tribute from Marwar, but a daughter of the Rahtore prince, to wife, setting forth as a precedent his grandfather Ajit, who bestowed a wife on Ferochsér. This insult led to a pitched battle, fought at Doogara, five coss from Dhurnidur, in which the Baloch army was fairly beaten from the field by the Rahtore; but Beejy Sing, not content with his victory, determined to be rid of this thorn in his side. A Bhatti and Chondawut offered their services, and lands being settled on their families, they set out on this perilous enterprise in the garb of ambassadors. When introduced to Beejur, he arrogantly demanded if the Raja had thought better of his demand, when the Chondawut referred him to his credentials. As the Beejur rapidly ran his eye over it, muttering "no mention of the *dola* (bride)," the dagger of the Chondawut was buried in his heart. "This for the *dola*," he exclaimed; and "this for the tribute," said his comrade, as he struck another blow. Beejur fell lifeless on his cushion of state, and the assassins, who knew escape was hopeless, plied their daggers on all around; the Chondawut slaying twenty-one, and the Bhatti five, before they were hacked to pieces. The nephew of Beejur Khan, by name Futtch Alli, son of Sobdan, was chosen his successor, and the old family of Kullora was dispersed to Bhooj, and Rajpootana, while its representative repaired to Candahar. There the Shah put him at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he reconquered Sindé, and commenced a career of unexampled cruelty. Futtch Alli, who had fled to Bhooj, reassembled his adherents, attacked the army of the Shah, which he defeated and pursued with great slaughter beyond Shikarpoor, of which he took possession, and returned in triumph to Hyderabad. The cruel and now humbled Kullora once more appeared before the Shah, who, exasperated at the inglorious result of his arms, drove him from his presence; and after wandering about, he passed from Mooltan to Jessulmér, settling at length at Pokurn, where he died. The Pokurn chief made himself his heir, and it is from the great wealth (chiefly in jewels) of the ex-prince of Sindé, that its chiefs have been enabled to take the lead in Marwar. The tomb of the exile is on the north side of the town.¹

¹ The memoir adds: Futtch Alli was succeeded by his brother, the present Gholám Alli, and he by his son, Kurrum Alli. The general correctness of this outline is proved by a very interesting work (which has only fallen into my hands in time to make this note), entitled *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sindé*, by Dr. Burnes. Beejur Khan was minister to the Calora rulers of Sindé, whose cruelties at length gave the government to the family of the minister. As it is scarcely to be supposed that Raja Beejy Sing would furnish assassins to the Calora, who could have little difficulty in finding them in Sindé, the insult which caused the fate of Beejur may have proceeded from his master, though he may have been made the scape-goat. It is much to be regretted that the author of the *Visit to Sindé* did not accompany the Ameers to Schwân (of which I shall venture an account obtained nearly twenty years ago). With the above memoir and map (by his brother, Lieut. Burnes) of the Rin, a new light has been thrown on the history and geography of this most interesting and important portion of India. It is to be desired that to a gentleman so well prepared may be entrusted the examination of this still little-known region. I had long entertained the hope of passing through the desert, by Jessulmér to Ootch, and thence, sailing down to Mansoorá, visiting *Aroré*, Schwân, Sammá-nagarí, and Bamunwassó. The rupture with Sindé in 1820 gave me great expectations of accomplishing this

This episode, which properly belongs to the history of Marwar, or to Sinde, is introduced for the purpose of showing the influence of the latter on the destinies of the Soda princes. It was by Beejur, who fell by the emissaries of Beejy Sing, that the Soda Raja was driven from Omurkote, the possession of which brought the Sindies into immediate collision with the Bhattis and Rahtores. But on his assassination and the defeat of the Sinde army on the Rin, Beejy Sing reinducted the Soda prince to his *gadi* of Omurkote; not, however, long to retain it, for on the invasion from Candahar, this poor country underwent a general massacre and pillage by the Afghans, and Omurkote was assaulted and taken. When Futteh Allî made head against the army of Candahar, which he was enabled to defeat, partly by the aid of the Rahtores, he relinquished, as the price of this aid, the claims of Sinde upon Omurkote, of which Beejy Sing took possession, and on whose battlements the flag of the Rahtores waved until the last civil war, when the Sindies expelled them. Had Raja Maun known how to profit by the general desire of his chiefs to redeem this distant possession, he might have got rid of some of the unquiet spirits by other means than those which have brought infamy on his name.

Chore.—Since Omurkote has been wrested from the Sodas, the expelled prince, who still preserves his title of Rana, resides at the town of Chore, fifteen miles north-east of his former capital. The descendant of the princes who probably opposed Alexander, Menander, and Kasim, the lieutenant of Walîd, and who sheltered Hemayoon when driven from the throne of India, now subsists on the eleemosynary gifts of those with whom he is connected by marriage, or the few patches of land of his own desert domain left him by the rulers of Sinde. He has eight brothers, who are hardly pushed for a subsistence, and can only obtain it by the supplement to all the finances of these states, plunder.

The Soda, and the Jareja, are the connecting links between the Hindu and the Mooslem; for although the farther west we go, the greater is the laxity of Rajpoot prejudice, yet to something more than mere locality must be attributed the denationalised sentiment, which allows the Soda to intermarry with a Sindie: this cause is *hunger*; and there are few zealots who will deny that its influence is more potent than the laws of Menu. Every third year brings famine, and those who have not stored up against it, fly to their neighbours, and chiefly to the valley of the Indus. The connections they then form often end in the union of their daughters with their protectors; but they still so far adhere to ancient usage, as never to receive back into the family caste a female so allied. The present Rana of the Sodas has set the example, by giving daughters to Meer Gholam Allî and Meer Sohrâb, and even to the Khossa chief of Dadâr; and in consequence, his brother princes of Jessulmér, Bah and Parkur, though they will accept a Soda princess to wife (because they can depend on the purity of *her* blood), yet will not bestow a daughter on the Rana, whose offspring might perhaps grace the harem of a Baloch. But the Rahtores of Marwar will neither give to nor receive daughters of Dhât.

object, and I drew up and transmitted to Lord Hastings a plan of marching a force through the desert, and planting the cross on the insular capital of the Sogdi; but peace was the order of the day. I was then in communication with Meer Sohrâb, governor of Upper Sinde, who, I have little doubt, would have come over to our views.

The females of this desert region, being reputed very handsome, have become almost an article of matrimonial traffic ; and it is asserted, that if a Sindie hears of the beauty of a *Dhâtîâni*, he sends to her father as much grain as he deems an equivalent, and is seldom refused her hand. We shall not here further touch on the manners or other peculiarities of the Soda tribe, though we may revert to them in the general outline of the tribes, with which we shall conclude the sketch of the Indian desert.

Tribes.—The various tribes inhabiting the desert and valley of the Indus would alone form an ample subject of investigation, which would, in all probability, elicit some important truths. Amongst the converts to Islâm, the inquirer into the pedigree of nations would discover names, once illustrious, but which, now hidden under the mantle of a new faith, might little aid his researches into the history of their origin. He would find the *Soda*, the *Cattî*, the *Mallanî*, affording in history, position, and nominal resemblance, grounds for inferring that they are the descendants of the Sogdi, Cat'hi, and Malli, who opposed the Macedonian in his passage down the Indus ; besides swarms of Getes or Yuti, many of whom have assumed the general title of Baloch, or retain the ancient specific name of *Noomri* ; while others, in that of *zy'hut*, preserve almost the primitive appellation. We have also the remains of those interesting races the *Johyas* and *Dahyas*, of which much has been said in the Annals of Jessulmér, and elsewhere ; who, as well as the *Getes* or *Jits*, and *Huns*, hold places amongst the " thirty-six royal races " of ancient India.¹ These, with the *Barahas* and the *Lohanas*, tribes who swarmed a few centuries ago in the Punjâb, will now only be discerned in small numbers in " the region of death," which has even preserved the illustrious name of *Kâorwa*, Crishna's foe in the Bharat. The *Sehrâé*, or great robber of our western desert, would alone afford a text for discussion on his habits and his raids, as the enemy of all society. But we shall begin with those who yet retain any pretensions to the name of Hindu (distinguishing them from the proselytes to Islâm), and afterwards descant upon their peculiarities. *Bhatti*, *Rahtore*, *Joda*, *Chohan*, *Mallanî*, *Kâorwâ*, *Johya*, *Sooltano*, *Lohana*, *Arorah*, *Khoomra*, *Sindil*, *Maisuri*, *Vishnúvi*, *Jakhur*, *Shíag* or *Ashíag*, *Pooniah*.

Of the Mahomedan there are but two, *Kullora* and *Sehrâé*, concerning whose origin any doubt exists, and all those we are about to specify are *Nyáds*,² or proselytes chiefly from Rajpoot or other Hindu tribes :

Zjut ; *Rajur* ; *Oomra* ; *Soomra* ; *Mair*, or *Mér* ; *Mór*, or *Mohor* ; *Baloch* ; *Loomrea*, or *Looka* ; *Sumaicha* ; *Mangulia* ; *Baggréah* ; *Dahya* ; *Johya* ; *Kairooé* ; *Jangurea* ; *Oondur* ; *Berowee* ; *Bawurí* ; *Tawurí* ; *Chrendea* ; *Khossa* ; *Sudaní* ; *Lohanas*.

Before we remark upon the habits of these tribes, we may state one prominent trait which characterises the *Nyád*, or convert to Islâm, who, on parting with his original faith, divested himself of its chief moral attribute, toleration, and imbibed a double portion of the bigotry of the creed he adopted. Whether it is to the intrinsic quality of the Mahomedan faith that we are to trace this moral metamorphosis, or to a sense of degradation (which we can hardly suppose) consequent on his apostacy, there is not a more ferocious, or intolerant being on the earth than the Rajpoot

¹ See sketch of the tribes, vol. i. p. 69.

² *Nyád* is the noviciate, literally the first (*ád*) new (*noú*), or original converts, I suppose.

convert to Islamism. In Sindé, and the desert, we find the same tribes, bearing the same name, one still Hindu, the other Mahomedan ; the first retaining his primitive manners, while the convert is cruel, intolerant, cowardly, and inhospitable. Escape, with life at least, perhaps a portion of property, is possible from the hands of the Maldote, the Larkhani, the Bhuttí, or even the Tawuries, distinctively called " the sons of the devil " ; but from the Khossas, the Sehrâés, or Bhuttis, there would be no hope of salvation. Such are their ignorance and brutality, that should a stranger make use of the words *russah*, or *rustah* (rope, and road), he will be fortunate if he escape with bastinado from these beings, who discover therein an analogy to *rusool*, or ' the prophet ' : he must for the former use the words *kilbur*, *rundorí*, and for the latter, *duggra*, or *dugg*.¹ It will not fail to strike those who have perused the heart-thrilling adventures of Park, Denham, and Clapperton—names which will live for ever in the annals of discovery—how completely the inoffensive, kind, and hospitable negro resembles in these qualities the Rajpoot, who is transformed into a wild beast the moment he can repeat, " La-állah, il-állah, Mahomed Rusool-állah," ' there is but one God, and Mahomed is the prophet of God ' : while a remarkable change has taken place amongst the Tatar tribes, since the anti-destructive doctrines of Bûdha (or Hinduism purified of polytheism) have been introduced into the regions of Central Asia.

On the Bhattis, the Rahtores, the Chohans, and their offset the Mallaní, we have sufficiently expatiated, and likewise on the Soda ; but a few peculiarities of this latter tribe remain to be noticed.

Soda.—The Soda, who has retained the name of Hindu, has yet so far discarded ancient prejudice, that he will drink from the same vessel and smoke out of the same *hooka* with a Mussulman, laying áside only the tube that touches the mouth. With his poverty, the Soda, has lost his reputation for courage, retaining only the merit of being a dexterous thief, and joining the hordes of Sehrâés and Kossas who prowl from Dâódpotra to Guzzerat. The arms of the Sodas are chiefly the sword and shield, with a long knife in the girdle, which serves either as a stiletto or a carver for his meat : few have matchlocks, but the primitive sling is a general weapon of offence, and they are very expert in its use. Their dress partakes of the Bhatti and Mahomedan costume, but the turban is peculiar to themselves, and by it a Soda may always be recognised. The Soda is to be found scattered over the desert, but there are offsets of his tribe, now more numerous than the parent stock, of which the Sumaicha is the most conspicuous, whether of those who are still Hindu, or who have become converts to Islam.

Káoorwa.—This singular tribe of Rajpoots, whose habits, even in the midst of pillage, are entirely nomadic, is to be found chiefly in the *t'hul* of Dhât, though in no great numbers. They have no fixed habitations, but move about with their flocks, and encamp wherever they find a spring or pasture for their cattle ; and there construct temporary huts of the wide-spreading *peeloo*, by interlacing its living branches, covering the top with leaves, and coating the inside with clay : in so skilful a manner do they thus shelter themselves, that no sign of human habitation is observable from without. Still the roaming Sehrâé is always on the look-out for

¹ *Duggra* is very common in Rajpootana for a ' path-way ' ; but the substitute here used for *russah*, a rope, I am not acquainted with.

these sylvan retreats, in which the shepherds deposit their little hoards of grain, raised from the scanty patches around them. The restless disposition of the Kâoorwas, who even among their ever-roaming brethren enjoy a species of fame in this respect, is attributed (said my Dhattî) to a curse entailed upon them from remote ages. They rear camels, cows, buffaloes, and goats, which they sell to the Charuns and other merchants. They are altogether a singularly peaceable race; and like all their Rajpoot brethren, can at will people the desert with palaces of their own creation, by the delightful *uml-pâni*, the universal panacea for ills both moral and physical.

Dhotc, or *Dhattî*, is another Rajpoot, inhabiting Dhât, and in no greater numbers than the Kâoorwas, whom they resemble in their habits, being entirely pastoral, cultivating a few patches of land, and trusting to the heavens alone to bring it forward. They barter the *ghee* or clarified butter, made from the produce of their flocks, for grain and other necessities of life. *Rabri* and *chauch*, or 'porridge and buttermilk,' form the grand fare of the desert. A couple of seers of flour of bajra, jooâr, and kaijri is mixed with some seers of *chauch*, and exposed to the fire, but not boiled, and this mess will suffice for a large family. The cows of the desert are much larger than those of the plains of India, and give from eight to ten seers (eight or ten quarts) of milk daily. The produce of four cows will amply subsist a family of ten persons from the sale of *ghee*; and their prices vary with their productive powers, from ten to fifteen rupees each. The *rabri*, so analogous to the *kouskous* of the African desert, is often made with camel's milk, from which *ghee* cannot be extracted, and which soon becomes a living mass when put aside. Dried fish, from the valley of Sinde, is conveyed into the desert on horses or camels, and finds a ready sale amongst all classes, even as far east as Barmair. It is sold at two *dokras* (coppers) a seer. The *pooras*, or temporary hamlets of the Dhattîs, consisting at most of ten huts in each, resemble those of the Kâoorwas.

Lohana.—This tribe is numerous both in Dhât and Talpoora: formerly they were Rajpoots, but betaking themselves to commerce, have fallen into the third class. They are scribes and shopkeepers, and object to no occupation that will bring a subsistence; and as to food, to use the expressive idiom of this region, where hunger spurns at law, "excepting their cats and their cows, they will eat anything."

Arorah.—This class, like the former, apply themselves to every pursuit, trade, and agriculture, and fill many of the inferior offices of government in Sinde, being shrewd, industrious, and intelligent. With the thrifty Arorah and many other classes, flour steeped in cold water suffices to appease hunger. Whether this class has its name from being an inhabitant of Arore, we know not.

Bhattiah is also one of the equestrian order converted into the commercial, and the exchange has been to his advantage. His habits are like those of the Arorah, next to whom he ranks as to activity and wealth. The Arorahs and Bhattiahs have commercial houses at Shikarpoor, Hyderabad, and even at Surat and Jeipoor.

Brahmins.—*Bishnúvê* is the most common sect of Brahmins in the desert and Sinde. The doctrines of Menu with them go for as much as they are worth in the desert, where "they are a law unto themselves."

They wear the *junnoo*, or badge of their tribe, but it here ceases to be a mark of clerical distinction, as no drones are respected; they cultivate, tend cattle, and barter their superfluous *ghee* for other necessities. They are most numerous in Dhât, having one hundred of their order in Chore, the residence of the Soda Rana, and several houses in Omurkote, Dharnas, and Mittie. They do not touch fish or smoke tobacco, but will eat food dressed by the hands of a *malli* (gardener), or even a *nâê* (barber caste); nor do they use the *chowka*, or fireplace, reckoned indispensable in more civilised regions. Indeed, all classes of Hindus throughout Sinde will partake of food dressed in the *serai*, or inn, by the hands of the *Butearin*. They use indiscriminately each other's vessels, without any process of purification but a little sand and water. They do not even burn their dead, but bury them near the threshold; and those who can afford it, raise small *chabootras*, or altars, on which they place an image of Sîva, and a *gurra*, or jar of water. The *junnoo*, or thread which marks the sacerdotal character in Hindust'han, is common in these regions to all classes, with the exception of Kolîs and Lohanas. This practice originated with their governors, in order to discriminate them from those who have to perform the most servile duties.

Rebarris.—This term is known throughout Hindust han only as denoting persons employed in rearing and tending camels, who are there always Mooslems. Here they are a distinct tribe, and Hindus, employed entirely in rearing camels, or in stealing them, in which they evince a peculiar dexterity, uniting with the Bhattis in the practice as far as Dâôdpotra. When they come upon a herd grazing, the boldest and most experienced strikes his lance into the first he reaches, then dips a cloth in the blood, which at the end of his lance he thrusts close to the nose of the next, and wheeling about, sets off at speed, followed by the whole herd, lured by the scent of blood and the example of their leader.

Jakhur, Shiag'h, Pooniah are all denominations of the Jit race, a few of whom preserve under these ancient subdivisions their old customs and religion; but the greater part are among the converts to Islâm, and retain the generic name, pronounced *zj'hut*. Those enumerated are harmless and industrious, and are found both in the desert and valley. There are besides these a few scattered families of ancient tribes, as the Sooltano¹ and Khoomra, of whose history we are ignorant, Johyas, Sindils, and others, whose origin has already been noticed in the annals of Maroost'hali.

We shall now leave this general account of the Hindu tribes, who throughout Sinde are subservient to the will of the Mahomedan, who is remarkable, as before observed, for intolerance. The Hindu is always second: at the well, he must wait patiently until his tyrant has filled his vessel; or if, in cooking his dinner, a Mooslem should require fire, it must be given forthwith, or the shoe would be applied to the Hindu's head.

Sehrâê, Kossah, Chandeà, Sudani.—The Sehrâê is the most numerous of the Mahomedan tribes of the desert, said to be Hindu in origin, and

¹ Abulfazil, in describing the province of Bijore, inhabited by the Eusofzyes, says that a tribe called "Sultana, who affirmed themselves to be the descendants of the daughter of Sultan Secunder Zulkernain, came from Cabul in the time of Mirza Ulugh Beg, and possessed themselves of this country." Mr. Elphinstone inquired in vain for this offspring of Alexander the Great.

descendants of the ancient dynasty of Arore; but whether his descent is derived from the dynasty of Sehris (written Sahir by Pottinger), or from the Arabic word *shrá*, 'a desert,' of which he is the terror, is of very little moment. The Kossas or Khossas, etc., are branches of the Sehráé, and their habits are the same. They have reduced their mode of rapine to a system, and established *koorie*, or blackmail, consisting of one rupee and five *durrís* of grain for every plough, exacted even from the hamlets of the shepherds throughout the *t'hul*. Their bands are chiefly mounted on camels, though some are on horseback; their arms are the *shail* or *sang* (lances of bamboo or iron), the sword and shield, and but few fire-arms. Their depredations used to be extended a hundred coss around, even into Jodpoor and Dâodpotra, but they eschew coming in contact with the Rajpoot, who says of a Sehráé, "he is sure to be asleep when the battle *nakarra* beats." Their chief abode is in the southern portion of the desert; and about Noakote, Mittie, as far as Buliarie. Many of them used to find service at Oodipoor, Jodpoor, and Soóé-Bah, but they are cowardly and faithless.

Sumaicha is one of the *nyád*, or proselytes to Islám from the Soda race, and numerous both in the *t'hul* and the valley, where they have many *pooras* or hamlets. They resemble the Dhotes in their habits, but many of them associate with the Sehráés, and plunder their brethren. They never shave or touch the hair of their heads, and consequently look more like brutes than human beings. They allow no animal to die of disease, but kill it when they think there are no hopes of recovery. The Sumaicha women have the reputation of being great scolds, and never veil their faces.

Rajurs.—They are said to be of Bhatti descent, and confine their haunts to the desert, or the borders of Jessulmér, as at Ramgurh, Keállah, Jaraillah, etc.; and the *t'hul* between Jessulmér and Upper Sind: they are cultivators, shepherds, and thieves, and are esteemed amongst the very worst of the converts to Mahomedanism.

Oomurs and *Soomras* are from the Pramár or Püár race, and are now chiefly in the ranks of the faithful, though a few are to be found in Jessulmér and in the *t'hul* called after them; of whom we have already said enough.

Kullorah and *Talpoori* are tribes of celebrity in Sind, the first having furnished the late, and the other its present, dynasty of rulers; and though the one has dared to deduce its origin from the Abbasides of Persia, and the other has even advanced pretensions to descent from the prophet, it is asserted that both are alike Baloches, who are said to be essentially Jit or Gete in origin. The Talpooris, who have their name from the town (*poora*) of palms (*tál* or *tár*), are said to amount to one-fourth of the population of *Lohri* or *Little Sind*, which misnomer they affix to the dominion of Hyderabad. There are none in the *t'hul*.

Noomrie, *Loomrie*, or *Looka*.—This is also a grand subdivision of the Baloch race, and is mentioned by Abulfazil as ranking next to the Kulmaní, and being able to bring into the field three hundred cavalry and seven thousand infantry. Gladwin has rendered the name *Nomurdy*, and is followed by Rennel. The Noomris, or Loomries, also styled *Looka*, a still more familiar term for *fox*, are likewise affirmed to be Jit in origin. What is the etymology of the generic term *Balooch*, which they have

assumed, or whether they took it from, or gave it to, Baloochistan, some future inquirer into these subjects may discover.

Zjhut, Jut, or Jit.—This very original race, far more numerous than perhaps all the Rajpoot tribes put together, still retains its ancient appellation throughout the whole of Sinde, from the sea to Dâódpotra, but there are few or none in the *t'hul*. Their habits differ little from those who surround them. They are amongst the oldest converts to Islám.

Mair, or Mér.—We should scarcely have expected to find a mountaineer (*méra*) in the valley of Sinde, but their Bhatti origin sufficiently accounts for the term, as Jessulmér is termed *Mér*.

Mohor or Mor.—Said to be also Bhatti in origin.

Tawuri, T'hori, or Tori.—These engross the distinctive epithet of *bhoot*, or 'evil spirits,' and the yet more emphatic title of 'sons of the devil.' Their origin is doubtful, but they rank with the Bawurís, Khengárs, and other professional thieves scattered over Rajpootana, who will bring you either your enemy's head or the turban from it. They are found in the *t'huls* of Dâódpotra, Beejnote, Noke, Noakote, and Oodur. They are proprietors of camels, which they hire out, and also find employment as convoys to caravans.

Johyas, Dahyas, Mangulias, once found amongst the Rajpoot tribes, now proselytes to Islám, but few in number either in the valley or the desert. There are also *Bairowis*, a class of Baloch, *Khairowis*, *Jangreas*, *Oondurs*, *Baggreahs*, descended from the Pramár and Sankla Rajpoots, but not possessing, either in respect to numbers or other distinctive marks, any claims on our attention.

Dâódpotra.—This petty state, though beyond the pale of Hinduism, yet being but a recent formation out of the Bhatti state of Jessulmér, is strictly within the limits of Maroost'háll. Little is known regarding the family who founded it, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to this point, which is not adverted to by Mr. Elphinstone, who may be consulted for the interesting description of its prince, and his capital, Bhawulpoor, during the halt of the embassy to Cabul.

Dâod Khan, the founder of Dâódpotra, was a native of Shikarpoor, west of the Indus, where he acquired too much power for a subject, and consequently drew upon himself the arms of his sovereign of Candahar. Unable to cope with them, he abandoned his native place, passed his family and effects across the Indus, and followed them into the desert. The royal forces pursued, and coming up with him at Sootialloh, Dâod had no alternative but to surrender, or destroy the families who impeded his flight or defence. He acted the Rajpoot, and faced his foes; who, appalled at this desperate act, deemed it unwise to attack him, and retreated. Dâod Khan, with his adherents, then settled in the *kutchee*, or flats of Sinde, and gradually extended his authority into the *t'hul*. He was succeeded by Mobarick Khan; he, by his nephew Bhawul Khan, whose son is Sadik Mahommed Khan, the present lord of Bhawulpoor, or Dâódpotra, a name applied both to the country and to its possessors, "the children of David." It was Mobarick who deprived the Bhattis of the district called Khádál, so often mentioned in the annals of Jessulmér, and whose chief town is Derrawul, founded by Rawul Deoraj in the eighth century; and where the successor of Dâod established his abode. Derrawul was at that time inhabited by a branch of the Bhattis, broken off at

a very early period, its chief holding the title of Rawul, and whose family since their expulsion have resided at Gurialah, belonging to Bikanér, on an allowance of five rupees a day, granted by the conqueror. The capital of the "sons of David" was removed to the south bank of the Garah by Bhawul Khan (who gave it his name), to the site of an old Bhatti city, whose name I could not learn. About thirty years ago¹ an army from Candahar invaded Dâódpotra, invested and took Derrawul, and compelled Bhawul Khan to seek protection with the Bhattis at Beekumpoor. A negotiation for its restoration took place, and he once more pledged his submission to the Abdalli king, and having sent his son Mobarick Khan as a hostage and guarantee for the liquidation of the imposition, the army withdrew. Mobarick continued three years at Cabul, and was at length restored to liberty and made Khan of Bhawulpoor, on attempting which he was imprisoned by his father, and confined in the fortress of Kinjer, where he remained nearly until Bhawul Khan's death. A short time previous to this, the principal chiefs of Dâódpotra, namely, Buddaira Khyraní, chief of Mozgurh, Khodabuksh of Teraroh, Ikhtiar Khan of Gurhie, and Hadjí Khan of Ootch, released Mobarick Khan from Kinjer, and they had reached Morarra, when tidings arrived of the death of Bhawul Khan. He continued his route to the capital; but Nuseer Khan, son of Allum Khan, Goorgéchá (Baloch), having formerly injured him and dreading punishment, had him assassinated, and placed his brother, the present chief, Sadik Mahomed, on the musnud: who immediately shut up his nephews, the sons of Mobarick, together with his younger brothers, in the fortress of Derrawul. They escaped, raised a force of Rajpoots and Poorbias, and seized upon Derrawul; but Sadik escalated it, the Poorbias made no defence, and both his brothers and one nephew were slain. The other nephew got over the wall, but was seized by a neighbouring chief, surrendered, and slain; and it is conjectured the whole was a plot of Sadik Khan to afford a pretext for their death. Nuseer Khan, by whose instigation he obtained the musnud, was also put to death, being too powerful for a subject. But the Khyraní lords have always been plotting against their liege; an instance of which has been given in the annals of Bikanér, when Teraroh and Mozgurh were confiscated, and the chiefs sent to the castle of Kinjer, the state prison of Dâódpotra. Gurhie still belongs to Abdalla, son of Hadjí Khan, but no territory is annexed to it. Sadik Mahomed has not the reputation of his father, whom Beejy Sing, of Marwar, used to style his brother. The Dâódpotras are much at variance amongst each other, and detested by the Bhattis, from whom they have hitherto exacted a tribute to abstain from plunder. The fear of Candahar no longer exists at Bhawulpoor, whose chief is on good terms with his neighbour of Upper Sinde, though he is often alarmed by the threats of Runjeet Sing of Lahore, who asserts supremacy over "the children of David."

Diseases.—Of the numerous diseases to which the inhabitants of the desert are subjected, from poor and unwholesome diet, and yet more unwholesome drink, *rátandá* or night-blindness, the *narooa* or Guinea-worm, and *varicose* veins, are the most common. The first and last are mostly confined to the poorer classes, and those who are compelled to walk a great deal, when the exertion necessary to extricate the limbs from deep

¹ This memorandum was written, I think, in 1811 or 1812.

sand, acting as a constant drag upon the elasticity of the fibres, occasions them to become ruptured. Yet, such is the force of habit, that the natives of Dhât in my service, who had all their lives been plying their limbs as *kasids*, or carriers of dispatches, between all the cities on the Indus and in Rajpootana, complained of the firmer footing of the Indian plains, as more fatiguing than that of their native sandhills. But I never was a convert to the Dhatti's reasoning; with all his simplicity of character, even in this was there vanity, for his own swelled veins, which could be compared to nothing but rattans twisted round the calf of his limbs, if they did not belie his assertion, at least proved that he had paid dearly for his pedestrianism in the desert. From the *narooa*, or Guinea worm, there is no exemption, from the prince to the peasant, and happy is the man who can boast of only one trial. The disease is not confined to the desert and western Rajpootana, being far from uncommon in the central states; but beyond the Aravulli the question of "how is your *narooa*?" is almost a general form of greeting, so numerous are the sufferers from this malady. It generally attacks the limbs and the integuments of the joints, when it is excruciating almost past endurance. Whether it arises from animalculæ in sand or water, or porous absorption of minute particles imbued with the latent vital principle, the natives are not agreed. But the seat of the disease appears immediately under and adhesive to the skin, on which it at first produces a small speck, which, gradually increasing and swelling, at length reaches a state of inflammation that affects the whole system. The worm then begins to move, and as it attains the degree of vitality apparently necessary for extricating itself, its motions are unceasing, and night and day it gnaws the unhappy patient, who only exists in the hope of daily seeing the head of his enemy pierce the cuticle. This is the moment for action: the skilful *narooa*-doctor is sent for, who seizes upon the head of the worm, and winding it round a needle or straw, employs it as a windlass, which is daily set in motion at a certain hour, when they wind out as much line as they can without the risk of breaking it. Unhappy the wretch whom this disaster befalls, when, happening to fall into a feverish slumber, he kicks the windlass, and snaps the living thread, which creates tenfold inflammation and suppuration. On the other hand, if by patience and skill it is extracted entire, he recovers. I should almost imagine, when the patriarch of Uz exclaims, "My flesh is clothed with worms: my skin is broken and become loathsome. When I lie down, I say, when shall I arise and the night be gone?" that he must have been afflicted with the *narooa*, than which none of the ills that flesh is heir to can be more agonising.¹

They have the usual infantine and adult diseases, as in the rest of India. Of these the *seetla*, or 'smallpox,' and the *teejârrâ*, or 'tertian,' are the most common. For the first, they merely recommend the little patient to 'Seetla Mâtâ'; and treat the other with astringents in which infusion of the rind of the pomegranate is always (when procurable) an

¹ My friend Dr. Joseph Duncan (attached to the Residency when I was political agent at Oodipoor) was attacked by the *narooa* in a very aggravated form. It fixed itself in the ankle-joint, and being broken in the attempt to extricate it, was attended by all the evil results I have described, ending in lameness, and generally impaired health, which obliged him to visit the Cape for recovery, where I saw him on my way home eighteen months after, but he had even then not altogether recovered from the lameness.

ingredient. The rich, as in other countries, are under the dominion of empirics, who entail worse diseases by administering mineral poisons, of whose effects they are ignorant. Enlargement of the spleen under the influence of these fevers is very common, and its cure is mostly the actual cautery.

Famine is, however, the grand natural disease of these regions, whose legendary stanzas teem with records of visitations of *Bookha Mata*, the 'famished mother,' from the remotest times. That which is best authenticated in the traditions of several of these states, occurred in the eleventh century, and continued during twelve years ! It is erroneously connected with the name of Lakha Phoolânî, who was the personal foe of Séôji, the first Rahtore emigrant from Canouj, and who slew this Robin Hood of the desert in S. 1268 (A.D. 1212). Doubtless the desiccation of the Caggar river, in the time of Hamir Soda, nearly a century before, must have been the cause of this. Every third year they calculate upon a partial visitation, and in 1812 one commenced which lasted three or four years, extending even to the central states of India, when flocks of poor creatures found their way to the provinces on the Ganges, selling their infants, or parting with their own liberty, to sustain existence.

Productions, animal and vegetable.—The camel, 'the ship of the desert,' deserves the first mention. There he is indispensable ; he is yoked to the plough, draws water from the well, bears it for his lordly master in *mesheks*, or 'skins,' in the passage of the desert, and can dispense with it himself altogether during several days. This quality, the formation of his hoof, which has the property of contracting and expanding according to the soil, and the induration of his mouth, into which he draws by his tongue the branches of the *babool*, the *khér*, and *jowâs*, with their long thorns, sharp and hard as needles, attest the beneficence of the Supreme Artist. It is singular that the Arabian patriarch, who so accurately describes the habits of various animals, domestic and ferocious, and who was himself lord of three thousand camels, should not have mentioned the peculiar properties of the camel, though in alluding to the incapacity of the unicorn (rhinoceros) for the plough, he seems indirectly to insinuate the use of others besides the ox for this purpose. The camels of the desert are far superior to those of the plains, and those bred in the *l'hûls* of Dhât and Barmair are the best of all. The Rajas of Jessulmér and Bîkanér have corps of camels trained for war. That of the former state is two hundred strong, eighty of which belong to the prince ; the rest are the quotas of his chiefs ; but how they are rated, or in what ratio to the horsemen of the other principalities, I never thought of inquiring. Two men are mounted on each camel, one facing the head, the other the rear, and they are famous in a retreating action : but when compelled to come to close quarters, they make the camel kneel down, tie his legs, and retiring behind, make a breastwork of his body, resting the matchlock over the pack-saddle. There is not a shrub in the desert that does not serve the camel for fodder.

Khur-guddha, *Gorkhur*, or the wild ass, is an inhabitant of the desert, but most abounds in the southern part, about Dhât, and the deep *rool* which extends from Barmair to Bankasirr and Buliari, along the north bank of the great Runn, or 'salt desert.'

Roz or *Nilgâé*, *Lions*, etc.—The noble species of the deer, the *nilgâé*,

spots only is the saji plant produced. The salt, which is a sub-carbonate of soda, is obtained by incineration, and the process is as follows: Pits are excavated and filled with the plant, which, when fired, exudes a liquid substance that falls to the bottom. While burning, they agitate the mass with long poles, or throw on sand if it burns too rapidly. When the virtue of the plant is extracted, the pit is covered with sand, and left for three days to cool; the alkali is then taken out, and freed from its impurities by some process. The purer product is sold at a rupee the seer (two pounds weight); of the other upwards of forty seers are sold for a rupee. Both Rajpoots and Mahomedans pursue this employment, and pay a duty to the lord paramount of a copper *pice* on every rupee's worth they sell. Charuns and others from the towns of Marwar purchase and transport this salt to the different marts, whence it is distributed over all parts of India. It is a considerable article of commerce with Sind, and entire caravans of it are carried to Bekher, Tatta, and Cutch. The virtue of the soda is well understood in culinary purposes, a little *saji* added to the hard water soon softening the mess of pulse and rice preparing for their meals; and the tobacconists use considerable quantities in their trade, as it is said to have the power of restoring the lost virtues of the plant.

Grasses are numerous, but unless accompanied by botanical illustration, their description would possess little interest. There is the gigantic *schwun*, or *sôn*, classically known as the *cûsa*, and said to have originated the name of Cûsh, the second son of Rama, and his race the Cushwaha. It is often eight feet in height; when young, it serves as provender for animals, and when more mature, as thatch for the huts, while its roots supply a fibre, converted by the weavers into brushes indispensable to their trade. There is likewise the *sirkunda*, the *dhamun*, the *dhooba*, and various others; besides the *gokra*, the *papri*, and the *bhoorut*, which adhering to their garments, are the torment of travellers.

Melons.—Of the cucurbitaceous genus, indigenous to the desert, they have various kinds, from the gigantic *khurbooza* and the *chipra*, to the dwarf *gowâr*. The *tomata*, whose Indian name I have not preserved, is also a native of these regions, and well known in other parts of India. We shall trespass no further with these details, than to add, that the botanical names of all such trees, shrubs, or grains, as occur in this work, will be given with the general *Index*, to avoid unnecessary repetition.

ITINERARY

Jessulmér to Schwan, on the right bank of the Indus, and Hyderabad, and return by Omurhole to Jessulmér.

Kooldurra (5 coss).—A village inhabited by Palliwal Brahmins; two hundred houses; wells.

Gujee-ca-bustec (2 do.).—Sixty houses; chiefly Brahmins; wells.

Khaba (3 do.).—Three hundred houses; chiefly Brahmins; a small fort of four bastions on low hills, having a garrison of Jessulmér.

this, we have elsewhere noted in a general account of this optical phenomenon in various parts of northern India.

Kunohi (5 coss). } An assemblage of hamlets of four or five huts on one
Soom (5 do.) } spot, about a mile distant from each other, conjointly
 called *Soom*, having a *boorj* or tower for defence, garrisoned from
Jessulmér; several large wells, termed *baireah*; inhabitants,
 chiefly Sindies of various tribes, pasture their flocks, and bring salt
 and *kharrā* (natron) from *Deo Chundéswar*, the latter used as a
 mordant in fixing colours, exported to all parts. Half-way between
Soom and *Moolanoh* is the boundary of *Jessulmér* and *Sinde*.

*Moolanoh*¹ (24 do.).—A hamlet of ten huts; chiefly Sindies; situated
 amidst lofty sandhills. From *Soom*, the first half of the journey
 is over alternate sandhills, rocky ridges (termed *muggro*), and
 occasionally plain; for the next three, rocky ridges and sandhills
 without any flats, and the remaining nine coss a succession of lofty
teebas. In all this space of twenty-four coss there are no wells,
 nor is a drop of water to be had but after rain, when it collects in
 some old tanks or reservoirs, called *nadi* and *tabah*, situated half-
 way, where in past times there was a town.

It is asserted, that before the Mahomedans conquered *Sinde* and
 these regions, the valley and desert belonged to Rajpoot princes
 of the *Pramar* and *Solanki* tribes; that the whole *t'hul* (desert) was
 more or less inhabited, and the remains of old tanks and temples,
 notwithstanding the drifting of the sands, attest the fact. Tra-
 dition records a famine of twelve years' duration during the time of
Lakha Foolani, in the twelfth century, which depopulated the
 country, when the survivors of the *t'hul* fled to the *kutchi*, or flats
 of the *Sinde*. There are throughout still many oases or cultivated
 patches, designated by the local terms from the indispensable
 element, water, which whether springs or rivulets, are called *wāh*,
bāh, *baireah*, *rar*, *tir*, prefixed by the tribe of those pasturing,
 whether *Sodas*, *Rajurs*, or *Sumaichas*. The inhabitants of one
 hamlet will go as far as ten miles to cultivate a patch.

Bhore (2 do.). } These are all hamlets of about ten huts, inhabited by
Palri (3 do.). } *Rajurs*, who cultivate patches of land or pasture
Rajur-ca-bustee } their flocks of buffaloes, cows, camels, goats, amidst
 (2 do.). } the *t'hul*; at each of these hamlets there are plenty
Hamlet of Rajurs } of springs; at *Rajur-ca-bustee* there is a pool called
 (2 do.). } *Mahadeo-ca-dē*. (See p. 237.)

Deo Chandéswar Mahadeo (2 do.).—When the *Soda* princes held sway in
 these regions, there was a town here, and a temple to *Mahadeo*, the
 ruins of which still exist, erected over a spring called *Sooruj coond*,
 or fountain of the Sun. The Islamite destroyed the temple, and
 changed the name of the spring to *Deen-Bawah*, or 'waters of the
 faith.' The *coond* is small, faced with brick, and has its margin
 planted with date trees and pomegranates, and a *Moolla*, or priest
 from *Sind*, resides there and receives tribute from the faithful.
 For twelve coss around this spot there are numerous springs of

¹ There are two routes from *Moolanoh* to *Sehwan*. The *Dhatti* went the
 longest on account of water. The other is by *Sukrund*, as follows:

| | Coss. | | Coss. |
|-----------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Palri</i> | 5 | <i>Sukrund</i> | 3 ¹ |
| <i>Padsha-ca-bustee</i> | 6 | <i>Nalla</i> | 0 ¹ |
| <i>Oodani</i> | 5 | <i>Mukrund</i> | 4 |
| <i>Mittrao</i> | 10 | <i>Koka-ca-bustec</i> | 6 |
| <i>Meer-ca-khoé</i> | 6 | <i>The Sinde</i> | 10 |
| <i>Soopurie</i> | 5 | <i>Sehwan</i> | 0 ¹ |
| <i>Kumber-ca-nalla</i> | 9 | | |

This
 appears
 very
 circuit-
 ous.

¹ Town high road from Upper to Lower *Sinde*.

water, where the Rajurs find pasture for their flocks, and patches to cultivate. Their huts are conical like the wigwams of the African, and formed by stakes tied at the apex and covered with grass and leaves, and often but a large blanket of camel's hair stretched on stakes.

Chandia-ca-bustee (2 coss).—Hamlet inhabited by Mooslems of the Chandia tribe, mendicants who subsist on the charity of the traveller.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Rajur-ca-bustee</i> (2 do.). | } <i>Poorwas</i> , or hamlets of shepherds, Sumaichas, Rajurs, and others, who are all migratory, and shift with their flocks as they consume the pastures. There is plenty of water in this space for all their wants, chiefly springs. |
| <i>Sumaicha-ca-do</i> (2 do.). | |
| <i>Rajur do.</i> (1 do.). | |
| <i>Do. do.</i> (2 do.). | |
| <i>Do. do.</i> (2 do.). | |
| <i>Do. do.</i> (2 do.). | |
| <i>Do. do.</i> (2 do.). | |

Odhanioh (7 do.).—Twelve huts; no water between it and the last hamlet.

Nallah (5 do.).—Descent from the *Phul* or desert, which ceases a mile east of the *nalla* or stream, said to be the same which issues from the Indus at Dura, above Rory-Bekher; thence it passes east of Sohrab's Khyrpoor, and by Jinar to Bairsa-ca-rar, whence there is a canal cut to Omurkote and Chore.

Miltrao (4 do.).—Village of sixty houses, inhabited by Baloches; a *thanna*, or post here from Hyderabad; occasional low sandhills.

Meer-ca-kooc (6 do.).—Three detached hamlets of ten huts each, inhabited by *Aroras*.

Shecopoori (3 do.).—One hundred and twenty houses, chiefly *Aroras*: small fort of six bastions to the south-east, garrisoned from Hyderabad.

Kumaira-ca-Nalla (6 do.).—This *nalla* issues from the Indus between Kakur-ca-bustee and Sukrund, and passes eastward; probably the bed of an old canal, with which the country is everywhere intersected.

Sukrund (2 do.).—One hundred houses, one-third of which are Hindus; patches of cultivation; numerous watercourses neglected; everywhere overgrown with jungle, chiefly *ghow* and *khaijri* (tamarisk and acacia). Cotton, indigo, rice, wheat, barley, peas, grain, and maize, grow on the banks of the watercourses.

Juttooc (2 do.).—Sixty houses; a *nalla* between it and Juttooc.

Cazi-ca-Scher (4 do.).—Four hundred houses; two *nallas* intervene.

Makairo (4 do.).—Sixty houses; a *nalla* between it and Juttooc.

Kakur-ca-bustee (6 do.).—Sixteen houses; half-way the remains of an ancient fortress; three canals or *nallas* intervening; the village placed upon a mound four miles from the Indus, whose waters overflow it during the periodic monsoon.

Pooro or *Hamlet* (1 do.).—A ferry.

The Indus (1 do.).—Took boat and crossed to

Sewan or *Schwan* (1½ do.).—A town of twelve hundred houses on the right bank, belonging to Hyderabad.¹

¹ Sewhan is erected on an elevation within a few hundred yards of the river, having many clumps of trees, especially to the south. The houses are built of clay, often three storeys high, with wooden pillars supporting the floors. To the north of the town are the remains of a very ancient and extensive fortress, sixty of its bastions being still visible; and in the centre the vestiges of a palace still known as Raja Bhirterri-ca-Mahl, who is said to have reigned here when driven from Oojein by his brother Vicramaditya. Although centuries have flown since the Hindus had any power in these regions, their traditions have remained. They relate that Bhirterri, the eldest son of Gundrup Sên, was so devoted to his wife, that he neglected the affairs of government, which made his brother expostulate with him. This coming to his wife's ears, she insisted on the banish-

Sehwan to Hydrabad.

Jut-ca-bustee (2 coss).—The word *jūt* or *jut* is here pronounced *zjut*. This hamlet '*bustee*,' is of thirty huts, half a mile from the Indus: hills close to the village.

ment of Vicrama. Soon after a celebrated ascetic reached his court, and presented to Bhirterri the *Amur-p'hul*, or 'fruit of immortality,' the reward of years of austere devotion at the shrine of Mahadeo. Bhirterri gave it to his wife, who bestowed it on an elephant-driver, her paramour; he to a common prostitute, his mistress: who expecting to be highly rewarded for it, carried it to the raja. Incensed at such a decided proof of infidelity, Bhirterri, presenting himself before his queen, asked for the prize—'she had lost it.' Having produced it, she was so overwhelmed with shame that she rushed from his presence, and precipitating herself from the walls of the palace, was dashed to pieces. Raja Bhirterri consoled himself with another wife, Rani Pingla, to whose charms he in like manner became enslaved; but experience had taught him suspicion. Having one day gone a hunting, his huntsman shot a deer, whose doe coming to the spot, for a short time contemplated the body, then threw herself on his antlers and died. The *shekart*, or huntsman, who had fallen asleep, was killed by a huge snake. His wife came to seek him, supposing him still asleep, but at length seeing he was dead, she collected leaves, dried reeds, and twigs, and having made a pyre, placed the body under it; after the usual perambulations she set fire to, and perished with it. The raja, who witnessed these proceedings, went home and conversed with Pinglani on these extraordinary *sultees*, especially the *Shekaris*, which he called unparalleled. Pinglani disputed the point, and said it was the sacrifice of passion, not of love; had it been the latter, grief would have required no pyre. Some time after, having again gone a hunting, Bhirterri recalled this conversation, and having slain a deer, he dipped his clothes in the blood, and sent them by a confidential messenger to report his death in combat with a tiger. Pinglani heard the details; she wept not, neither did she speak, but prostrating herself before the sun, ceased to exist. The pyre was raised, and her remains were consuming outside the city as the raja returned from his excursion. Hastening to the spot of lamentation, and learning the fatal issue of his artifice, he threw off the trappings of sovereignty, put on the pilgrim's garb, and abandoned Oojein to Vicrama. The only word which he uttered, as he wandered to and fro, was the name of his faithful Pinglani! "*Hae Pingla! Hae Pingla!*" The royal pilgrim at length fixed his abode at Sehwan; but although they point out the ruins of a palace still known even to the Islamite as the *aum-khas* of Raja Bhirterri, it is admitted that the fortress is of more ancient date. There is a *mindra*, or shrine, to the south of the town, also called, after him, *Bhirterri-ca-mindra*. In this the Islamite has deposited the mortal remains of a saint named Lal Peer Shahaz, to whom they attribute their victorious possession of Sind. The cenotaph of this saint, who has the character of a proselyte Hindu, is in the centre of the *mindra*, and surrounded by wooden stakes. It is a curious spectacle to see both Islamite and Hindu paying their devotions in the same place of worship; and although the first is prohibited from approaching the sacred *enceinte* of the *peer*, yet both adore a large *saligram*, that vermiculated fossil sacred to Vishnu, placed in a niche in the tomb. The fact is a curious one, and although these Islamite adorers are the scions of conversion, it perhaps shows in the strongest manner that this conversion was of the sword, for, generally speaking, the converted Hindu makes the most bigoted and intolerant Mussulman. My faithful and intelligent emissaries, Madari Loll and the Dhatti, brought me a brick from the ruins of this fortress of Sehwan. It was about a cubit in length, and of symmetrical breadth and thickness, uncommonly well burnt, and rang like a bell. They also brought me some charred wheat, from pits where it had been burned. The grains were entire and reduced to a pure carbon. Tradition is again at work, and asserts its having lain there for some thousand years. There is very little doubt that this is the site of one of the antagonists of the Macedonian conqueror, perhaps Musicanus, or Mookh-Séhwán, the chief of Sehwan. The passage of the Grecian down the Indus was marked by excesses not inferior to those of the Ghaznivede king in later times, and doubtless they fired all they could not plunder to carry to the fleet. There

Sumaicha-ca-bustee (2½ coss).—Small village.

Lukhi (2½ do.).—Sixty houses; one mile and a half from the river: canal on the north side of the village; banks well cultivated. In the hills, two miles west, is a spot sacred to Parbutti and Mahadeo, where are several springs, three of which are hot.¹

Oomri (2 do.) —Twenty-five houses, half a mile from River; the hills not lofty, a coss west.

Soomri (3 do.).—Fifty houses, on the River hills; one and a half coss west.

Sindoo or *Sunn* (4 do.).—Two hundred houses and a bazaar, two hundred yards from the River; hills one and a half coss west.

Majend (4½ do.).—On the River two hundred and fifty houses, considerable trade; hills two coss west.

Oom r-ca-bustee (3 do.).—A few huts, near the river.

Syed-ca-bustee (3 do.).

Shikarpoor (4 do.).—On the river; crossed to the east side.

Hydrabad (3 do.).—One and a half coss from the river Indus. Hydrabad to Nusurpoor, nine coss; to Sheodadpoor, eleven do.; to Sheopoi, seventeen do.; to Rory-Bekher, six do.—total forty-three coss.

Hydrabad via Omurkote, to Jessulmér.

Sindoo Khan ca-bustee (3 do.) —West bank of Phooléli river.

Tajpoor (3 do.).—Large town, north-east of Hydrabad.

Kulrail (1½ do.).—A hundred houses.

Nusurpoor (1½ do.).—East of Tajpoor, large town.

Ulyar-ca-Tanda (4 do.).—A considerable town built by Ulyar Khan, brother of the late Gholam Alli, and lying south-east of Nusurpoor. Two coss north of the town is the *Sangra Nalla* or *Bawal*,² said to

is also a *Nanuk-barra*, or place of worship sacred to Nanuk, the great apostle of the Sikhs, placed between the fortress and the river. Schwan is inhabited by Hindus and Islamites in equal proportions: of the former, the mercantile tribe of *Maisuri* from Jessulmér, is the most numerous, and have been fixed here for generations. There are also many Brahmins of the Pokurna¹ caste, *Soonars* or goldsmiths, and other Hindu artisans; of the Mooslems the Syed is said to be the most numerous class. The Hindus are the monied men. Cotton and indigo, and great quantities of rice in the husk (*paddy*), grown in the vicinage of Schwan, are exported to the ports of Tat'ha and Koratchy Bunder by boats of considerable burthen, manned entirely by Mahomedans. The Hakim of Schwan is sent from Hydrabad. The range of mountains which stretch from Tat'ha nearly parallel with the Indus, approaches within three miles of Schwan, and there turn off to the north-west. All these hills are inhabited as far as the shrine of Hingláz Mata² on the coast of Mekran (placed in the same range) by the *Loomrie*, or *Noomrie* tribe, who though styling themselves Baloches, are Jits in origin.³

¹ These springs are frequented, despite the difficulties and dangers of the route from the savage Noomrie, by numerous Hindu pilgrims. Two of them are hot, and named *Surya-coond* and *Chandra-coond*, or fountains of the sun and moon, and imbued with especial virtues; but before the pilgrim can reap any advantage by purification in their waters, he must undergo the rite of confession to the attendant priests, who, through intercession with Mahadeo, have the power of granting absolution. Should a sinner be so hardened as to plunge in without undergoing this preparatory ordeal, he comes out covered with boils!!! This is a curious confirmation that the confessional rite is one of very ancient usage amongst the Hindus, even in the days of Rama of Kosula.—See vol. i. p. 65.

² This is the *Sankra* of Nadir Shah's treaty with Mahomed Shah of India,

¹ See *Annals of Jessulmér*, p. 230.

² This famous shrine of the Hindu Cybele, yet frequented by numerous votaries, is nine days' journey from Tat'ha by Korachy Bunder, and about nine miles from the seashore.

³ These are the Nomurdies of Rennel.

- issue from the Indus between Hala and Sukrund and passing Jundeela.
- Meerbah* (5 coss).—Forty houses; *Bah*, *Tanda*, *Gote*, *Poorwa*, are all synonymous terms for habitations of various degrees.
- Soonario* (7 do.).—Forty houses.
- Dingano* (4 do.).—To this hamlet extends the flats of Sinde. Sandhills five and six miles distant to the north. A small river runs under Dingano.
- Korsano* (7 do.).—A hundred houses. Two coss east of Korsano are the remains of an ancient city; brick buildings still remaining, with well and reservoirs. Sandhills two to three coss to the northward.
- Omurkote* (8 do.).—There is one continued plain, from Hyderabad to Omurkote, which is built on the low ground at the very extremity of the *l'hul* or sand-hills of the desert, here commencing. In all this space, estimated at forty-four *cucha coss*, or almost seventy miles of horizontal distance, as far as Sonario the soil is excellent, and plentifully irrigated by *bawahs*, or canals from the Indus. Around the villages there is considerable cultivation; but notwithstanding the natural fertility, there is a vast quantity of jungle, chiefly *babool* (*mimosa arabica*), the evergreen *j'hal*, and *j'how* or tamarisk. From Sonaria to Omurkote is one continued jungle, in which there are a few cultivated patches dependent on the heavens for irrigation; the soil is not so good as the first portion of the route.
- Kuttar* (4 do.).—A mile east of Omurkote commences the *l'hul* or sand-hills, the ascent a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet. A few huts of Sumaichas who pasture; two wells.
- Dhote-ca-buste* (4 do.).—A few huts; one well; Dhotes, Sodas, and Sindies cultivate and pasture.
- Dharnas* (8 do.).—A hundred houses, chiefly Pokurna Brahmins and Ban-yas, who purchase up the *ghee* from the pastoral tribes, which they export to Bhooj and the valley. It is also an entrepôt for trade; caravans from the east exchange their goods for the *ghee*, here very cheap, from the vast flocks pastured in the *Rooé*.
- Khairloo-ca-Par* (3 do.).—Numerous springs (*par*) and hamlets scattered throughout this tract.
- Lanailo* (1½ do.).—A hundred houses; water brackish; conveyed by camels from Khairloo.
- Bhoj-ca-Par* (3 do.).—Huts; wells; patches of cultivation.
- Bhoo* (6 do.).—Huts.
- Gurrira* (10 do.).—A small town of three hundred houses belonging to Sowae Sing Soda, with several *pooras* or hamlets attached to it. This is the boundary between *Dhat* or the Soda *raj* and Jessulmér. *Dhat* is now entirely incorporated in Sinde. A *dhanni*, or collector of the transit duties, resides here.
- Hursani* (10 do.).—Three hundred houses chiefly Bhattis. It belongs to a Rajpoot of this tribe, now dependent on Marwar.
- Jinjinialli* (10 do.).—Three hundred houses. This is the fief of the chief noble of Jessulmér; his name Kaitsi,¹ Bhatti. It is the border town of Jessulmér. There is a small mud fortress, and several *tallaos*, or sheets of water, which contain water often during three-fourths of the year; and considerable cultivation in the little valleys formed by the *teebas*, or sand-ridges. About two miles north of Jinjinialli there is a village of Charuns.

which the conqueror made the boundary between India and Persia, by which he obtained the whole of that fertile portion of the valley of Sinde, east of that stream. Others say it issues from Dura, above Rory Bekher.

¹ See Annals of Jessulmér for an account of the murder of this chieftain, p. 214.

Guj Sing-ca-bustee (2 coss).—Thirty-five houses. Water scarce, brought on camels from the Charun village.

Hamir-deora (5 do.).—Two hundred houses. There are several *bairas* or pools, about a mile north, whither water is brought on camels, that in the village being saline. The ridge of rocks from Jessulmér here terminates.

Chailak (5 do.).—Eighty houses; wells; Chailak on the ridge.

Bhopa (7 do.).—Forty houses; wells; small *tallao* or pool.

Bhao (2 do.).—Two hundred houses; pool to the west; small wells.

Jessulmér (5 do.).—Eighty-five and a half coss from Omurkote to Jessulmér by this route, which is circuitous. That by Jinjinali 26 coss, Giraup 7, Neelwa 12, Omurkote 25—in all 70 pukka coss, or about 150 miles. Caravans or *kuttárs* of camels pass in four days, *casids* or messengers in three and a half, travelling night and day. The last 25 coss, or 50 miles, is entire desert: add to this 44 short coss from Hydrabad to Omurkote, making a total of 129½ coss. The most direct road is estimated at 105 pukka coss, which, allowing for sinuosities, is equal to about 195 English miles.

Total of this route, 85½ coss.

Jessulmér to Hydrabad, by Baisnau.

Kooldur (5 do.).

Khaba (5 do.).

Lakha-ca-gong (30 do.).—Desert the whole way; no hamlets or water.

Baisnow (8 do.).

Bairsea-ca-Rar (16 do.).—Wells.

Theepro (3 do.).

Meeta-ca-dhair (7 do.).—Omurkote distant 20 coss.

Jundeela (8 do.).

Ullyar-ca Tanda (10 do.).—Sankra, or Sangra *nalla*.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Tajppoor</i> (4 do.). | { | In the former route the distance from Ullyar-ca-Tanda, by the town of Nusurppoor, is called 13 coss, or two more than this. There are five <i>nallas</i> or canals in the last five coss. |
| <i>Jam-ca-Tanda</i> (2 do.). | | |
| <i>Hydrabad</i> (5 do.). | | |

Total of this route, 103 coss.

Jessulmér, by Shahgur'h, to Khyrppoor of Meer Sohráb.

Ana-sagur (2 do.).

Chonda (2 do.).

Páni-ca-tur (3 do.).—*Tur* or *Tir*, springs.

Pani-ca-koochri (7 do.).—No village.

Korialloh (4 do.).

Shagurh (20 do.¹).—*Rooé* or waste all this distance. Shahgurh is the boundary; it has a small castle of six bastions, a post of Meer Sohrab, governor of Upper Sind.

Gurseah (6 do.).

Gurhur (28 do.).—*Rooé* or desert the whole way; not a drop of water. There are two routes branching off from Gurhur, one to Khyrppoor, the other to Raníppoor.

Baloch-ca-bustee (5 do.). } Hamlets of Baloches and Sumaichas.

Sumaicha-ca-bustee (5 do.). }

Nalla (2 do.).—The same stream which flows from Dura, and through the ancient city of Alore; it marks the boundary of the desert.

¹ Shékh Abul Birkat makes the distance only nine coss from Shahgurh to Korialloh, and states the important fact of crossing the dry bed of the Caggur, five coss west of Korialloh; water found plentifully by digging in the bed. Numerous *bairas*, to which the shepherds drive their flocks.

Khyrpoor (18 coss).—Meer Sohrab, governor of Upper Sinde, and brother of the prince of Hyderabad, resides here. He has erected a stone fortress of twelve bastions, called Noakote or New-castle. The 18 coss from the *nalla* to Khyrpoor is flat, and marks the breadth of the valley here. The following towns are of consequence.

Khyrpoor to Ludkana.—Twenty coss west of the Indus, held by Kurrum Alli, son of the prince of Hyderabad.

Khyrpoor to Lukhi.—Fifteen coss, and five from Shikarpoor.

Khyrpoor to Shikarpoor (20 do.).

Gurhur to Ranipoor.

*Furaro*h (10 do.).—A village of fifty houses, inhabited by Sindies and Kurars; several hamlets around. A *dhanni*, or collector of transit dues, resides here on the part of Meer Sohrab, the route being travelled by *kuttars* or caravans of camels. The *nalla* from Durah passes two coss east of Furaroh, which is on the extremity of the desert. Commencement of the ridge called *Tukur*, five coss west of Furaroh, extending to Rory Bekher, sixteen coss distant from Furaroh. From Furaroh to the Indus, eighteen coss, or thirty miles breadth of the valley here.

Ranipoor,¹ (18 do.).

Jessulmér to Rory Bekher.

Korialloh (18 do.).—See last route.

Bandoh (4 do.).—A tribe of Mooslems, called Oondur, dwell here.

Goteroo (16 do.).—Boundary of Jessulmér and Upper Sinde. A small castle and garrison of Meer Sohrab's; two wells, one inside; and a hamlet of thirty huts of Sumaichas and Oondurs; *teebas* heavy.

Oodut (32 do.).—Thirty huts of shepherds; a small mud fortress. *Rooé*, a deep and entire desert, throughout all this space; no water.

Sunkram or *Sungram* (16 do.).—Half the distance sand-hills, the rest numerous temporary hamlets constructed of the *jooar*, or maize stalks; several water-courses.

Nalla-Sangra ($\frac{1}{2}$ do.).—This *nalla* or stream is from Dura, on the Sinde, two coss and a half north of Rory Bekher; much cultivation; extremity of the sand-hills.

Tirgateo ($\frac{1}{2}$ do.).—A large town: Bankers and Banias, here termed Kirâr and Sumaichas.

Low ridge of hills, called *Tekher* (4 do.).—This little chain of silicious rocks runs north and south; Noakote, the New-castle of Sohrab, is at the foot of them; they extend beyond Furaroh, which is sixteen coss from Rory Bekher. Goomut is six coss from Noakote.

Rory (4 do.) } On the ridge, on the left bank of the Indus. Crossed over
Bekher ($\frac{1}{2}$ do.) } to Bekher; breadth of the river near a mile. Bekher
Sekher ($\frac{1}{2}$ do.) } is an island, and the other branch to Sekher is almost
a mile over also. This insulated rock is of silex, specimens of which I possess. There are the remains of the ancient fortress of *Man-soora*, named in honour of the Caliph Al-Mansoor, whose lieutenants made it the capital of Sinde on the opening of their conquests. It is yet more famed as the capital of the Sogdi of Alexander; in all probability a corruption of Soda, the name of the tribe which has ruled from immemorial ages, and who till very lately held Omurkote.

N.B.—Casids or messengers engage to carry despatches from Jessulmér to Rory Bekher in four days and a half; a distance of one hundred and twelve coss.

¹ Considerable town on the high road from Upper to Lower Sinde. See subsequent route.

Bekher to Shikarpoor.

Lukie, also called *Lukiesirr* (12 coss).

Sindu Nalla ($3\frac{1}{2}$ do.).

Shikarpoor ($\frac{1}{2}$ do.).

Total of this route, 16 do.

Bekher to Ludkana (28 do.).

Shikarpoor to Ludkana (20 do.).

Jessulmér to Dyr Alli Khyrpoor.

Korialloh (18 do.).

Kharroh (20 do.).—*Rooé* or desert all the way. This is the *dohud*, or mutual boundary of Upper Sinde and Jessulmér, and there is a small *mitti-ca-kote* or mud fort, jointly held by the respective troops; twenty huts and one well.

Sootialloh (20 do.).—*Rooé* all the way. A *dand* for the collection of duties; six wells.

Khyrpoor (Dyr Alli) (20 do.).—*Rooé*, and deep jungle of the evergreens called *lawá* and *jhál*, from Sootialloh to Khyrpoor.

Total of this route, 78 do.

Khyrpoor (Dyr Alli) to Ahmedpoor.

Obáora (6 do.).—Considerable town; Indus four coss west.

Subzul-ca-kote (8 do.).—Boundary of Upper Sinde and Dâodpotra. This frontier castle, often disputed, was lately taken by Meer Sohrab from Bhawul Khan. Numerous hamlets and water-courses.

Ahmedpoor (8 do.).—Considerable garrison town of Dâodpotra; two battalions and sixteen guns.

Total of this route, 22 coss.

Khyrpoor (Dyr Alli) to Hydrabad.

Meerpoor (8 do.).—Four coss from the Indus.

Matailloh (5 do.).—Four coss from the Indus.

Gotki (7 do.).—Two coss from the Indus.

Dadloh (8 do.).—Two coss from the Indus.

Rory Bekher (20 do.).—Numerous hamlets and temporary villages, with many water-courses for cultivation in all this space.

| | Coss. | |
|--------------------------------|-------|---|
| <i>Khyrpoor</i> | . 8 | Six coss from the Indus. |
| (<i>Sohráb-ca-</i>) | } | |
| <i>Goomut</i> | . 8 | The coss in this distance seems a medium between the <i>pucka</i> of two coss and the <i>kutchá</i> of one ^{2nd} <i>Sinder</i> . The medium of one and three coss are the flats of coss, deducting a tenth for numerous comparisons, to applicable to all Upper Sin |
| <i>Ranipoor</i> | . 2 | |
| (See route to it from Gurhur.) | | |
| <i>Hingore</i> | . 5 | |
| <i>Bhiranapoora</i> | . 5 | |
| <i>Huliani</i> | . 1 | |
| <i>Kunjerro</i> | . 3 | |
| <i>Nosheyra</i> | . 8 | |
| <i>Mora</i> | . 7 | |
| <i>Shahpoora</i> | . 3 | |
| <i>Doulutpoor</i> | . 3 | |
| <i>Meerpoor</i> | . 3 | On the Indus. Here Madarr returned to Meerpoor. |

Gooroh and Sooc-Bah.

liwals; pool and wells;

ation between the ridges.

oss east; ridge, low *t'hul*.

| | Coss. | |
|----------------|-------|--|
| Kazi-ca-Gote . | 9 | } The coss about two miles each ; which, deducting one in ten for windings of the road, may be protracted. |
| Sukrond . | 11 | |
| Hala . | 7 | |
| Khurdao . | 4 | |
| Muttari . | 4 | |
| Hydrabad . | 6 | |

TOTAL 145 COSS.

Jessulmér to Ikhtiar Khan-ca-Gurhie.

Brimsirr (4 coss) { These villages are all inhabited by Palliwal Brahmins,
Mordesirr (3 do.) { and are in the tract termed Kundal or Khádál, of
Gogadeo (3 do.) { which Katori, eight coss north of Jessulmér, is the
Kainsirr (5 do.) { chief town of about forty villages.—N.B. All towns
with the affix of *sirr* have pools of water.

Nohr-ca-Gurhie (25 do.).—*Roóé* or desert throughout this space. The castle of Nohur is of brick, and now belongs to Dãodpotra, who captured it from the Bhattis of Jessulmér. About forty huts and little cultivation. It is a place of toll for the *Kuttars* or caravans ; two rupees for each camel-load of ghee, and four for one with sugar ; half a rupee for each camel, and a third for an ox laden with grain.

Morced Kotc (24 do.).—*Roóé* or desert. Rangurh is four coss east of this.

Ikhtiar-ca-Gurhi (15 do.).—*Roóé* until the last four coss, or eight miles. Thence the descent from the *teebas* or sand-hills to the valley of the Indus.

Total of this route, 79 coss.

Ikhtiar to Ahmedpoor . 18 coss.

„ Khanpoor . 5 „

„ Sooltanpoor . 8 „

Jessulmér to Sheo-Kottoroh, Kheraloo, Chotun, Nuggur-Parkur, Mittie, and return to Jessulmér.

Dabla (3 do.).—Thirty houses, Pokurna Brahmins.

Akulli (2 do.).—Thirty houses, Chohans, well and small *tallao*.

Chore (5 do.).—Sixty houses, mixed classes.

Deikote (2 do.).—A small town of two hundred houses ; belongs to the Jessulmér fisc or khalsa. There is a little fort and garrison. A *tallao* or pool excavated by the Palliwals, in which water remains throughout the year after much rain.

Sangur (6 do.).—N.B. This route is to the east of that (following) by Cheencha, the most direct road to Bhalotra, and the one usually travelled ; but the villages are now deserted.

Beasirr (2 do.).—Forty houses, and *tallao*. Beejoorde 2 coss distant.

Mundaye (frontier) (2½ do.).—Two hundred and fifty houses. Saheb Khan Sehrâé with a hundred horse is stationed here ; the town is khalsa

and the last of Jessulmér. The ridge from Jessulmér is close to all

Dhurnidur (3½ do.) on this route to Mundaye.

belonging to Sôorâa, or post of Jodpoor.

Bah (4 do.).—Capital of Rawn of three hundred houses, but many deserted.

Loonah (5 do.).—One humane. Chief of a district. A Hakim resides here

Sooé (7 do.).—Residence collects the transit dues, and protects the country

from the Sehrâés.

Bhalotra on the ridge of five hundred houses, of which only two hundred

Panchbuddra (3 do.).—Bides here. The district of Sheo Kottoroh was days. Bhalotra hhattis of Jessulmér by the Rahtores of Jodpoor.

Beesallao (6 coss).—In ancient times a considerable place ; now only fifty houses. A fort on the ridge to the south-west, near two hundred feet high ; connected with the Jessulmér ridge, but often covered by the lofty *teebas* of sand.

Kheraloo (7 do.).—Capital of Kherd'hur, one of the ancient divisions of Marust'hali. Two coss south of Beesallao crossed a pass over the hills.

Chotun (10 do.).—An ancient city, now in ruins, having at present only about eighty houses, inhabited by the Sehrâés.

Bankasirr (11 do.). Formerly a large city, now only about three hundred and sixty houses.

Bhil-ca-bustee (5 do.) } Few huts n each.

Chohan-ca-poorá (6 do.) }

Nuggur (3 do.).—A large town, capital of Parkur, containing one thousand five hundred houses, of which one-half are inhabited.

Kaim Khan Sehrâé-ca-bustee (18 do.).—Thirty houses in the *t'hul* ; wells, with water near the surface ; three coss to the east the boundary of Sinde and the Chohan Râj.

Dhote-ca-poorá (15 do.).—A hamlet ; Rajpoots, Bhîls, and Sehrâés.

Mitti or Mittri-ca-kote (3 do.).—A town of six hundred houses in Dhât, or the division of Omurkote belonging to Hyderabad ; a relative of whose prince, with the title of Nawab, resides here : a place of great commerce, and also of transit for the caravans ; a fortified mahl to the south-west. When the Shah of Cabul used to invade Sinde, the Hyderabad prince always took refuge here with his family and valuables. The sand-hills are immensely high and formidable.

Chailasirr (10 do.).—Four hundred houses, inhabited by Sehrâés, Bramins, Beejuranis, and Bunyas ; a place of great importance to the transit trade.

Sumaicha-ca-bustee (10 do.).—*T'hul* from Chailasirr.

Noor-Alli, Paní-ca-Tír (9 do.).—Sixty houses of Charuns, Sooltano Rajpoots and *Kaoreas* (qu. the ancient Kaorea ?) water (*paní-ca-tír*) plenty in the *t'hul*.

Roal (5 do.).—Twelve hamlets termed *bâs*, scattered round a tract of several coss, inhabited by different tribes, after whom they are named, as Soda, Sehrâé, Kaorea, Brahmin, Banya and Sootar, as *Sodá-ca-bâs*, *Sehrâé-ca-bâs*, or habitations of the Sodas ; of the Sehrâés, etc. etc. (see p. 239).

Daelli (7 do.).—One hundred houses ; a *dhanni*, or collector of duties, resides here.

Gurrirah (10 do.).—Described in route from Omurkote to Jessulmér.

Raidanoh (11 do.).—Forty houses ; a lake formed by damming up the water. *Aggur*, or salt-pans.

Kottoroh (9 do.).

Sheo (3 do.).—The whole space from Nuggur to Sheo-Kottoroh is a continuous mass of lofty sand-hills (*t'hul-ca-teeba*), scattered with hamlets (*poorwas*), in many parts affording abundant pasture for flocks of sheep, goats, buffaloes, and camels ; the *t'hul* extends south to Noa-kote and Bulwar, about ten coss south of the former and two of the latter. To the left of Noa-kote are the flats of Talpoora, or Lower Sinde.

Jessulmér to Sheo Kottoroh, Burmair, Nuggur-Gooroh and Sooe-Bah.

Dhunno (5 do.).—Two hundred houses of Palliwals ; pool and wells ; ridge two to three hundred feet high, cultivation between the ridges.

Cheencha (7 do.).—Small hamlet ; Sirroh, half a coss east ; ridge, low *t'hul*, cultivation.

- Jussorana* (2 coss).—Thirty houses of Palliwals, as before; Keeta to the right half a coss.
- Oonda* (1 do.).—Fifty houses of Palliwals and Jain Rajpoots; wells and pools; country as before.
- Sangur* (2 do.).—Sixty houses; only fifteen inhabited, the rest fled to Sindé during the famine of 1813; Charuns. Grand *t'hul* commences.
- Sangur-ca-tallao* ($\frac{1}{2}$ do.).—Water remains generally eight months in the tallao or pool, sometimes the whole year.
- Beejorae* ($1\frac{1}{2}$ do.) { Between is the *sand'h* or boundary of Jessulmér and
Khoraël (4 do.) { Jodpoor. Beejorae has one hundred and twenty
houses of Palliwals; wells and pools at both places.
- Rajarail* (1 do.).—Seventy houses; most deserted since famine.
- Gongah* (4 do.).—Hamlet of twenty huts; *bairas*, or small wells and pools; to this the ridge and *t'hul* intermingle.
- Sheo* (2 do.).—Capital of the district.
- Neemlah* (4 do.).—Forty houses; deserted.
- Bhadko* (2 do.).—Four hundred houses; deserted. This is 'the third year of famine!'
- Kupoolri* (3 do.).—Thirty huts, deserted; wells.
- Julepah* (3 do.).—Twenty huts; deserted.
- Nuggur* (*Gooroo*) (20 do.).—This is a large town on the west bank of the Looni river, of four to five hundred houses, but many deserted since the famine, which has almost depopulated this region. In 1813, the inhabitants were flying as far as the Ganges, and selling themselves and offspring into slavery to save life.
- Barmair* (6 do.).—A town of twelve hundred houses.
- Gooroo* (2 do.).—West side of the Looni; town of seven hundred houses; the chief is styled Rana, and of the Chohan tribe.
- Batto* (3 do.).—West side of river.
- Putturno* (1 do.) } West side of river.
Gadlo (1 do.) }
- Runas* (3 do.).—East side of river.
- Charuni* (2 do.).—Seventy houses; east side.
- Cheetulwano* (2 do.).—Town of three hundred houses; east side of river; belonging to a Chohan chief, styled Rana. Sanchores seven coss to the south.
- Rutoroh* (2 do.).—East side of river; deserted.
- Hoteegong* (2 do.).—South side of river; temple to Phoolmookheswar Mahadeo.
- Dhootoh* (2 do.) } North side. On the west side the *t'hul* is very heavy;
Tappee (2 do.) } east side is plain; both sides well cultivated.
- Lalpoora* (2 do.).—West side.
- Soorpoora* (1 do.).—Crossed river.
- Sunlotti* (2 do.).—Eighty houses, east side of river.
- Bhoäteroo* (2 do.).—East side; relation of the Rana resides here.
- Narke* (4 do.).—South side river; Bhils and Sonigurras.
- Karoë* (4 do.).—Schrâés.
- Pillanoh* (2 do.).—Large village; Kolís and Pithils.
- Dhurmidur* (3 do.).—Seven or eight hundred houses, nearly deserted, belonging to Sooé Bah.
- Bah* (4 do.).—Capital of Rana Nariayn Rao, Chohan prince of Virá-Bah.
- Loonah* (5 do.).—One hundred houses.
- Sooé* (7 do.).—Residence of Chohan chief.

Bhalotra on the Looni river to Pokurn and Jessulmér.

- Panchbuddra* (3 do.).—Bhalotra fair on the 11th Maug—continues ten days. Bhalotra has four to five hundred houses in the tract called

Séwâncîf; the ridge unites with Jhalore and Sewanoh. Panchbuddra has two hundred houses, almost all deserted since the famine. Here is the celebrated Agger, or salt-lake, yielding considerable revenue to the government.

Gopti (2 coss).—Forty houses; deserted; one coss north of this the deep *t'hul* commences.

Patode (4 do.).—A considerable commercial mart; four hundred houses; cotton produced in great quantities.

Secvaie (4 do.).—Two hundred houses, almost deserted.

Seruroh (1 do.).—Sixty houses. To Patode the tract is termed Séwâncîf; from thence Eendâvâti, from the ancient lords of the Eendo tribe.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Boongurro</i> (3 do.) | { | Boongurro has seventy houses, Solankitullo four |
| <i>Solankitullo</i> (4 do.) | | hundred, and Pongulli sixty. Throughout sand- |
| <i>Pongulli</i> (5 do.) | | hills. This tract is called T'hulaicha, and the |
| | | Rahtores who inhabit it, T'hulaicha Rahtores. |
| | | There are many of the Jit or Jat tribe as cultivators. |
| | | Pongulli a Charun community. |

Bakurri (5 do.).—One hundred houses; inhabited by Charuns.

Dholsirr (4 do.).—Sixty houses, inhabited by Palliwal Brahmins.

Pokurn (4 do.).—From Bakurri commences the Pokurn district; all flat, and though sandy, no *teebas* or hills.

Odhanio (6 do.).—Fifty houses; a pool the south side.

Lahti (7 do.).—Three hundred houses; Palliwal Brahmins.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Sodacoor</i> (2 do.) | { | Sodacoor has thirty houses and Chandun fifty; Palli- |
| <i>Chandun</i> (4 do.) | | wals. Dry <i>nalla</i> at the latter; water obtained by |
| | | digging in its bed. |

Bhojka (3 do.).—One coss to the left is the direct road to Basunki, seven coss from Chandun.

Basunki-talao (5 do.).—One hundred houses; Palliwals.

Moklait (1½ do.).—Twelve houses; Pokurna Brahmins.

Jessulmér (4 do.).—From Pokurn to Odhanio, the road is over a low ridge of rocks; thence to Lahti is a well-cultivated plain, the ridge being on the left. A small *t'hul* intervenes at Sodacoor, thence to Chandun, plain. From Chandun to Basunki the road again traverses the low ridge, increasing in height, and with occasional cultivation, to Jessulmér.

Bitkanér to Ikhtiâr Khan-ca Gurhee, on the Indus:

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Nac-ca-bustee</i> (4 do.) | { | Sandy plains; water at all these villages. From |
| <i>Gujnair</i> (5 do.) | | |
| <i>Gooroh</i> (5 do.) | | |
| <i>Beetnoke</i> (5 do.) | | |
| <i>Girajsirr</i> (8 do.) | | |
| <i>Narraye</i> (4 do.) | | Beekumpoor. |

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Beekumpoor</i> (9 do.) | { | Beekumpoor to Mohungurh, <i>rooé</i> or desert all the |
| <i>Mohungurh</i> (16 do.) | | |

Natchna (16 do.).—*Teebas*, or sand-hills throughout this space.

Narraie (9 do.).—A Brahmin village.

Nohur-ca-Gurhee (24 do.).—Deep *rooé* or desert; the frontier garrison of Sinde; the gurhee, or castle, held by Hadji Khan.

Morced Kote (24 coss).—*Rooé*, high sand-hills.

Gurhee Ikhtiâr Khan-ca (18 do.).—The best portion of this through the *Kutchi*, or flats of the valley. Gurhie on the Indus.

Total 147 coss, equal to 220½ miles, the coss being about a mile and a half each; 200 English miles of horizontal distance to be protracted.

ANNALS OF AMBÉR,¹ OR DHOONDAR

CHAPTER I

Designations given by Europeans to the principalities of Rajpootana—Dhoondar known by the name of its capitals, Ambér or Jeipoor—The country of the Cuchwahas an aggregate of conquests by the race so called—Etymology of 'Dhoondar'—Origin of the Cuchwahas—Raja Nal founds Nurwar—Dhola Raé expelled, and founds Dhoondar—Romantic legend of Dhola Raé—His treachery to his benefactor, the Meena lord of Khogong—Marries a daughter of a Birgoojur chief, and becomes his heir—Augments his territories, and transfers his government to Ramgurh—Marries a daughter of the prince of Ajmér—Is killed in battle with the Meenas—His son Kankul conquers Dhoondar—Maidul Raé conquers Ambér, and other places—Conquests of Hoondeo—Of Koontul—Accession of Pujoon—Reflections on the aboriginal tribes at this period—The Meena race—Pujoon marries the sister of Pirthi-raj of Dehli—His military prowess—Is killed at the rape of the princess of Canouj—Malési succeeds—His successors—Pirthi-raj creates the Bara-kotris, or twelve great fiefs of Ambér—He is assassinated—Baharmull—The first to wait on the Mahomedan power—Bhagwandas the first Rajpoot to give a daughter to the imperial house—His daughter marries Jehangir, and gives birth to Khoosroo—Accession of Maun Sing—His power, intrigues, and death—Rao Bhao—Maha—Mirza Raja Jey Sing, brother of Raja Maun, succeeds—Repairs the disgraces of his two predecessors, and renders immense services to the empire—Is poisoned by his son—Ram Sing—Bishen Sing.

By some conventional process, Europeans in India have adopted the habit of designating the principalities of Rajpootana by the names of their respective capitals, instead of those of the countries. Thus Marwar and Méwar are recognised under the titles of their chief cities, Jodpoor and Oodipoor; Kotah and Boondi are denominations indiscriminately applied to Haravati, the general term of the region, which is rarely mentioned; and Dhoondar is hardly known by that denomination to Europeans, who refer to the state only by the names of its capitals, Ambér or Jeipoor, the last of which is now universally used to designate the region inhabited by the Cuchwahas.

The map defines the existing boundaries of this principality, to which I shall indiscriminately apply the terms (as is the practice of the natives) of Dhoondar, Ambér, and Jeipoor.

¹ This account of the Ambér or Jeipoor state is nearly what I communicated to the Marquis of Hastings in 1814-15. Amidst the multiplicity of objects which subsequently engaged my attention, I had deemed myself absolved from the necessity of enlarging upon it, trusting that a more competent pen would have superseded this essay, there having been several political authorities at that court since it was written. Being, however, unaware that anything has been done to develop its historical resources, which are more abundant than those of any other court of India, I think it right not to suppress this sketch, however imperfect.

Like all the other Rajpoot states, the country of the Cuchwahās is an assemblage of communities, the territories of which have been wrested from the aboriginal tribes, or from independent chieftains, at various periods; and therefore the term *Dhoondar*, which was only one of their earliest acquisitions, had scarcely a title to impose its name upon the aggregate. The etymology of *Dhoondar* is from a once celebrated sacrificial mount (*d'hoond*) on the western frontier, near Kalik Jobnair.¹

The Cuchwaha or Cuchwa race claims descent from Cush, the second son of Rama, King of Koshula, whose capital was Ayodia, the modern Oude. Cuch, or some of his immediate offspring, is said to have migrated from the parental abode, and erected the celebrated castle of Rhotas, or Rohitas,² on the Soane, whence, in the lapse of several generations, another distinguished scion, Raja Nal, migrated westward, and in S. 351, or A.D. 295, founded the kingdom and city of Nurwar, or classically, Nishida.³ Some of the traditional chronicles record intermediate places of domicile prior to the erection of this famed city: first, the town of Lahar, in the heart of a tract yet named Cuchwagár, or region (*gar*) of the Cuchwahās; and secondly, that of Gwalior. Be this as it may, the descendants of Raja Nal adopted the affix of Pal (which appears to be the distinguishing epithet of all the early Rajpoot tribes), until Sora Sing (thirty-third in descent from Nal), whose son, Dhola Raé, was expelled the paternal abode, and in S. 1023, A.D. 967, laid the foundation of the state of Dhoondar.

A family, which traces its lineage from Rama of Koshula, Nala of Nishida, and Dhola the lover of Maroni, may be allowed 'the boast of heraldry': and in remembrance of this descent, the Cushites of India celebrate with great solemnity 'the annual feast of the sun,' on which occasion a stately car, called the chariot of the sun (*Surya rat'ha*), drawn

¹ The traditional history of the Chohans asserts, that this mount was the place of penance (*tapasya*) of their famed king Beesildeo of Ajmér, who, for his oppression of his subjects, was transformed into a *Rakus*, or *Demon*, in which condition he continued the evil work of his former existence, 'devouring his subjects' (as literally expressed), until a grandchild offered himself as a victim to appease his insatiable appetite. The language of innocent affection made its way to the heart of the *Rakus*, who recognised his offspring, and winged his flight to the Jumna. It might be worth while to excavate the *dhoond* of the transformed Chohan king, which I have some notion will prove to be his sepulchre.

² Were this celebrated abode searched for inscriptions, they might throw light on the history of the descendants of Rama.

³ Prefixed to a descriptive sketch of the city of Nurwar (which I may append), the year S. 351 is given for its foundation by Raja Nal, but whether obtained from an inscription or historical legend, I know not. It, however, corroborates in a remarkable manner the number of descents from Nal to Dhola Raé, namely, thirty-three, which, calculated according to the best data (see vol. i. p. 45), at twenty-two years to a reign, will make 726 years, which subtracted from 1023, the era of Dhola Raé's migration, leaves 297, a difference of only fifty-four years between the computed and settled eras; and if we allowed only twenty-one years to a reign, instead of twenty-two, as proposed in all long lines above twenty-five generations, the difference would be trifling.

We may thus, without hesitation, adopt the date 351, or A.D. 295, for the period of Raja Nal, whose history is one of the grand sources of delight to the bards of Rajpootana. The poem rehearsing his adventures under the title of Nal and Damyantu (fam. Nal-Dummun), was translated into Persian at Akber's command, by Fiezi, brother of Abulfazil, and has since been made known to the admirers of Sanscrit literature by Professor Bopp of Berlin.

by eight horses, is brought from the temple, and the descendant of Ramésa, ascending therein, perambulates his capital.

A case of simple usurpation originated the Cuchwaha state of Ambér; but it would be contrary to precedent if this event were untinged with romance. As the episode, while it does not violate probability, illustrates the condition of the aboriginal tribes, we do not exclude the tradition. On the death of Sora Sing, prince of Nurwar, his brother usurped the government, depriving the infant, Dhola Raé, of his inheritance. His mother, clothing herself in mean apparel, put the infant in a basket, which she placed on her head, and travelled westward until she reached the town of Khogong (within five miles of the modern Jeipoor); then inhabited by the Meenas. Distressed with hunger and fatigue, she had placed her precious burden on the ground, and was plucking some wild berries, when she observed a hooded serpent rearing its form over the basket. She uttered a shriek, which attracted an itinerant Brahmin, who told her to be under no alarm, but rather to rejoice at this certain indication of future greatness in the boy. But the emaciated parent of the founder of Ambér replied, "What may be in futurity I heed not, while I am sinking with hunger"; on which the Brahmin put her in the way of Khogong, where he said her necessities would be relieved. Taking up the basket, she reached the town, which is encircled by hills, and accosting a female, who happened to be a slave of the Meena chieftain, begged any menial employment for food. By direction of the Meena Rani, she was entertained with the slaves. One day she was ordered to prepare dinner, of which Ralunsi, the Meena Raja, partook, and found it so superior to his usual fare, that he sent for the cook, who related her story. As soon as the Meena chief discovered the rank of the illustrious fugitive, he adopted her as his sister, and Dhola Raé as his nephew. When the boy had attained the age of Rajpoot manhood (fourteen), he was sent to Dehli,¹ with the tribute of Khogong, to attend instead of the Meena. The young Cuchwaha remained there five years, when he conceived the idea of usurping his benefactor's authority. Having consulted the Meena *d'hádi*,² or bard, as to the best means of executing his plan, he recommended him to take advantage of the festival of the *Déwali*, when it is customary to perform the ablutions *en masse*, in a tank. Having brought a few of his Rajpoot brethren from Dehli, he accomplished his object, filling the reservoirs in which the Meenas bathed with their dead bodies. The treacherous bard did not escape; Dhola Raé put him to death with his own hands, observing, "He who had proved unfaithful to one master, could not be trusted by another." He then took possession of Khogong. Soon after, he repaired to Deosah,³ a castle and district ruled by an independent chief of the Birgoojur tribe of Rajpoots, whose daughter he demanded in marriage. "How can this be," said the Birgoojur, "when we are both Suryavansi, and one hundred generations have not yet separated us?"⁴ But being convinced that the necessary

¹ The Tüar tribe were then supreme lords of India.

² *D'hádi*, *d'hóti*, *d'hóm*, *Jáégá*, are all terms for the bards or minstrels of the Meena tribes.

³ See Map for Deosah (written Dewnsah), on the Bangunga river, about thirty miles east of Jeipoor.

⁴ The Birgoojur tribe claims descent from Lava or Láo, the elder son of Rama.

number of descents had intervened, the nuptials took place, and as the Birgoojur had no male issue, he resigned his power to his son-in-law. With the additional means thus at his disposal, Dhola determined to subjugate the Séroh tribe of Meenas, whose chief, Rao Natto, dwelt at Mauch. Again he was victorious, and deeming his new conquest better adapted for a residence than Khogong, he transferred his infant government thither, changing the name of Mauch, in honour of his great ancestor, to Ramgurh.

Dhola subsequently married the daughter of the prince of Ajmér, whose name was Maroni. Returning on one occasion with her from visiting the shrine of Jumwáhi Mátá, the whole force of the Meenas of that region assembled, to the number of eleven thousand, to oppose his passage through their country. Dhola gave them battle: but after slaying vast numbers of his foes, he was himself killed, and his followers fled. Maroni escaped, and bore a posthumous child, who was named Kankul, and who conquered the country of Dhoondar. His son, Maidul Rao, made a conquest of Ambér from the Soosawut Meenas, the residence of their chief, named Bhatto, who had the title of Rao, and was head of the Meena confederation. He also subdued the Nandla Meenas, and added the district of Gatoor-Gatti to his territory.

Hoondeo succeeded, and, like his predecessors, continued the warfare against the Meenas. He was succeeded by Koontul, whose sway extended over all the hill-tribes round his capital. Having determined to proceed to Bhutwar, where a Chohan prince resided, in order to marry his daughter, his Meena subjects, remembering the former fatality, collected from all quarters, demanding that, if he went beyond the borders, he should leave the standards and nakarras of sovereignty in their custody. Koontul refusing to submit, a battle ensued, in which the Meenas were defeated with great slaughter, which secured his rule throughout Dhoondar.

Koontul was succeeded by Pujoon, a name well known to the chivalrous Rajpoot, and immortalised by Chund, in the poetic history (*Rásá*) of the emperor Pirthi Raj. Before, however, we proceed further, it may be convenient to give a sketch of the power and numbers of the indigenous tribes at this period.

We have already had frequent occasion to observe the tendency of the aboriginal tribes to emerge from bondage and depression, which has been seen in Méwar, Kotah, and Boondí, and is now exemplified in the rise of the Cuchwahas in Dhoondar. The original, pure, unmixed race of Meenas, Mynas, or Mainas, of Dhoondar, were styled Puchwarra, and subdivided into five grand tribes. Their original home was in the range of mountains called *Káli-kho*, extending from Ajmér nearly to the Jumna, where they erected Ambér, consecrated to *Amba*, the universal mother, or, as the Meenas style her, *Ghatta Rani*, 'Queen of the pass.' In this range was Khogong, Mauch, and many other large towns, the chief cities of communities. But even so late as Raja Baharmull Cuchwaha, the

As they trace fifty-six descents from Rama to Vicrama, and thirty-three from Raja Nala to Dhola Raé, we have only to calculate the number of generations between Vicrama and Nal, to ascertain whether Dhola's genealogist went on good grounds. It was in S. 351 that Raja Nal erected Nurwar, which, at twenty-two years to a reign, gives sixteen to be added to fifty-six, and this added to thirty-three, is equal to one hundred and five generations from Rama to Dhola Raé.

contemporary of Baber and Hemayoon, the Meenas had retained or regained great power, to the mortification of their Rajpoot superiors. One of these independent communities was at the ancient city of Naén, destroyed by Baharmull, no doubt with the aid of his Mogul connections. An old historical distich thus records the power of the Meena princes of Naén :

“ *Bawun kote chapun durwaza*
Myna murd, Naén ca Raja
Booro raj Naén ko
Jub bhoos myn bhutto mango.”

That is, “There were fifty-two strongholds,¹ and fifty-six gates belonging to the manly Myna, the Raja of Naén, whose sovereignty of Naén was extinct, when even of chaff (*bhoos*) he took a share.” If this is not an exaggeration, it would appear that, during the distractions of the first Islamite dynasties of Dehli, the Meenas had attained their primitive importance. Certainly from Pujoon, the vassal chieftain of Pirthi Raj, to Baharmull, the contemporary of Baber, the Cuchwahs had but little increased their territory. When this latter prince destroyed the Meena sovereignty of Naén, he levelled its half hundred gates, and erected the town of Lowain (now the residence of the Rajawut chief) on its ruins.

A distinction is made in the orthography and pronunciation of the designation of this race: *Myna*, or *Maina*, meaning the *asîl*, or ‘unmixed class,’ of which there is now but one, the *Oosarra*; while *Meena* is that applied to the mixed, of which they reckon *bara pâl*,² or twelve communities, descended from Rajpoot blood, as Chohan, Tūar, Jadoon, Purihar, Cuchwaha, Solanki, Sankla, Ghelote, etc., and these are subdivided into no less than five thousand two hundred distinct clans, of which it is the duty of the Jaéga, Dholi, or Dhom, their genealogists, to keep account. The unmixed Oosarra stock is now exceedingly rare, while the mixed races, spread over all the hilly and intricate regions of central and western India, boast of their descent at the expense of “legitimacy.” These facts all tend strongly to prove that the Rajpoots were conquerors, and that the mountaineers, whether Kolis, Bhils, Mynas, Goands, Sairias or Sarjas, are the indigenous inhabitants of India. This subject will be fully treated hereafter, in a separate chapter devoted to the Meena tribes, their religion, manners, and customs.

Let us return to Pujoon, the sixth in descent from the exile of Nurwar, who was deemed of sufficient consequence to obtain in marriage the sister of Pirthi Raj, the Chohan emperor of Dehli, an honour perhaps attributable to the splendour of Pujoon’s descent, added to his great personal merit. The chivalrous Chohan, who had assembled around him one hundred and eight chiefs of the highest rank in India, assigned a conspicuous place

¹ *Kote* is ‘a fortress’; but it may be applied simply to the number of *bastions* of Naén, which in the number of its gates might rival Thebes. Lowain, built on its ruins, contains three thousand houses, and has eighty-four townships dependent on it.

² *Pal* is the term for a community of any of the aboriginal mountain races; its import is a ‘defile,’ or ‘valley,’ fitted for cultivation and defence. It is probable that Poligar may be a corruption of Paligar, or the region (*gar*) of these *Pals*. Palita, Bhilita, Philita are terms used by the learned for the Bhîl tribes. Maina or Myna, Maira, Mairote, all designate mountaineers, from *Mair*, or *Mér*, a hill.

to Pujoon, who commanded a division of that monarch's armies in many of his most important battles. Pujoon twice signalised himself in invasions from the north, in one of which, when he commanded on the frontier, he defeated Shabudin in the Khyber Pass, and pursued him towards Gazni. His valour mainly contributed to the conquest of Mahoba, the country of the Chundails, of which he was left governor ; and he was one of the sixty-four chiefs who, with a chosen body of their retainers, enabled Pirthi Raj to carry off the princess of Canouj. In this service, covering the retreat of his liege lord, Pujoon lost his life, on the first of the five days' continuous battle. Pujoon was conjoined with Govind Gehlote, a chief of the Méwar house ;—both fell together. Chund, the bard, thus describes the last hours of the Cuchwaha prince : " When Govind fell, the foe danced with joy : then did Pujoon thunder on the curtain of fight : with both hands he plied the *karg* (sword) on the heads of the barbarian. Four hundred rushed upon him ; but the five brothers in arms, Kehuri, Peepa, and Boho, with Narsing and Cuchra, supported him. Spears and daggers are plied—heads roll on the plain—blood flows in streams. Pujoon assailed Itimád ; but as his head rolled at his feet, he received the Khan's lance in his breast ; the Coorma¹ fell in the field, and the Apsaras disputed for the hero. Whole lines of the northmen strew the plain : many a head did Mahadeo add to his chaplet.² When Pujoon and Govind fell, one watch of the day remained. To rescue his kin came Palhan, like a tiger loosed from his chain. The array of Canouj fell back ; the cloudlike host of Jeichund turned its head. The brother of Pujoon, with his son, performed deeds like Carna : but both fell in the field, and gained the secret of the sun, whose chariot advanced to conduct them to his mansion.

" Ganga shrunk with affright, the moon quivered, the Digpâls howled at their posts : checked was the advance of Canouj, and in the pause the Coorma performed the last rites to his sire (Pujoon), who broke in pieces the shields of Jeichund. Pujoon was a buckler to his lord, and numerous his gifts of the steel to the heroes of Canouj : not even by the bard can his deeds be described. He placed his feet on the head of *Shésnâg*, he made a waste of the forest of men, nor dared the sons of the mighty approach him. As Pujoon fell, he exclaimed, ' One hundred years are the limit of man's life, of which fifty are lost in night, and half this in childhood ; but the Almighty taught me to wield the brand.' As he spoke, even in the arms of Yama, he beheld the arm of his boy playing on the head of the foeman. His parting soul was satisfied : seven wounds from the sword had Maléś received, whose steed was covered with wounds : mighty were the deeds performed by the son of Pujoon."

This Maléś, in whose praise the bard of Pirthiraj is so lavish, succeeded (according to the chronicle) his father Pujoon in the Raj of Ambér. There is little said of him in the transcript in my possession. There are, however, abundance of traditional couplets to prove that the successors of Pujoon were not wanting in the chief duties of the Rajpoot, the exercise of his sword. One of these mentions his having gained a victory at Rootrahi over the prince of Mandoo.³

¹ *Coorma*, or *Cuchwa*, are synonymous terms, and indiscriminately applied to the Rajpoots of Ajmér ; meaning ' tortoise.'

² The chaplet of the god of war is of skulls ; his drinking-cup a semi-cranium.

³ I give this chiefly for the concluding couplet, to see how the Rajpoots applied

We shall pass over the intermediate princes from Malésí to Pirthi Raj, the eleventh in descent, with a bare enumeration of their names : namely, Malésí, Beejul, Rajdeo, Keelun, Kontul, Joonsi, Oodikurn, Nursing Bunbeer, Oodharun, Chandrasén, Pirthiraj.

Pirthiraj had seventeen sons, twelve of whom reached man's estate. To them and their successors in perpetuity he assigned appanages, styled the *bara kotri*, or 'twelve chambers' of the Cuchwaha house. The portion of each was necessarily very limited ; some of the descendants of this hereditary aristocracy now hold estates equal in magnitude to the principality itself at that period. Previous, however, to this perpetual settlement of Cuchwaha fiefs, and indeed intermediately between Malésí and Pirthiraj, a disjunction of the junior branches of the royal family took place, which led to the foundation of a power for a long time exceeding in magnitude the parent state. This was in the time of Oodikurn, whose son Baloji, left his father's house, and obtained the town and small district of Amrutsir, which in time devolved on his grandson Shekhji, and became the nucleus of an extensive and singular confederation, known by the name of the founder, Shekhavati, at this day covering an area of nearly ten thousand square miles. As this subject will be discussed in its proper place, we shall no longer dwell on it, but proceed with the posterity of Pirthiraj, amongst the few incidents of whose life is mentioned his meritorious pilgrimage to *Dewul*,¹ near the mouth of the Indus. But even this could not save him from foul assassination, and the assassin was his own son, Bheem, "whose countenance (says the chronicle) was that of a demon." The record is obscure, but it would appear that one parricide was punished by another, and that Aiskurn, the son of Bheem, was instigated by his brethren to put their father to death, and "to expiate the crime by pilgrimage."² In one list, both these monsters are enumerated amongst

the word *Khoten* to the lands beyond Cabul, where the great Raja Maun commanded as Akber's lieutenant :

" *Palhun, Pujoon jeeté,
Mahoba, Canouj lurri,
Mandoo Malési jeeté,
Rár Rootrahi ca
Raj Bhagwandas jeeté,
Mowasi lur
Raja Maun Sing jeeté,
KHOTEN jouj doobahi."*

" Palhun and Pujoon were victorious ;
Fought at Mahoba and Canouj ;
Malési conquered Mandoo ;
In the battle of Rootrahi,
Raja Bhagwandas vanquished.
In the Mowasi (fastnesses, probably, of Mewát),
Raj Maun Sing was victorious ;
Subjugating the army of KHOTEN."

¹ 'The temple' : the *Debeil* of the Mahomedan tribes : the Rajpoot seat of power of the Rajas of Sinde, when attacked by the caliphs of Bagdad.

² The chronicle says of this Aiskurn, that on his return, the king (Baber or Hemayoon) gave him the title of Raja of Nurwar. These states have continued occasionally to furnish representatives, on the extinction of the line of either. A very conspicuous instance of this occurred on the death of Raja Juggut Sing, the last prince of Ambér, who dying without issue, an intrigue was set on foot, and a son of the ex-prince of Nurwar was placed on the *gadí* of Ambér.

the "annointed" of Ambér, but they are generally omitted in the genealogical chain, doubtless from a feeling of disgust.

Baharmull was the first prince of Ambér who paid homage to the Mahomedan power. He attended the fortunes of Baber, and received from Hemayoon (previous to the Pat'han usurpation), the munsub of five thousand as Raja of Ambér.

Bhagwandas, son of Baharmull, became still more intimately allied with the Mogul dynasty. He was the friend of Akber, who saw the full value of attaching such men to his throne. By what arts or influence he overcame the scruples of the Cuchwaha Rajpoot we know not, unless by appealing to his avarice or ambition; but the name of Bhágwandas is execrated as the first who sullied Rajpoot purity by matrimonial alliance with the Islamite. His daughter espoused Prince Selim, afterwards Jehangir, and the fruit of the marriage was the unfortunate Khoosroo.¹

Maun Sing, nephew² and successor of Bhagwandas, was the most brilliant character of Akber's court. As the emperor's lieutenant, he was entrusted with the most arduous duties, and added conquests to the empire from Khoten to the ocean. Orissa was subjugated by him,³ Assam humbled and made tributary, and Cabul maintained in her allegiance. He held in succession the governments of Bengal and Behar,⁴ the Dekhan and Cabul. Raja Maun soon proved to Akber that his policy of strengthening his throne by Rajpoot alliances was not without hazard; these alliances introducing a direct influence in the state, which frequently thwarted the views of the sovereign. So powerful was it, that even Akber, in the zenith of his power, saw no other method of diminishing its force, than the execrable but common expedient of Asiatic despots—poison: it has been already related how the emperor's attempt recoiled upon him to his destruction.⁵

Akber was on his death-bed when Raja Maun commenced an intrigue to alter the succession in favour of his nephew, Prince Khoosroo, and it was probably in this predicament that the monarch had recourse to the

¹ It is pleasing to find almost all these outlines of Rajpoot history confirmed by Mahomedan writers. It was in A.H. 993 (A.D. 1586) that this marriage took place. Three generations of Cuchwahs, namely, Bhagwandas, his adopted son Raja Maun, and grandson, were all serving in the imperial army with great distinction at this time. Raja Maun, though styled *Koonwar*, or heir-apparent, is made the most conspicuous. He quelled a rebellion headed by the emperor's brother, and while Bhagwandas commanded under a prince of the blood against Cashmere, Maun Sing overcame an insurrection of the Afghans at Khyber; and his son was made viceroy of Cabul.—See Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 258, et seq.

² Bhágwandas had three brothers, Soorut Sing, Madoo Sing, and Juggut Sing; Maun Sing was son of the last.

³ Ferishta confirms this, saying he sent one hundred and twenty elephants to the king on this occasion.—Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 268.

⁴ Ferishta confirms this likewise. According to this historian, it was while Maun was yet only *Koonwar*, or heir-apparent, that he was invested with the governments of "Behar, Hajipoor, and Patna," the same year (A.D. 1589) that his uncle Bhagwandas died, and that following the birth of prince Khoosroo by the daughter of the Cuchwaha prince, an event celebrated (says Ferishta) with great rejoicings. See Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 261. Col. Briggs has allowed the similarity of the names *Khoosroo* and *Khoorum* to betray him into a slight error, in a note on the former prince. It was not Khoosroo, but Khoorum, who succeeded his father Jehangir, and was father to the monster Arungzeb (note, p. 261). Khoosroo was put to death by Khoorum, afterwards Shah Jehan.

⁵ *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 279.

only safe policy, that of seeing the crown fixed on the head of Selim, afterwards Jehangír. The conspiracy for the time was quashed, and Raja Maun was sent to the government of Bengal ; but it broke out again, and ended in the perpetual imprisonment of Khoosroo,¹ and a dreadful death to his adherents. Raja Maun was too wise to identify himself with the rebellion, though he stimulated his nephew, and he was too powerful to be openly punished, being at the head of twenty thousand Rajpoots ; but the native chronicle mentions that he was amerced by Jehangír in the incredible sum of *ten crores*, or millions sterling. According to the Mahomedan historian, Raja Maun died in Bengal,² A.H. 1024 (A.D. 1615) ; while the chronicle says he was slain in an expedition against the Khiljí tribe in the north, two years later.³

Rao Bhão Sing succeeded his father, and was invested by the emperor with the *Punj-hazari*, or dignity of a legionary chief of five thousand. He was of weak intellect, and ruled a few years without distinction. He died in A.H. 1030 of excessive drinking.

Maha succeeded, and in like manner died from dissipated habits. These unworthy successors of Raja Maun allowed the princes of Jodpóor to take the lead at the imperial court. At the instigation of the celebrated Joda Baé (daughter of Rae Sing of Bikanér), the Rajpootní wife of Jehangír, Jey Sing, grandson of Juggut Sing (brother of Maun), was raised to the throne of Ambér, to the no small jealousy, says the chronicle, of the favourite queen, Noor Jehan. It relates that the succession was settled by the emperor and the Rajpootní in a conference at the balcony of the seraglio, where the emperor saluted the youth below as Raja of Ambér, and commanded him to make his salaam to Joda Baé, as the source of this honour. But the customs of Rajwarra could not be broken : it was contrary to etiquette for a Rajpoot chief to salaam, and he replied : " I will do this to any lady of your majesty's family, but not to Joda Baé " ; upon which she good-naturedly laughed, and called out, " It matters not ; I give you the raj of Ambér."

Jey Sing, the Mirza Raja, the title by which he is best known, restored by his conduct the renown of the Cuchwaha name, which had been tarnished by the two unworthy successors of Raja Maun. He performed great services to the empire during the reign of Arungzéb, who bestowed upon him the *munsab* of six thousand. He made prisoner the celebrated Sévaji, whom he conveyed to court, and afterwards, on finding that his pledge of safety was likely to be broken, was accessary to his liberation. But this instance of magnanimity was more than counterbalanced by his treachery to Dara, in the war of succession, which crushed the hopes of that brave prince. These acts, and their consequences, produced an unconquerable haughtiness of demeanour, which determined the tyrannical Arungzéb to destroy him. The chronicle says he had twenty-two thousand Rajpoot cavalry at his disposal, and twenty-two great vassal chiefs, who commanded under him ; that he would sit with them in *darbar*, holding two glasses, one of which he called Dehli, the other Satarra, and dashing one to the

¹ He was afterwards assassinated by order of Shah Jehan. See Dow's *Ferishta*, vol. iii. chap. i. p. 63.

² Dow, vol. iii. p. 46 ; the chronicle says in S. 1699, or A.D. 1613.

³ An account of the life of Raja Maun would fill a volume ; there are ample materials at Jeipoor.

ground, would exclaim, "There goes Satarra; the fate of Dehli is in my right hand, and this with like facility I can cast away." These vaunts reaching the emperor's ear, he had recourse to the same diabolical expedient which ruined Marwar, of making a son the assassin of his father. He promised the succession to the *gadi* of Ambér to Keerut Sing, younger son of the Raja, to the prejudice of his elder brother Ram Sing, if he effected the horrid deed. The wretch having perpetrated the crime by mixing poison in his father's opium, returned to claim the investiture: but the king only gave him the district of Kamah. From this period, says the chronicle, Ambér declined.

Ram Sing, who succeeded, had the *munsib* of four thousand conferred upon him, and was sent against the Assamese. Upon his death, Bishen Sing, whose *munsib* was further reduced to the grade of three thousand, succeeded; but he enjoyed the dignity only a short period.

CHAPTER II

Sowae Jey Sing succeeds—Joins the party of Azim Shah—Ambér sequestered—Jey Sing expels the imperial garrison—His character—His astronomical knowledge—His conduct during the troubles of the empire—Anecdote illustrative of the evils of polygamy—Limits of the *raj* of Ambér at the accession of Jey Sing—The new city of Jeipoor—Conquest of Rajore and Deoti—Incidents illustrative of Rajpoot character—Jey Sing's habit of inebriation—The virtues of his character—Contemplates the rite of *Aswamedha*—Dispersion of his valuable manuscripts—His death—Some of his wives and concubines become *satīs* on his pyre.

Jey II., better known by the title of Sowae Jey Sing, in contradistinction to the first prince of this name, entitled the "Mirza Raja," succeeded in S. 1755 (A.D. 1699), in the forty-fourth year of Arungzéb's reign, and within six years of that monarch's death. He served with distinction in the Dekhan, and in the war of succession attached himself to the prince Bedar Bukl, son of Azim Shah, declared successor of Arungzéb; and with these he fought the battle of Dholpoor, which ended in their death and the elevation of Shah Alum Bahadoor Shah. For this opposition Ambér was sequestered, and an imperial governor sent to take possession; but Jey Sing entered his estates, sword in hand, drove out the king's garrisons, and formed a league with Ajft Sing of Marwar for their mutual preservation.

It would be tedious to pursue this celebrated Rajpoot through his desultory military career during the forty-four years he occupied the *gadi* of Ambér; enough is already known of it from its combination with the Annals of Méwar and Boondi, of which house he was the implacable foe. Although Jey Sing mixed in all the troubles and warfare of this long period of anarchy, when the throne of Timoor was rapidly crumbling into dust, his reputation as a soldier would never have handed down his name with honour to posterity; on the contrary, his courage had none of the fire which is requisite to make a Rajpoot hero; though his talents for civil government and court intrigue, in which he was the Machiavelli of his day, were at that period far more notable auxiliaries.

As a statesman, legislator, and man of science, the character of Sowae

year following, by Godin. His general accuracy was further put to the test in A.D. 1793 by our scientific countryman, Dr. W. Hunter, who compared a series of observations on the latitude of Oojein with that established by the Rajpoot prince. The difference was $24''$; and Dr. Hunter does not depend on his own observations within $15''$. Jey Sing made the latitude $23^{\circ} 10' N.$; Dr. Hunter, $23^{\circ} 10' 24'' N.$

From the results of his varied observations, Jey Sing drew up a set of tables, which he entitled *Zej Mahomedshahi*, dedicated to that monarch; by these, all astronomical computations are yet made, and almanacks constructed. It would be wrong—while considering these labours of a prince who caused Euclid's Elements, the treatises on plain and spherical trigonometry, '*Don Juan*,' Napier on the construction and use of logarithms, to be translated into Sanscrit—to omit noticing the high strain of devotion with which he views the wonders of the "Supreme Artificer"; recalling the line of one of our own best poets:

"An undevout astronomer is mad."

The Rajpoot prince thus opens his preface: "Praise be to God, such that the minutely discerning genius of the most profound geometers, in uttering the smallest particle of it, may open the mouth in confession of inability; and such adoration, that the study and accuracy of astronomers, who measure the heavens, may acknowledge their astonishment, and utter insufficiency! Let us devote ourselves at the altar of the King of Kings, hallowed be his name! in the book of the register of whose power the lofty orbs of heaven are only a few leaves; and the stars, and that heavenly courser the sun, small pieces of money, in the treasury of the empire of the Most High.

"From inability to comprehend the all-encompassing beneficence of his power, HIPPARCHUS is an ignorant clown, who wrings the hands of vexation; and in the contemplation of his exalted majesty, PROLEMY is a bat, who can never arrive at the sun of truth: the demonstrations of EUCLID are an imperfect sketch of the forms of his contrivance.

"But since the well-wisher of the works of creation, and the admiring spectator of the works of infinite wisdom, SEVAI JEY SING, from the first dawning of reason in his mind, and during its progress towards maturity, was entirely devoted to the study of mathematical science, and the bent of his mind was constantly directed to the solution of its most difficult problems; by the aid of the Supreme Artificer, he obtained a thorough knowledge of its principles and rules," etc.¹

¹ See "Account of the Astronomical Labours of Jya Sing, Raja of Ambér," by Dr. W. Hunter (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 177), to whom I refer the reader for the description of the instruments used by the Raja. The author has seen those at Dehli and Mat'hura. There is also an equinoctial dial constructed on the terrace of the palace of Oodipoor, and various instruments at Kotah and Boondl, especially an armillary sphere, at the former, of about five feet diameter, all in brass, got up under the scholars of Jey Sing.

Dr. Hunter gives a most interesting account of a young pundit, whom he found at Oojein, the grandson of one of the coadjutors of Jey Sing, who held the office of *Jyotish-Rae*, or Astronomer-Royal, and an estate of five thousand rupees annual rent, both of which (title and estate) descended to this young man: but science fled with Jey Sing, and the barbarian Mahrattas had rendered his estate desolate and unproductive. He possessed, says Dr. H., a thorough acquaintance with the Hindu astronomical science contained in the various *Siddhantas*, and

Besides the construction of these objects of science, he erected, at his own expense, *caravanserais* for the free use of travellers in many of the provinces. How far vanity may have mingled with benevolence in this act (by no means uncommon in India), it were uncharitable to inquire: for the Hindu not only prays for all those "who travel by land or by water," but aids the traveller by *serais* or inns, and wells dug at his own expense, and in most capitals and cities, under the ancient princes, there were public charities for necessitous travellers, at which they had their meals, and then passed on.

When we consider that Jey Sing carried on his favourite pursuits in the midst of perpetual wars and court intrigues, from whose debasing influence he escaped not untainted; when amidst revolution, the destruction of the empire, and the meteoric rise of the Mahrattas, he not only steered through the dangers, but elevated Ambér above all the principalities around, we must admit that he was an extraordinary man. Aware of the approaching downfall of the Mogul empire, and determined to aggrandise Ambér from the wreck, he was, nevertheless, not unfaithful to his lord-paramount; for, on the conspiracy which deprived Ferochsér of empire and of life, Jey Sing was one of the few princes who retained their fidelity, and would have stood by him to the last, if he had possessed a particle of the valour which belonged to the descendants of Timoor.¹

Enough has been said of his public life, in that portion of the Annals of Méwar with which he was so closely connected, both by political and family ties. The Syeds, who succeeded to power on the murder of their sovereign Ferochsér, were too wise to raise enemies unnecessarily; and Jey Sing, when he left the unhappy monarch to his fate, retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to his favourite pursuits, astronomy and history. He appears to have enjoyed three years of uninterrupted quiet, taking no part in the struggles, which terminated, in A.D. 1721, with Mahomed Shah's defeat of his rivals, and the destruction of the Syeds. At this period, Jey Sing was called from his philosophical pursuits, and appointed the king's lieutenant for the provinces of Agra and Malwa in succession: and it was during this interval of comparative repose, that he erected those monuments which irradiate this dark epoch of the history of India.² Nor was he blind to the interests of his nation or the honour of Ambér, and his important office was made subservient to obtaining the repeal of that disgraceful edict, the *jezeya*, and authority to repress the infant power of the Jats, long a thorn in the side of Ambér. But when, in A.D. 1732, the Raja, once more lieutenant for Malwa, saw that it was in vain to attempt to check the Mahratta invasion, or to prevent the partition of the empire, he deemed himself justified in consulting the

that not confined to the mechanical practice of rules, but founded on a geometrical knowledge of their demonstration. This inheritor of the mantle of Jey Sing died at Jeipoor, soon after Dr. Hunter left Oojein, in A.D. 1793.

¹ Scott, in his excellent history of the successors of Arungzéb, gives a full account of this tragical event, on which I have already touched in vol. i. p. 324 of this work; where I have given a literal translation of the autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing on the occasion.

² The Raja says he finished his tables in A.D. 1728, and that he had occupied himself seven years previously in the necessary observations; in fact, the first quiet years of Mahomed Shah's reign, or indeed that India had known for centuries.

welfare of his own house. We know not what terms Jey Sing entered into with the Mahratta leader, Bajirow, who, by his influence was appointed Soobadar of Malwa ; we may, however, imagine it was from some more powerful stimulant than the native historian of this period assigns, namely, "a similarity of religion." By this conduct, Jey Sing is said emphatically, by his own countrymen, to have given the key of Hindusthan to the Southron. The influence his character obtained, however, with the Mahrattas was even useful to his sovereign, for by it he retarded their excesses, which at length reached the capital. In a few years more (A.D. 1739), Nadir Shah's invasion took place, and the Rajpoots, wisely alive to their own interests, remained aloof from a cause which neither valour nor wisdom could longer serve. They respected the emperor, but the system of government had long alienated these gallant supporters of the throne. We may exemplify the trials to which Rajpoot fidelity was exposed, by one of "the hundred and nine deeds of Jey Sing," which will at the same time serve further to illustrate the position, that half the political and moral evils which have vexed the royal houses of Rajpootana, take their rise from polygamy.

Mahraja Bishen Sing had two sons, Jey Sing and Beejy Sing. The mother of Beejy Sing, doubtful of his safety, sent him to her own family in Keechiwarra. When he had attained man's estate, he was sent to court, and by bribes, chiefly of jewels presented by his mother, he obtained the patronage of Kumurodín Khan, the vizier. At first his ambition was limited to the demand of Busswa, one of the most fertile districts of Ambér, as an appanage ; which being acceded to by his brother and sovereign, Jey Sing, he was stimulated by his mother to make still higher demands, and to offer the sum of five crore of rupees and a contingent of five thousand horse, if he might supplant his brother on the throne of Ambér. The vizier mentioned it to the emperor, who asked what security he had for the fulfilment of the contract ; the vizier offered his own guarantee, and the *sunnuds* of Ambér were actually preparing, which were thus to unseat Jey Sing, when his *pugri budul bhâe*, Khandoran Khan, informed Kirparam, the Jeipoor envoy at court, of what was going on. The intelligence produced consternation at Ambér, since Kumurodín was all-powerful. Jey Sing's dejection became manifest on reading the letter, and he handed it to the confidential nazir, who remarked, "it was an affair in which force could not be used, in which *wealth* was useless, and which must be decided by *stratagem*¹ alone ; and that the conspiracy could be defeated only through the conspirator." At the Nazir's recommendation he convened his principal chiefs, Mohun Sing, chief of the Nat'hawuts ;² Deep Sing, Khombani, of Bhansko ; Zoorawur Sing, Seoburunpota ; Himmât Sing, Narooka ; Koosul Sing of Jhulaye ; Bhojraj of Mozabad, and Futteh Sing of Mâoli ; and thus addressed them on the difficulties of his position : "You placed me on the *gadî* of Ambér ; and my brother, who would be

¹ The Nazir is here harping on *three* of the *four* predicaments which (borrowed originally from Menu, and repeated by the great Rajpoot oracle, the bard Chund) govern all human events, *shâm, dâm, bhêd, dind*, 'arguments, gifts, stratagem, force.'

² He is the hereditary premier noble of this house (as is Saloombra of Mēwar, and the Ahwa chief of Marwar), and is familiarly called the '*Patél of Ambér*.' His residence is Chomoo, which is the place of rendezvous of the feudality of Ambér, whenever they league against the sovereign.

satisfied with Busswa, has Ambér forced upon him by the Nawub Kumurodín." They advised him to be of good cheer, and they would manage the affair, provided he was sincere in assigning Busswa to his brother. He made out the grant at the moment, ratified it with an oath, and presented it with full powers to the chiefs to act for him. The *Panch* (council) of Ambér sent their ministers to Beejy Sing, provided with all the necessary arguments; but the prince replied, he had no confidence in the promises or protestations of his brother. For themselves, and in the name of the *barah kotri Ambér ca* (the twelve great families), they gave their '*seetaram*,' or security; adding that if Jey Sing swerved from his engagements, they were his, and would themselves place him on the *gadî* of Ambér.

He accepted their interposition and the grant, which being explained to his patron, he was by no means satisfied; nevertheless he ordered Khandoran and Kirparam to accompany him, to see him inducted in his new appanage of Busswa. The chiefs, anxious to reconcile the brothers, obtained Beejy Sing's assent to a meeting, and as he declined going to Ambér, Chomoo was proposed and agreed to, but was afterwards changed to the town of Sanganaïr, six miles south-west of Jeipoor, where Beejy Sing pitched his tents. As Jey Sing was quitting the *darbar* to give his brother the meeting, the Nazir entered with a message from the queen-mother, to know, "why her eyes should not be blessed with witnessing the meeting and reconciliation of the two *Laljis*." ¹ The Raja referred the request to the chiefs, who said there could be no objection.

The Nazir prepared the *mahadole*, with three hundred chariots for the females; but instead of the royal litter containing the queen-mother, it was occupied by Oogur Sén, the Bhatti chief, and each covered chariot contained two chosen *Sillehposhians*, or men at arms. Not a soul but the Nazir and his master were aware of the treachery. The procession left the capital; money was scattered with profusion by the attendants of the supposed queen-mother, to the people who thronged the highways, rejoicing at the approaching conclusion of these fraternal feuds.

A messenger having brought the intelligence that the queen-mother had arrived at the palace of Sanganaïr, the Raja and his chiefs mounted to join her. The brothers first met and embraced, when Jey Sing presented the grant of Busswa, saying, with some warmth, that if his brother preferred ruling at Ambér, he would abandon his birthright and take Busswa. Beejy Sing, overcome with this kindness, replied, that "all his wants were satisfied." When the time to separate had arrived, the Nazir came into the court with a message from the queen-mother, to say, that if the chiefs would withdraw she would come and see her children, or that they might come to her apartment. Jey Sing referred his mother's wish to the chiefs, saying he had no will but theirs. Having advised the brothers to wait on the queen-mother, they proceeded hand in hand to the interior of the *mahl*. When arrived at the door, Jey Sing, taking his dagger from his girdle, delivered it to an eunuch, saying, "What occasion for this here?" and Beejy Sing, not to be outdone in confidence, followed his example. As the Nazir closed the door, Beejy Sing found himself, not in the embrace of the queen-mother, but in the iron grip of the gigantic Bhatti, who instantly bound him hand and foot, and placing him

¹ *Lalji* is an epithet of endearment used by all classes of Hindus towards their children, from the Sanscrit *lālā*.

in the *mahadole*, the mock female procession with their prisoner returned to Ambér. In an hour, tidings were conveyed to Jey Sing of the prisoner being safely lodged in the castle, when he rejoined the conclave of his chiefs; who on seeing him enter alone, attended by some of the 'men at arms,' stared at each other, and asked "What had become of Beejy Sing?"—" *Humará pait myn*," 'in my belly!' was the reply. "We are both the sons of Bishen Sing, and I the eldest. If it is your wish that he should rule, then slay me and bring him forth. For you I have forfeited my faith, for should Beejy Sing have introduced, as he assuredly would; your enemies and mine, you must have perished." Hearing this, the chiefs were amazed; but there was no remedy, and they left the palace in silence. Outside were encamped six thousand imperial horse, furnished by the vizier as the escort of Beejy Sing, whose commander demanded what had become of their trust. Jey Sing replied, "It was no affair of theirs," and desired them to be gone, "or he would request their horses of them." They had no alternative but to retrace their steps, and thus was Beejy Sing made prisoner."¹

Whatever opinion the moralist may attach to this specimen of "the hundred and nine *goon*" of the royal astronomer of Ambér, which might rather be styled *goona*² (vice) than *goon* (virtue), no one will deny that it was done in a most masterly manner, and where *chul* or stratagem is a necessary expedient, did honour to the talents of Jey Sing and the Nazir, who alone, says the narrative, were accessary to the plot. In this instance, moreover, it was perfectly justifiable; for with the means and influence of the vizier to support him, Beejy Sing must, sooner or later, have supplanted his brother. The fate of Beejy Sing is not stated.

The Cuchwaha state, as well as its capital, owes everything to Jey Sing: before his time, it had little political weight beyond that which it acquired from the personal character of its princes, and their estimation at the Mogul court. Yet, notwithstanding the intimate connection which existed between the Ambér Rajas and the imperial family, from Baber to Arungzéb, their patrimonial estates had been very little enlarged since Pujoon, the contemporary of the last Rajpoot emperor of Dehli. Nor was it till the troubles which ensued on the demise of Arungzéb, when the empire was eventually partitioned, that Ambér was entitled to the name of a *raj*. During those troubles, Jey Sing's power as the king's lieutenant in Agra, which embraced his hereditary domains, gave him ample opportunity to enlarge and consolidate his territory. The manner in which he possessed himself of the independent districts of Deoti and Rajore, affords an additional insight into the national character, and that of this prince.

At the accession of Jey Sing, the *raj* of Ambér consisted only of the three *pergunnas* or districts of Ambér, Deosah, and Bussao; the western tracts had been sequestrated, and added to the royal domains attached to Ajmér. The Shekhavati confederation was superior to, and independent of, the parent state, whose boundaries were as follows. The royal *t'hanna* (garrison) of Chatsoo, to the south; those of Sambhur to the west, and Hastinah to the north-west; while to the east, Deosah and Bussao formed

¹ I have made a *verbatim* translation of this *goon*.

² This is a singular instance of making the privative an affix instead of prefix; *a-goön*, 'without virtue,' would be the common form.

its frontier. The *kotribunds*, as they denominate the twelve great feudalities, possessed but very slender domains, and were held cheap by the great vassals of Méwar, of whom the Saloombra chief was esteemed, even by the first Peshwa, as the equal of the prince of the Cuchwahas.

Rajore was a city of great antiquity, the capital of a petty state called Deoti, ruled by a chief of the Birgoojur tribe, descended, like the Cuchwahas, from Rama, but through Láo, the elder son. The Birgoojurs of Rajore had obtained celebrity amongst the more modern Rajpoots, by their invincible repugnance to matrimonial alliance with the Mahomedans; and while the Cuchwahas set the degrading example, and by so doing eventually raised themselves to affluence, the Birgoojur 'conquered renown in the song of the bard,' by performing the *saka* in defence of his honour. While, therefore, Sowae Jey Sing ruled as a viceroy over kingdoms, the Birgoojur was serving with his contingent with the *Byeesé*, and at the period in question, in Anópsheher, on the Ganges. When absent on duty, the safety of Rajore depended on his younger brother. One day, while preparing for the chase of the wild boar, he became so impatient for his dinner, that his sister-in-law remarked, "One would suppose you were going to throw a lance at Jey Sing, you are in such a hurry." This was touching a tender subject, for it will be recollected that the first territory in the plains obtained by the Cuchwahas, on their migration from Nurwar, was Deosah, a Birgoojur possession. "By *Thakoor-ji* (the Lord), I shall do so, ere I eat from your hands again," was the fierce reply. With ten horsemen he left Rajore, and took post under the *dhoolkote*, or 'mud walls,' of Ambér. But weeks and months fled ere he found an opportunity to execute his threat; he gradually sold all his horses, and was obliged to dismiss his attendants. Still he lingered, and sold his clothes, and all his arms, except his spear; he had been three days without food, when he sold half his turban for a meal. That day, Jey Sing left the castle by the road called *mora*, a circuitous path to avoid a hill. He was in his *sook'hásun*; ¹ as he passed, a spear was delivered, which lodged in the corner of the litter. A hundred swords flew out to slay the assassin; but the Raja called aloud to take him alive, and carry him to Ambér. When brought before him and asked who he was, and the cause of such an act, he boldly replied, "I am the Deoti Birgoojur, and threw the spear at you merely from some words with my *Bhábee*; either kill or release me." He related how long he had lain in wait for him, and added, that "had he not been four days without food, the spear would have done its duty." Jey Sing, with politic magnanimity, freed him from restraint, gave him a horse and dress of honour (*khélat*), and sent him, escorted by fifty horse, in safety to Rajore. Having told his adventure to his sister-in-law, she replied, "You have wounded the envenomed snake, and have *given water* to the state of Rajore." She knew that a pretext alone was wanting to Jey Sing, and this was now unhappily given. With the advice of the *elders*, the females and children were sent to the Raja at Anópsheher, ² and the castles of Deoti and Rajore were prepared for the storm.

On the third day after the occurrence, Jey Sing, in a full meeting of his chiefs, related the circumstance, and held out the *beerá* against Deoti;

¹ A litter, literally 'seat (*asun*) of ease (*sook'h*).'

² The descendants of this chieftain still occupy lands at Anópsheher.

but Mohun Sing of Chomoo warned his prince of the risk of such an attempt, as the Birgoojur chief was not only estimated at court, but then served with his contingent. This opinion of the chief noble of Ambér alarmed the assembly, and none were eager to seek the dangerous distinction. A month passed, and war against Deoti was again proposed; but none of the *Kotribunds* seeming inclined to oppose the opinion of their ostensible head, Futtch Sing Bunbeerpota, the chieftain of one hundred and fifty vassals, accepted the *beera*, when five thousand horse were ordered to assemble under his command. Hearing that the Birgoojur had left Rajore to celebrate the festival of Gungore, he moved towards him, sending on some messengers with "the compliments of Futtch Sing Bunbeerpota, and that he was at hand." The young Birgoojur who, little expecting any hostile visitation, was indulging during this festive season, put the heralds to death, and with his companions, completely taken by surprise, was in turn cut to pieces by the Jeipoor troops. The Rani of Rajore was the sister of the Cuchwaha chief of Chomoo: she was about giving a pledge of affection to her absent lord, when Rajore was surprised and taken. Addressing the victor, Futtch Sing, she said, "Brother, give me the gift (*dan*) of my womb"; but suddenly recollecting that her own unwise speech had occasioned this loss of her child's inheritance, exclaiming, "Why should I preserve life to engender feuds?" she sheathed a dagger in her bosom and expired. The heads of the vanquished Birgoojurs were tied up in handkerchiefs, and suspending them from their saddle-horses, the victors returned to their prince, who sent for that of his intended assassin, the young Birgoojur chieftain. As soon as Mohun Sing recognised the features of his kinsman, the tears poured down his face. Jey Sing, recollecting the advice of this, the first noble of his court, which delayed his revenge a whole month, called his grief treason, and upbraided him, saying, "When the spear was levelled for my destruction, no tear fell." He sequestered Chomoo, and banished him from Dhoondar: the chief found refuge with the Rana at Oodipoor. "Thus (says the manuscript), did Jey Sing dispossess the Birgoojur of Deoti and Rajore, which were added to his dominions: they embraced all the tract now called Macherri."¹

Amongst the foibles of Jey Sing's character was his partiality to "strong drink." What this beverage was, whether the juice of the *madhu* (mead), or the essence (*arac*) of rice, the traditional chronicles of Ambér do not declare, though they mention frequent appeals from Jey Sing drunk, to Jey Sing sober; one anecdote has already been related.²

In spite of his many defects, Jey Sing's name is destined to descend to posterity as one of the most remarkable men of his age and nation.

Until Jey Sing's time, the palace of Ambér, built by the great Raja Maun, inferior to many private houses in the new city, was the chief royal residence. The Mirza Raja made several additions to it, but these were trifles compared with the edifice added³ by Sowaé Jey Sing, which

¹ Rajore is esteemed a place of great antiquity, and the chief seat of the Birgoojur tribe for ages, a tribe mentioned with high respect in the works of the bard Chund, and celebrated in the wars of Pirthiraj. I sent a party to Rajore in 1813.

² Annals of Marwar, p. 84.

³ The manuscript says, "On the spot where the first Jey Sing erected the three *mahls*, and excavated the tank called the *Talkatora*, he erected other edifices." As Hindu princes never throw down the works of their predecessors, this means that he added greatly to the old palace.

has made the residence of the Cuchwaha princes as celebrated as those of Boondi or Oodipoor, or, to borrow a more appropriate comparison, the Kremlin at Moscow. It was in S. 1784 (A.D. 1728) that he laid the foundation of Jeipoor. Raja Mull was the *mosaheb*, Kirparam the stationary vakeel at Dehli, and Boodh Sing Khombani, with the *oordoo*, or royal camp, in the Dekhan: all eminent men. The position he chose for the new capital enabled him to connect it with the ancient castle of Ambér, situated upon a peak at the apex of the re-entering angle of the range called *Khali-kho*; a strong circumvallation enclosed the gorge of the mountain, and was carried over the crest of the hills, on either side, to unite with the castle, whilst all the adjoining passes were strongly fortified.

The sumptuary laws which he endeavoured to establish throughout Rajpootana for the regulation of marriages, in order to check those lavish expenses that led to infanticide and *satis*, will be again called forth when the time is ripe for the abolition of all such unhallowed acts. For this end, search should be made for the historical legends called the 'hundred and nine acts,' in the archives of Jeipoor, to which ready access could be obtained, and which should be ransacked for all the traces of this great man's mind.¹ Like all Hindus, he was tolerant; and a Brahmin, a Mahomedan, or a Jain, were alike certain of patronage. The Jains enjoyed his peculiar estimation, from the superiority of their knowledge, and he is said to have been thoroughly conversant both in their doctrines and their histories. Vidhyadhur, one of his chief coadjutors in his astronomical pursuits, and whose genius planned the city of Jeipoor, was a Jain, and claimed spiritual descent from the celebrated Hemacharya, of Nehrvalla, minister and spiritual guide of his namesake, the great Sidraj Jey Sing.²

Amongst the vanities of the founder of Ambér, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the *aswamedha yûga*, or 'sacrifice of the horse,' a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation must have informed him had entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janmeja the Pandu, to Jeichund, the last Rajpoot monarch of Canouj. It was a virtual assumption of universal supremacy; and although, perhaps, in virtue of his office, as the satrap of Dehli, the horse dedicated to the sun might have wandered unmolested on the banks of the Ganges, he would most assuredly have found his way into a Rahtore stable had he roamed in the direction of the desert: or at the risk both of *jeva* and *gadi* (life and throne), the Hara would have seized him, had he fancied the pastures of the Chumbul.³ He erected a sacrificial hall of much beauty and splendour, whose columns and ceilings were covered with plates of silver; nor is it improbable that the steed, emblematic of *Surya*, may have been led round the hall, and afterwards sacrificed to the solar divinity. The *Yugsala* of Jey Sing, one of the great ornaments of the city, was, however, stripped of its rich decoration by his profligate descendant, the late Juggut Sing, who had not the grace even of Rehoboam, to replace

¹ By such researches we should in all probability recover those sketches of ancient history of the various dynasties of Rajpootana, which he is said to have collected with great pains and labour, and the genealogies of the old races, under the titles of *Rajavali* and *Raj Taringini*: besides, the astronomical works, either original or translations, such as were collected by Jey Sing, would be a real gift to science.

² He ruled from S. 1150 to S. 1201, A.D. 1094-1145.

³ See vol. i. p. 63, for a description of the rite of *Aswamedha*.

them with inferior ornaments ; and the noble treasures of learning which Jey Sing had collected from every quarter, the accumulated results of his own research and that of his predecessors, were divided into two portions, and one-half was given to a common prostitute, the favourite of the day. The most remarkable MSS. were, till lately, hawking about Jeipoor.

Sowaé Jey Sing died in S. 1799 (A.D. 1743), having ruled forty-four years. Three of his wives and several concubines ascended his funeral pyre, on which science expired with him.

CHAPTER III

The Rajpoot league—Aggrandisement of Ambér—Eesuri Sing succeeds—Intestine troubles produced by polygamy—Madhú Sing—The Jâts—Their Rajas—Violation of the Ambér territory by the Jâts—Battle—Rise of Macherri—Decline of the Cuchwaha power after the death of Madhú Sing—Pirthi Sing—Pertap Sing—Intrigues at his court—The stratagems of Khooshialiram, and the Macherri chief—Death of Feeroz the *feelban*, paramour of the Pat-Ranf—Broils with the Mahrattas—Pertap attains majority, and gains the victory of Tonga—His difficulties—Exactions of the Mahrattas—Juggut Sing—His follies and despicable character—Makes Ras-caphoor, his concubine, queen of half Ambér—Project to depose him prevented by a timely sacrifice—Mohun Sing elected his successor.

THE league formed at this time by the three chief powers of Rajpootana has already been noticed in the annals of Méwar. It was one of self-preservation ; and while the Rahtores added to Marwar from Guzzerat, the Cuchwahas consolidated all the districts in their neighbourhood under Ambér. The Shekhavati federation was compelled to become tributary, and but for the rise of the Jâts, the state of Jeipoor would have extended from the lake of Sambhur to the Jumna.

Eesuri Sing succeeded to a well-defined territory, heaps of treasure, an efficient ministry, and a good army ; but the seeds of destruction lurked in the social edifice so lately raised, and polygamy was again the immediate agent. Eesuri Sing was the successor of Jey Sing, according to the fixed laws of primogeniture ; but Madhú Sing, a younger son, born of a princess of Méwar, possessed conventional rights which vitiated those of birth. These have already been discussed, as well as their disastrous issue to the unfortunate Eesuri Sing, who was not calculated for the times, being totally deficient in that nervous energy of character, without which a Rajpoot prince can enforce no respect. His conduct on the Abdalli invasion admitted the construction of cowardice, though his retreat from the field of battle, when the commander-in-chief, Kumurodín Khan, was killed, might have been ascribed to political motives, were it not recorded that his own wife received him with gibes and reproaches. There is every appearance of Jey Sing having repented of his engagement on obtaining the hand of the Seesodia princess, namely, that her issue should succeed, as he had in his lifetime given an appanage unusually large to Madhú Sing, namely, the four pergunnahs of Tonk, Rampoor, Phaggi, and Malpoora. The Rana also, who supported his nephew's claims, assigned to him the rich fief of

Rampoora Bhanpoora in Méwar, which as well as Tonk Rampoora, constituting a petty sovereignty, were, with eighty-four lakhs (£840,000 sterling), eventually made over to Holcar for supporting his claims to the 'cushion' of Jeipoor. The consequence of this barbarous intervention in the international quarrels of the Rajpoots annihilated the certain prospect they had of national independence, on the breaking up of the empire, and subjected them to a thralldom still more degrading, from which a change of redemption is now offered to them.

Madhú Sing, on his accession, displayed great vigour of mind, and though faithful to his engagements, he soon showed the Mahrattas he would admit of no protracted interference in his affairs; and had not the rising power of the Jâts distracted his attention and divided his resources, he would, had his life been prolonged, in conjunction with the Rahtores, have completely humbled their power. But this near enemy embarrassed all his plans. Although the history of the Jâts is now well known, it may not be impertinent shortly to commemorate the rise of a power, which, from a rustic condition, in little more than half a century was able to baffle the armies of Britain, led by the most popular commander it ever had in the East; for till the siege of Bhurtpore the name of Lake was always coupled with victory.

The Jâts¹ are a branch of the great Getic race, of which enough has been said in various parts of this work. Though reduced from the rank they once had amongst the 'thirty-six royal races,' they appear never to have renounced the love of independence, which they contested with Cyrus in their original haunts in Sogdiana. The name of the Cincinnatus of the Jâts, who abandoned his plough to lead his countrymen against their tyrants, was Chooramun. Taking advantage of the sanguinary civil wars amongst the successors of Arungzéb, they erected petty castles in the villages (whose lands they cultivated) of Thoon and Sinsini, and soon obtained the distinction of *kuzzáks*, or 'robbers,' a title which they were not slow to merit, by their inroads as far as the royal abode of Ferochsér. The Syeds, then in power, commanded Jey Sing of Ambér to attack them in their strongholds, and Thoon and Sinsini were simultaneously invested. But the Jâts, even in the very infancy of their power, evinced the same obstinate skill in defending mud walls, which in later times gained them so much celebrity. The royal astronomer of Ambér was foiled, and after twelve months of toil, was ingloriously compelled to raise both sieges.

Not long after this event, Buddun Sing, the younger brother of Chooramun, and a joint proprietor of the land, was for some misconduct placed in restraint, and had remained so for some years, when, through the intercession of Jey Sing and the guarantee of the other Bhomia Jâts, he was liberated. His first act was to fly to Ambér, and to bring its prince, at the head of an army, to invest Thoon, which, after a gallant defence of six months, surrendered and was razed to the ground. Chooramun and his son, Mohkum Sing, effected their escape, and Buddun Sing was proclaimed chief of the Jâts, and installed, as Raja, by Jey Sing, in the town of Deeg, destined also in after times to have its share of fame.

Buddun Sing had a numerous progeny, and four of his sons obtained

¹ It has been seen how the Yadu-Bhatti princes, when they fell from their rank of Rajpoots, assumed that of Jíts, or Jâts, who are assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit or Gete races. See p. 180.

notoriety, namely, Soorajmull, Subharam, Pertap Sing, and Beernarain. Buddun Sing subjected several of the royal districts to his authority. He abdicated his power in favour of his elder son, Soorajmull, having in the first instance assigned the district of Wayr, on which he had constructed a fort, to his son Pertap.

Soorajmull inherited all the turbulence and energy requisite to carry on the plans of his predecessors. His first act was to dispossess a relative, named Kaima, of the castle of Bhurtpoor, afterwards the celebrated capital of the Jâts. In the year S. 1820 (A.D. 1764), Soorajmull carried his audacity so far as to make an attempt upon the imperial city; but here his career was cut short by a party of Baloch horse, who slew him while enjoying the chase. He had five sons, namely, Jowahir Sing, Ruttun Sing, Newul Sing, Nahur Sing, Runjeet Sing, and also an adopted son, named Hurdeo Buksh, picked up while hunting. Of these five sons, the first two were by a wife of the *Koormi*¹ tribe; the third was by a wife of the *Mâlin*, or horticultural class; while the others were by *Jatni*'s or women of his own race.

Jowahir Sing, who succeeded, was the contemporary of Raja Madhú Sing, whose reign in Jeipoor we have just reached; and to the Jât's determination to measure swords with him were owing, not only the frustration of his schemes for humbling the Mahratta, but the dismemberment of the country by the defection of the chief of Macherri. Jowahir Sing, in A.H. 1182, having in vain solicited the district of Kamona, manifested his resentment by instantly marching through the Jeipoor territories to the sacred lake of Poshkur, without any previous intimation. He there met Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar, who, in spite of his Jât origin, condescended to "exchange turbans," the sign of friendship and fraternal adoption. At this period, Madhú Sing's health was on the decline, and his counsels were guided by two brothers, named Hursac and Goorsac, who represented the insulting conduct of the Jât and required instructions. They were commanded to address him a letter warning him not to return through the territories of Ambér, and the chiefs were desired to assemble their retainers in order to punish a repetition of the insult. But the Jât, who had determined to abide the consequences, paid no regard to the letter, and returned homewards by the same route. This was a justifiable ground of quarrel, and the united *Kotribunds* marched to the encounter, to maintain the pretensions of their equestrian order against the plebeian Jât. A desperate conflict ensued, which, though it terminated in favour of the Cuchwahs and in the flight of the leader of the Jâts, proved destructive to Ambér, in the loss of almost every chieftain of note.²

¹ The *Koormi* (the *Koolmbi* of the Dekhan) is perhaps the most numerous, next to the Jâts, of all the agricultural classes.

² Having given a slight sketch of the origin of the Jâts, I may here conclude it. Ruttun Sing, the brother of Jowahir, succeeded him. He was assassinated by a Gosén Brahmin from Bindrabund, who had undertaken to teach the Jât prince the transmutation of metals, and had obtained considerable sums on pretence of preparing the process. Finding the day arrive on which he was to commence operations, and which would reveal his imposture, he had no way of escape but by applying the knife to his dupe. Kesuri Sing, an infant, succeeded, under the guardianship of his uncle, Newul Sing. Runjeet Sing succeeded him, a name renowned for the defence of Bhurtpoor against Lord Lake. He died A.D. 1815, and was succeeded by the eldest of four sons, namely, Rundheer Sing, Baldeo Sing, Hurdeo Sing, and Luchmun Sing. The infant son of Rundheer

This battle was the indirect cause of the formation of Macherri into an independent state, which a few words will explain. Pertap Sing, of the Narooka clan, held the fief of Macherri ; for some fault he was banished the country by Madhú Sing, and fled to Jowahir Sing, from whom he obtained *sirna* (sanctuary), and lands for his maintenance. The ex-chieftain of Macherri had, as conductors of his household affairs and his agents at court, two celebrated men, Khooshialiram¹ and Nundram, who now shared his exile amongst the Jâts. Though enjoying protection and hospitality at Bhurtpoor, they did not the less feel the national insult, in that the Jât should dare thus unceremoniously to traverse their country. Whether the chief saw in this juncture an opening for reconciliation with his liege lord, or that a pure spirit of patriotism alone influenced him, he abandoned the place of refuge, and ranged himself at his old post, under the standard of Ambér, on the eve of the battle, to the gaining of which he contributed not a little. For this opportune act of loyalty his past errors were forgiven, and Madhú Sing, who only survived that battle four days, restored him to his favour and his fief of Macherri.

Madhú Sing died of a dysentery, after a rule of seventeen years. Had he been spared, in all human probability he would have repaired the injurious effects of the contest which gave him the *gadî* of Ambér ; but a minority, and its accustomed anarchy, made his death the point from which the Cuchwaha power declined. He built several cities, of which that called after him Madhupoor, near the celebrated fortress of Rinthumbor, the most secure of the commercial cities of Rajwarra, is the most remarkable. He inherited no small portion of his father's love of science, which continued to make Jeipoor the resort of learned men, so as to eclipse even the sacred Benares.

Pirithi Sing II., a minor, succeeded, under the guardianship of the mother of his younger brother, Pertap. The queen-regent, a Chondawutni, was of an ambitious and resolute character, but degraded by her paramour, Feeroz, a *Feelbân*, or 'elephant-driver,' whom she made member of her council, which disgusted the chiefs, who alienated themselves from court and remained at their estates. Determined, however, to dispense with their aid, she entertained a mercenary army under the celebrated Umbaji, with which she enforced the collection of the revenue. Arut Ram was at this period the *Déwân*, or prime minister, and Khooshialiram Bora, a name afterwards conspicuous in the politics of this court, was associated in the ministry. But though these men were of the highest order of talent, their influence was neutralised by that of the Feelban, who controlled both the regent Rani and the state. Matters remained in this humiliating posture during nine years, when Pirithi Sing died through a fall from his horse, though not without suspicions that a dose of poison accelerated the vacancy of the *gadî*, which the Rani desired to see occupied by her own son. The scandalous chronicle of that day is by no means tender of the reputation of Madhú Sing's widow. Having a direct interest in the death of Pirithi Sing, the laws of common sense were violated in appointing her guardian, notwithstanding her claims as *Pât Rani*, or chief

succeeded, under the tutelage of his uncle ; to remove whom the British army destroyed Bhurtpoor, which plundered it of its wealth, both public and private.

¹ Father of two men scarcely less celebrated than himself, Chutturhbj and Duolut Ram.

queen of the deceased. Pirthi Sing, though he never emerged from the trammels of minority and the tutelage of the Chondawatni, yet contracted two marriages, one with Bikanér, the other with Kishengurh. By the latter he had a son, Maun Sing. Every court in Rajpootana has its pretender, and young Maun was long the bugbear to the court of Ambér. Hewas removed secretly, on his father's death, to the maternal roof at Kishengurh ; but as this did not offer sufficient security, he was sent to Sindia's camp, and has ever since lived on the bounty of the Mahratta chief at Gwalior.¹

Pertap Sing was immediately placed upon the *gadi* by the queen-regent, his mother, and her council, consisting of the Feelban, and Khooshialiram, who had now received the title of Raja, and the rank of prime minister. He employed the power thus obtained to supplant his rival Feeroz, and the means he adopted established the independence of his old master, the chief of Macherri. This chief was the only one of note who absented himself from the ceremony of the installation of his sovereign. He was countenanced by the minister, whose plan to get rid of his rival was to create as much confusion as possible. In order that distress might reach the court, he gave private instructions that the zemindars should withhold their payments ; but these minor stratagems would have been unavailing, had he not associated in his schemes the last remnants of power about the Mogul throne. Nujif Khan was at this time the imperial commander, who, aided by the Mahrattas, proceeded to expel the Jâts from the city of Agra. He then attacked them in their stronghold of Bhurtpoor. Newul Sing was then the chief of the Jâts. The Macherri chief saw in the last act of expiring vigour of the imperialists an opening for the furtherance of his views, and he united his troops to those of Nujif Khan. This timely succour, and his subsequent aid in defeating the Jâts, obtained for him the title of Rao Raja, and a *sunnud* for Macherri, to hold direct of the crown. Khooshialiram, who, it is said, chalked out this course, made his old master's success the basis of his own operations to supplant the Feelban. Affecting the same zeal that he recommended to the chief of Macherri, he volunteered to join the imperial standard with all the forces of Ambér. The queen-regent did not oppose the Bhora's plan, but determined out of it still higher to exalt her favourite: she put him at the head of the force, which post the minister had intended for himself. This exaltation proved his ruin. Feeroz, in command of the Ambér army, met the Rao Raja of Macherri on equal terms in the tent of the imperial commander. Foiled in these schemes of attaining the sole control of affairs, through the measure adopted, the Macherri chief, at the instigation of his associate, resolved to accomplish his objects by less justifiable means. He sought the friendship of the Feelban, and so successfully ingratiated himself in his confidence as to administer a dose of poison to him, and in conjunction with the Bhora succeeded to the charge of the government of Ambér. The regent queen soon followed the Feelban, and

¹ Two or three times he had a chance of being placed on the *gadi* (*vide* letter of Resident with Sindia to Government, 27th March 1812), which assuredly ought to be his: once, about 1810, when the nobles of Jeipoor were disgusted with the libertine Juggut Sing; and again, upon the death of this dissolute prince, in 1820. The last occasion presented a fit occasion for his accession; but the British Government were then the arbitrators, and I doubt much if his claims were disclosed to it, or understood by those who had the decision of the question, which nearly terminated in a civil war.

Raja Pertap was yet too young to guide the state vessel without aid. The Rao Raja and the Bhora, alike ambitious, soon quarrelled, and a division of the imperialists, under the celebrated Hamadan Khan, was called in by the Bhora. Then followed those interminable broils which brought in the Mahrattas. Leagues were formed with them against the imperialists one day, and dissolved the next ; and this went on until the majority of Pertap, who determined to extricate himself from bondage, and formed that league, elsewhere mentioned, which ended in the glorious victory of Tonga, and for a time the expulsion of all their enemies, whether imperial or Mahrattas.

To give a full narrative of the events of this reign, would be to recount the history of the empire in its expiring moments. Throughout the twenty-five years' rule of Pertap, he and his country underwent many vicissitudes. He was a gallant prince, and not deficient in judgment ; but neither gallantry nor prudence could successfully apply the resources of his petty state against its numerous predatory foes and its internal dissensions. The defection of Macherri was a serious blow to Jeipoor, and the necessary subsidies soon lightened the hoards accumulated by his predecessors. Two payments to the Mahrattas took away eighty lakhs of rupees (£800,000) ; yet such was the mass of treasure, notwithstanding the enormous sums lavished by Mahdú Sing for the support of his claims, besides those of the regency, that Pertap expended in charity alone, on the victory of Tonga, A.D. 1789, the sum of twenty-four lakhs, or a quarter of a million sterling.

In A.D. 1791, after the subsequent defeats at Patun, and the disruption of the alliance with the Rahtores, Tukaji Holcar invaded Jeipoor, and extorted an annual tribute, which was afterwards transferred to Ameer Khan, and continues a permanent incumbrance on the resources of Jeipoor. From this period to A.D. 1803, the year of Pertap's death, his country was alternately desolated by Sindia's armies, under De Boigne or Perron, and the other hordes of robbers, who frequently contested with each other the possession of the spoils.

Juggut Sing succeeded in A.D. 1803, and ruled for seventeen years, with the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age. The events with which his reign is crowded would fill volumes were they worthy of being recorded. Foreign invasions, cities besieged, capitulations and war-contributions, occasional acts of heroism, when the invader forgot the point of honour, court intrigues, diversified, not unfrequently, by an appeal to the sword or dagger, even in the precincts of the court. Sometimes the daily journals (*akhbars*) disseminated the scandal of the *rawula* (female apartments), the follies of the libertine prince with his concubine *Ras-caphoor*, or even less worthy objects, who excluded from the nuptial couch his lawful mates of the noble blood of Joda, or Jessa, the Rahtores and Bhattis of the desert. We shall not disgrace these annals with the history of a life which discloses not one redeeming virtue amidst a cluster of effeminate vices, including the rankest, in the opinion of a Rajpoot—cowardice. The black transaction respecting the princess of Oodipoor, has already been related (vol. i. p. 365), which covered him with disgrace, and inflicted a greater loss, in his estimation, even than that of character—a million sterling. The treasures of the *Jey-Mindra* were rapidly dissipated, to the grief of those faithful hereditary guardians, the Meenas of Kalikho, some of whom committed suicide

rather than see these sacred deposits squandered on their prince's unworthy pursuits. The lofty walls which surrounded the beautiful city of Jey Sing were insulted by every marauder ; commerce was interrupted, and agriculture rapidly declined, partly from insecurity, but still more from the perpetual exactions of his minions. One day a tailor ¹ ruled the councils, the next a Baniah, who might be succeeded by a Brahmin, and each had in turn the honour of elevation to the *donjon keep* of Nahrgurh, the castle where criminals are confined, overlooking the city. The feudal chiefs held both his authority and his person in utter contempt, and the pranks he played with the ' Essence of Camphor ' (*ras-caphoor*),² at one time led to serious thoughts of deposing him ; which project, when near maturity, was defeated by transferring " this queen of half of Ambér," to the prison of Nahrgurh. In the height of his passion for this Islamite concubine, he formally installed her as queen of half his dominions, and actually conveyed to her in gift a moiety of the personality of the crown, even to the invaluable library of the illustrious Jey Sing, which was despoiled, and its treasures distributed amongst her base relations. The Raja even struck coin in her name, and not only rode with her on the same elephant, but demanded from his chieftains those forms of reverence towards her which were paid only to his legitimate queens. This their pride could not brook, and though the Dewan or prime minister, Misr Sheonarain, albeit a Brahmin, called her " daughter," the brave Chand Sing of Doonee indignantly refused to take part in any ceremony at which she was present. This contumacy was punished by a mulct of £20,000, nearly four years' revenue of the fief of Doonee !

Menu allows that sovereigns may be deposed, and the aristocracy of Ambér had ample justification for such an act. But unfortunately the design became known, and some judicious friend, as a salvo for the Raja's dignity, propagated a report injurious to the fair fame of his Aspasia, which he affected to believe ; a mandate issued for the sequestration of her property, and her incarceration in the castle allotted to criminals. There she was lost sight of, and Juggut continued to dishonour the *gadi* of Jey Sing until his death, on a day held especially sacred by the Rajpoot, the 21st of December 1818, the winter solstice, when, to use their own metaphorical language, " the door of heaven is reopened."

Raja Juggut Sing left no issue, legitimate or illegitimate, and no provision had been made for a successor during his life. But as the laws of Rajpootana, political or religious, admit of no *interregnum*, and the funereal pyre must be lit by an adopted child if there be no natural issue, it was necessary at once to inaugurate a successor ; and the choice fell on Mohun Sing, son of the ex-prince of Nurwar. As this selection, in opposition to the established rules of succession, would, but for a posthumous birth, have led to a civil war, it may be proper to touch briefly upon the subject of heirs-presumptive in Rajpootana, more especially those of Jeipoor : the want of exact knowledge respecting this point, in those to whom its political relations with us were at that time entrusted, might have had the

¹ Rorji *Khawas* was a tailor by birth, and, I believe, had in early life exercised the trade. He was, however, amongst the *Moosahabs*, or privy councillors of Juggut Sing, and (I think) one of the ambassadors sent to treat with Lord Lake.

² *Ras-caphoor*, I am aware, means ' corrosive sublimate,' but it may also be interpreted ' essence of camphor.'

most injurious effects on the British character. To set this in its proper light, we shall explain the principles of the alliance which rendered Jeipoor a tributary of Britain.

CHAPTER IV

Jeipoor the last of the Rajpoot states to embrace the proffered alliance of the British—Procrastination habitual to the Rajpoots, as to all Asiatics—Motives and considerations which influenced the Jeipoor court in declining our alliance—A treaty concluded—Death of Juggut Sing—Effects of our interference in the intrigues respecting the succession—Law of primogeniture—The evils attending an ignorance of Rajpoot customs—Violation of the law of succession in the placing of Mohun Sing on the *gadi*—Reasons for departing from the rule of succession—Conduct of the British authorities—The title of Mohun Sing disputed by the legal heir-presumptive—Dilemma of the Nazir and his faction—The threatened disorders prevented by the unexpected pregnancy of one of the queens of Juggut Sing—Birth of a posthumous son.

JEIPOOR was the last of the principalities of Rajpootana to accept the protection tendered by the government of British India. To the latest moment, she delayed her sanction to a system which was to banish for ever the enemies of order. Our overtures and expostulations were rejected, until the predatory powers of India had been, one after another, laid prostrate at our feet. The Pindarries were annihilated; the Peshwa was exiled from Poona to the Ganges; the Boonsla was humbled; Sindia palsied by his fears; and Holcar, who had extensive lands assigned him, besides a regular tribute from Jeipoor, had received a death-blow to his power in the field of Mehidpoor.

Procrastination is the favourite expedient of all Asiatics; and the Rajpoot, though a fatalist, often, by protracting the irresistible *honhâr* (destiny), works out his deliverance. Ameer Khan, the lieutenant of Holcar, who held the lands and tribute of Jeipoor in *jâdedâd*, or assignment for his troops, was the sole enemy of social order left to operate on the fears of Jeipoor, and to urge her to take refuge in our alliance; and even he was upon the point of becoming one of the illustrious allies, who were to enjoy the "perpetual friendship" of Great Britain. The Khan was at that very moment battering Madhurajpoora, a town almost within the sound of cannon-shot of Jeipoor, and we were compelled to make an indirect use of this incident to hasten the decision of the Cuchwaha prince. The motives of his backwardness will appear from the following details.

Various considerations combined to check the ardour with which we naturally expected our offer of protection would be embraced. The Jeipoor court retained a lively, but no grateful remembrance, of the solemn obligations we contracted with her in 1803, and the facility with which we extricated ourselves from them when expediency demanded, whilst we vainly attempted to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon our ally. To use the words of one who has been mixed up with all the political transactions of that eventful period, with reference to the letter delivered by the envoy at the Jeipoor court from our viceroy in the East, notifying the dissolution of the alliance: "The justice of these grounds was warmly disputed by the court, which, under a lively sense

of that imminent danger to which it had become exposed from this measure, almost forgot for a moment the temper and respect which it owed to the English nation." But the native envoy from Jeipoor, attending the camp of the gallant Lake, took a still higher tone, and with a manly indignation observed, that "this was the first time, since the English government was established in India, that it had been known to make its faith subservient to its convenience": a reproach the more bitter and unpalatable from its truth.¹

The enlarged and prophetic views of Marquis Wellesley, which suggested the policy of uniting all these regular governments in a league against the predatory powers, were counteracted by the timid, temporising policy of Lord Cornwallis, who could discover nothing but weakness in this extension of our influence. What misery would not these states have been spared, had those engagements, executed through the noble Lake (a name never mentioned in India, by European or native, without reverence), been maintained; for the fifteen years which intervened between the two periods produced more mischief to Rajwarra than the preceding half century, and half a century more will not repair it!

A circumstance that tended to increase this distrust was our tearing Vizier Alli from his sanctuary at Jeipoor, which has cast an indelible stain upon the Cuchwaha name. We have elsewhere² explained the privileges of *sirna*, or 'sanctuary,' which, when claimed by the unfortunate or criminal, is sacred in the eye of the Rajpoot. This trust we forced the Jeipoor state to violate, though she was then independent of us. It was no excuse for the act that the fugitive was a foul assassin: we had no right to demand his surrender.³

There were other objections to the proffered treaty of no small weight. The Jeipoor court justly deemed one-fifth (*eight lakhs*) of the gross revenues of the crown, a high rate of insurance for protection; but when we further stipulated for a prospective increase⁴ of nearly *one-third* of all surplus revenue beyond *forty lakhs*, they saw, instead of the generous Briton, a sordid trafficker of mercenary protection, whose rapacity transcended that of the Mahratta.

Independent of these state objections, there were abundance of private and individual motives arrayed in hostility to the British offer. For example: the ministers dreaded the *surveillance* of a resident agent, as obnoxious to their authority and influence; and the chieftains, whom rank and ancient usage kept at court as the counsellors of their prince,

¹ *U'de Malcolm's Political History of India*, p. 434.

² Vol. i. p. 419.

³ A better commentary on the opinions held by the natives upon this subject could not be given than the speech of Holcar's envoy to the agent of the Governor-General of India, then with Lord Lake: "Holcar's vakeel demanded, with no slight degree of pertinacity, the cession of the Jeipoor and Boondl tributaries; and one of them, speaking of the former, stated, that he no doubt would continue to enjoy the friendship of the English, as he had disgraced himself to please that nation, by giving up Vizier Alli (who had sought his protection) to their vengeance. The vakeel was severely rebuked by the agent (Colonel, now Sir John Malcolm) for this insolent reflection on the conduct of an ally of the British Government, who had delivered up a murderer whom it would have been infamy to shelter"; though the author of the *Political History of India* might have added—but whom it was still greater infamy, according to their code, to surrender. See Malcolm's *Political History of India*, p. 432.

⁴ See Article 6 of the Treaty, Appendix, No. V.

saw in prospect the surrender of crown-lands, which fraud, favour, or force, had obtained for them. Such were the principal causes which impeded the alliance between Ambér and the Government-general of British India ; but it would have marred the uniformity of Lord Hasting's plan to have left a gap in the general protective system by the omission of Jeipoor. The events rapidly happening around them—the presence of Meer Khan—the expulsion of the orange flag of the Mahratta, and the substitution of the British banner on the battlements of Ajmér—at length produced a tardy and ungracious assent, and, on the 2nd of April 1818, a treaty of ten articles was concluded, which made the Cuchwaha princes the friends and tributaries in perpetuity of Great Britain.

On the 21st of December of the same year, Juggut Sing died, and the choice of a successor speedily evinced to the ministers the impracticability of their exercising, as in days of yore, that "absolute power over their country and dependants," guaranteed to them by the treaty.¹ Our office of arbitrating the differences between the Raja and his vassals, on the subject of the usurpations from the crown-lands, was easy, and left no unpleasant feeling ; but when we intermeddled with the intrigues respecting the succession, our ignorance of established rights and usage rendered the interference offensive, and made the Jeipoor chiefs repent the alliance which temporary policy had induced their prince to accept.

It may be of use in future negotiations, to explain the usages which govern the different states of Rajpootana in respect to succession. The law of primogeniture prevails in all Rajpoot sovereignties ; the rare instances in which it has been set aside, are only exceptions to the rule. The inconclusive dicta of Menu, on this as on many other points, are never appealed to by the Rajpoots of modern days. Custom and precedent fix the right of succession, whether to the *gadî* of the state, or to a fief, in the eldest son, who is styled *Rajkômâr*, *Pat-kômâr*, or simply *Komârjî*, 'the prince' ; while his brothers have their proper names affixed, as *Komar Jowan Sing*, 'Prince Jowan.' Seniority is, in fact, a distinction pervading all ranks of life, whether in royal families or those of chieftains ; all have their *Pat-kômâr*, and *Pat-ranî*, or 'head child,' and 'head queen.' The privileges of the *Pat-ranî*, are very considerable. In minorities, she is the guardian, by custom as well as nature, of her child ; and in Méwar (the oldest sovereignty in India), she is publicly enthroned with the Rana. Seniority in marriage bestows the title of *Pat-ranî*, but as soon as an heir is given to the state, the queen-mother assumes this title, or that of *Mâhji*, simply 'the mother.'² In the duties of guardian, she is assisted by the chiefs of certain families, who with certain officers of the household enjoy this as an established hereditary distinction.

On the demise of a prince without lawful issue of his body, or that of near kindred, brothers or cousins, there are certain families in every principality (*raj*) of Rajwarra, in whom is vested the right of presumptive heirship to the *gadî*. In order to restrict the circle of claimants, laws have been established in every state limiting this right to the issue of a certain family in each principality. Thus, in Méwar, the elder of the Ranawut

¹ See Article 8 of the Treaty.

² In Méwar, simply *Mâhji* ; at Jeipoor, where they have long used the language and manners of Dehli, they affix the Persian word *Sahebeh*, or 'lady-mother.'

clans, styled *Babas*, or 'the infants,' possesses the latent right of heir-presumptive. In Marwar, the independent house of Eedur, of the family of Joda ; in Boondi, the house of Googari ; in Kotah, the Apjls of Polaitoh ; in Bskaner, the family of Mahajin ; and in Jeipoor, the branch Rajawut (according to seniority) of the stock of Raja Maun. Even in this stock there is a distinction between those prior, and those posterior, to Raja Madhú Sing ; the former are styled simply *Rajawut*, or occasionally conjoined, *Mansingote* ; the other *Madhaní*. The Rajawuts constitute a numerous *frèrage*, of which the Jhulaye house takes the lead ; and in which, provided there are no mental or physical disabilities, the right of furnishing heirs to the *gadí* of Jeipoor is a long-established, incontrovertible, and inalienable privilege.

We have been thus minute, because, notwithstanding the expressed wish of the government not to prejudge the question, the first exercise of its authority as lord-paramount was to justify a proceeding by which these established usages were infringed, in spite of the eighth article of the treaty : "The Mahraja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country and dependants according to long-established usage," etc. "*C'est le premier pas qui coute*" ; and this first step, being a wrong one, has involved an interference never contemplated, and fully justifying that wariness on the part of Jeipoor, which made her hesitate to link her destiny with ours.

Both the sixth and seventh articles contain the seeds of disunion, whenever it might suit the chicanery or bad faith of the protected, or the avarice of the protector. The former has already been called into operation, and the 'absolute rulers' of Jeipoor have been compelled to unfold to the resident agent the whole of their financial and territorial arrangements, to prove that the revenues did not exceed the sum of forty *lakhs*, as, of the sum in excess (besides the stipulated tributary *fifth*), our share was to be *three-sixteenths*.¹

While, therefore, we deem ourselves justified in interfering in the two chief branches of government, the succession and finances, how is it possible to avoid being implicated in the acts of the government-functionaries, and involved in the party views and intrigues of a court, stigmatised even by the rest of Rajwarra with the epithet of *jool'ha durbar*, the 'lying court' ? While there is a resident agent at Jeipoor, whatever his resolves, he will find it next to impossible to keep aloof from the vortex of intrigue. The

¹ Méwar was subjected to the same *premium* on her reviving prosperity. The author unsuccessfully endeavoured to have a limit fixed to the demand ; but he has heard with joy that some important modifications have since been made in these tributary engagements both with Méwar and Ambér : they cannot be made too light. Discontent in Rajpootana will not be appeased by a few lakhs of extra expenditure. I gave my opinions fearlessly when I had everything at stake ; I will not suppress them now, when I have nothing either to hope or to fear but for the perpetuity of the British power in these regions, and the revival of the happiness and independence of those who have sought our protection. He will prove the greatest enemy to his country, who, in ignorance of the true position of the Rajpoots, may aim at further trenching upon their independence. Read the thirty years' war between Arungzéb and the Rahtores ! where is the dynasty of their tyrant ? Look at the map : a desert at their back, the Aravulli in front ; no enemies to harass or disturb them ! How different would a Rajpoot foe prove from a contemptible Mahratta, or the mercenary array of traitorous Nawabs, whom we have always found easy conquests ! Cherish the native army : conciliate the Rajpoots ; then, laugh at foes !

purest intentions, the highest talents, will scarcely avail to counteract this systematic vice, and with one party at least, but eventually with all, the reputation of his government will be compromised.

This brings us back to the topic which suggested these remarks, the installation of a youth upon the *gadi* of Jeipoor. We shall expose the operation of this transaction by a literal translation of an authentic document, every word of which was thoroughly substantiated. As it presents a curious picture of manners, and is valuable as a precedent, we shall give it entire in the Appendix, and shall here enter no farther into details than is necessary to unravel the intrigue which violated the established laws of succession.

The youth, named Mohun Sing, who was installed on the *gadi* of Jeipoor, on the morning succeeding Juggut Sing's decease, was the son of Munohur Sing, the ex-Raja of Nurwar, who was chased from his throne and country by Sindia. We have stated that the Jeipoor family sprung from that of Nurwar eight centuries ago; but the parent state being left without direct lineage, they applied to Ambér and adopted a son of Pirthi Raj I., from whom the boy now brought forward was fourteen generations in descent. This course of proceeding was in direct contravention of usage, which had fixed, as already stated, the heirs-presumptive, on failure of lineal issue to the *gadi* of Ambér, in the descendants of Raja Maun, and the branch Madhani, generally sytled *Rajawut*, of whom the first claimant was the chief of Jhulaye, and supposing his incompetency, Kamah, and a dozen other houses of the 'infantas' of Jeipoor.

The causes of departure from the recognised rule, in this respect, were the following. At the death of Juggut Sing, the reins of power were, and had been for some time, in the hands of the chief eunuch of the *rawula* (seraglio), whose name was Mohun Nazir,¹ a man of considerable vigour of understanding, and not without the reputation of good intention in his administration of affairs, although the system of chicanery and force,² by which he attempted to carry his object, savoured more of self-interest than of loyalty. The youth was but nine years of age; and a long minority, with the exclusive possession of power, suggests the true motives of the Nazir. His principal coadjutor, amongst the great vassals of the state, was Meg'h Sing of Diggee, a chief who had contrived by fraud and force to double his hereditary fief by usurpations from the crown-lands, to retain which he supported the views of the Nazir with all the influence of his clan (the Khangarote), the most powerful of the twelve great families of Ambér.³ The personal servants of the crown, such as the *Purohīts*, *Dhābhaés* (domestic chaplains and foster-brothers), and all the subordinate officers of the household, considered the Nazir's cause as their own: a minority and his favour guaranteed their places, which might be risked

¹ *Nazir* is the official name, a Mahomedan one, denoting his capacity, as emasculated guardian of the seraglio. Jeipoor and Boondi are the only two of the Rajpoot principalities who, adopting the Mooslem custom, have contaminated the palaces of their queens with the presence of these creatures.

² See "Summary of Transactions," Appendix, No. V.

³ The Khangarote clan enumerates twenty-two fiefs, whose united rent-rolls amount to 402,806 rupees annually, and their united quotas for the service of the state, six hundred and forty-three horse. Még'h Sing, by his turbulence and intelligence, though only the sixth or seventh in the scale of rank of this body, had taken the lead, and become the organ of his clan at court.

by the election of a prince who could judge for himself, and had friends to provide for.

A reference to the "Summary of Transactions" (in the Appendix) will show there was no previous consultation or concert amongst the military vassals, or the queens; on the contrary, acting entirely on his own responsibility, the Nazir, on the morning succeeding the death of his master, placed young Mohun in "the car of the sun," to lead the funeral procession, and light the pyre of his adopted sire. Scarcely were the ablutions and necessary purifications from this rite concluded, when he received the congratulations of all present as lord of the Cuchwahas, under the revived name of Maun Sing the Second. The transactions which followed, as related in the diary, until the final *dénouement*, distinctly show, that having committed himself, the Nazir was anxious to obtain through the resident agents of the chieftains at court, their acquiescence in the measure under their signs-manual. It will be seen that the communications were received and replied to in that cautious, yet courteous manner, which pledged the writer to nothing, and gained him time for the formation of a deliberate opinion: the decision was thus suspended; all eyes were directed to the paramount power; and the Nazir, whose first desire was to propitiate this, entreated the British functionary at Dehli to send his confidential moonshee to Jeipoor without delay. This agent reached Jeipoor from Dehli six days after the death of Juggut. He was the bearer of instructions, "requiring a full account of the reasons for placing the son of the Nurwar Raja on the musnud; of his family, lineage, right of succession, and by whose councils the measure was adopted." On the 11th of January this requisition was reiterated; and it was further asked, whether the measure had the assent of the queens and chiefs, and a declaration to this effect, under their signatures, was required to be forwarded. Nothing could be more explicit, or more judicious, than the tenor of these instructions.

The replies of the Nazir and confidential moonshee were such, that on the 7th of February the receipt of letters of congratulation from the British agent, accompanied by one from the supreme authority, was formally announced, which letters being read in full court, "the *nobut* (kettledrum) again sounded, and young Maun Sing was conducted to the Pertap Mahl, and seated on the musnud." On this formal recognition by the British government, the agents of the chieftains at their sovereign's court, in reply to the Nazir's demand, "to know the opinions of the chiefs," answered that "if he called them, they were ready to obey"; but at the same time they rested their adhesion on that of the chief queen, sister of the Raja of Jodpoor, who breathed nothing but open defiance of the Nazir and his *junta*. Early in March, public discontent became more manifest: and the Rajawut chief of Jhulaye determined to appeal to arms in support of his rights as heir-presumptive, and was soon joined by the chiefs of Sirwur and Eesurda, junior but powerful branches of the same stock.

Another party seemed inclined, on this emergency, to revive the rights of that posthumous son of Pirthi Sing, whom we have already described as living in exile at Gwalior, on the bounty of Sindia; and nothing but the unfavourable report of his intellect and debased habits prevented the elder branch of the sons of Madhú Sing recovering their lost honours.

While the paramount authority was thus deluded, and the chieftains

were wavering amidst so many conflicting opinions, the queens continued resolute, and the Rajawuts were arming—and the Nazir, in this dilemma, determined as a last resource, to make Raja Maun of Jodpoor the umpire, hoping by this appeal to his vanity, to obtain his influence over his sister to an acquiescence in the irremediable step, which had been taken “in obedience (as he pretended) to the will of the deceased prince.” Raja Maun's reply is important: “That there could be no occasion for his or his sister's signature to the required declaration on the right of succession to the musnud of Jeipoor, which depended upon, and was vested in, the elders of the twelve tribes of Cuchwahs; that if *they* approved and signed the declaration, the queen his sister, and afterwards himself, would sign it, if requisite.”

The Nazir and his faction, though aided by the interposition of the moonshee, were now in despair, and in these desperate circumstances, he attempted to get up a marriage between the puppet he had enthroned and the granddaughter of the Rana of Méwar. It was well contrived, and not ill-received by the Rana; but there was an influence at his court which at once extinguished the plot, though supported at Dehli by the Rana's most influential agent. It was proposed that, at the same time, the Rana should consummate his nuptials with the Jeipoor Raja's sister, the preliminaries of which had been settled a dozen years back. Money in abundance was offered, and the Rana's passion for pageantry and profusion would have prevented any objection to his proceeding to the Jeipoor capital. To receive the chief of the universal Hindu race with due honour, the whole nobility of Ambér would have left their estates, which would have been construed into, and accepted as, a voluntary acquiescence in the rights of the Nazir's choice, which the marriage would have completely cemented. Foiled in this promising design, the knot, which the precipitate and persevering conduct of the Nazir had rendered too indissoluble even for his skill to undo, was cut by the annunciation of the advanced pregnancy of the Bhattiani queen.

This timely interposition of *Mátá Januvi* (the Juno Lucina of Rajwarra) might well be regarded as miraculous; and though the sequel of this event was conducted with such publicity as almost to choke the voice of slander, it still found utterance.¹ It was deemed a sort of prodigy, that an event, which would have caused a jubilee throughout Dhoondhar, should have been kept secret until three months after the Raja's death.² The mysteries of the *rawulas* of Rajpoot princes find their way to the public out of doors; and in Oodipoor, more especially, are the common topics of conversation. The variety of character within its walls, the like variety of communicants without, the conflicting interests, the diversified objects of contention of these little worlds, render it utterly impossible that any secret can long be maintained, far less one of such magnitude as the pregnancy of the queen of a prince without issue. That

¹ The publicity, on this occasion, is precisely of the same character as marked the accouchement of the Duchess de Berri, who, it is said, not only had the usual witnesses to silence the voice of doubt, but absolutely insisted on the *Maréchaux* as well as the *Maréchaux* of France being in the room at the moment of parturition.

² Raja Juggut Sing died the 21st December 1818, and the announcement of the Bhattiani being in “the eighth month of her pregnancy,” was on the 24th March 1819.

this event should be revealed to the Nazir, the superintendent of the queen's palace, with all the formality of a new discovery, *three months* after Juggut Sing's death, must excite surprise ; since to have been the bearer of such joyful intelligence to his master, to whom he was much attached, must have rivetted his influence.

At three o'clock on the 1st of April, a council of sixteen queens, the widows of the late prince, and the wives of all the great vassals of the state, "assembled to ascertain the fact of pregnancy," whilst all the great barons awaited in the antechambers of the *Zendán Dóorí* the important response of this council of matrons. When it announced that the Bhattiani queen was pregnant beyond a doubt, they consulted until seven, when they sent in a written declaration, avowing their unanimous belief of the fact ; and that "should a son be born, they would acknowledge him as their lord, and to none else pledge allegiance." A transcript of this was given to the Nazir, who was recommended to forward an attested copy to the British agent at Dehli. From these deliberations, from which there was no appeal, the Nazir was excluded by express desire of the Rahr-tore queen. He made an ineffectual effort to obtain from the chiefs a declaration, that the adoption of the Nurwar youth was in conformity to the desire of the deceased prince, their master ; but this attempt to obtain indemnity for his illegal acts was defeated immediately on the ground of its untruth.¹

By this lawful and energetic exertion of the powers directly vested in the queen-mother and the great council of the chiefs, the tongue of faction was rendered mute ; but had it been otherwise, another queen was pronounced to be in the same joyful condition.² On the morning of the 25th of April, four months and four days after Juggut Sing's death, a son was ushered into the world with the usual demonstrations of joy, and received as the Autocrat of the Cuchwahas ; while the infant interloper was removed from the *gadhí*, and thrust back to his original obscurity. Thus terminated an affair which involved all Rajwarra in discussion, and at one time threatened a very serious result. That it was disposed of in this manner was fortunate for all parties, and not least for the protecting power.

Having thus given a connected, though imperfect, sketch of the history of the Jeipoor state, from its foundation to the present time, before proceeding with any account of its resources, or the details of its internal administration, we shall delineate the rise, progress, and existing condition of the Shekhávatí federation, which has risen out of, and almost to an equality with, the parent state.

¹ Deeming a record of these transactions useful, not only as descriptive of manners, but as a *precedent*, inasmuch as they show the powers and position of the different authorities composing a Rajpoot state in cases of succession, I have inserted it in the Appendix.

² No notice, that I am aware of, was ever taken of this second annunciation.

SHEKHAWUT FEDERATION

CHAPTER V

Origin of the Shékhávati federation—Its constitution—Descent of the chiefs from Baloji of Ambér—Mokulji—Miraculous birth of his son—Shékhji—Aggrandises his territory—Raemul—Sooja—Raesil—His heroism—Obtains grants from Akber—Gets possession of Khundaila and Oodipoor—His exploits and character—Ghirdhurji—Is cut off by assassination—Dwarcadas—His extraordinary feat with a lion—Falls by Khan Jehan Lodi—Birsingdeo—His authority usurped by his son—Buhadoor Sing—Arungzéb directs the demolition of the temple of Khundaila—Buhadoor deserts his capital—Shujaun Sing Raesilote flies to its defence—He is slain, the temple razed, and the city garrisoned—Kesuri—Partition of the territory between Kesuri and Futtéh Sing—Futtéh Sing assassinated—Kesuri resists the regal authority—Is deserted in the field and slain—His son Oodi Sing taken to Ajmér—Khundaila retaken, and restored to Oodi Sing, who is liberated—He resolves to punish the Munohurpoor chief—Is baffled by that chief's intrigues—Is besieged by Jey Sing of Ambér—Khundaila becomes tributary to Ambér.

WE proceed to sketch the history of the Shekhawut confederation, which, springing from the redundant feodality of Ambér, through the influence of age and circumstances, has attained a power and consideration almost equalling that of the parent state; and although it possesses neither written laws, a permanent congress, nor any visible or recognised head, subsists by a sense of common interest. It must not be supposed, however, that no system of policy is to be found in this confederation, because the springs are not always visible or in action; the moment any common or individual interest is menaced, the grand council of the Barons of Shékhávati assembles at Oodipoor to decide the course of action to be pursued.

The Shekhawut chieftains are descended from Baloji, the third son of Raja Oodikurn, who succeeded to the throne of Ambér in S. 1445, A.D. 1389. At this period, if we look back to the political state of society, we find that nearly the whole of the tracts, which now obey the Shékhávati federation, were parcelled out amongst numerous chieftains of the Chohan or Túar tribes,¹ the descendants of the ancient Hindu emperors of Dehli,

¹ The lovers of antiquity have only to make the search to find an abundant harvest, throughout all these countries, of ancient capitals and cities, whose names are hardly known even to the modern inhabitants. Of the ancient *Rajore* I have already spoken, and I now draw the attention of my countrymen to *Abhanair*, which boasts a very remote antiquity; and from an old stanza, we might imagine that its princes were connected with the *Kaian* dynasty of Persia. I copied it, some twenty years ago, from an itinerant bard, who had an imperfect knowledge of it himself, and I have doubtless made it more so, but it is still sufficiently intelligible to point at a remarkable coincidence:

" *Raja Chund cá Abhdánair,
Beea Sanjog, ayo Gírnár (Gírnár)
Dek'h bhárdt, leo buldê
Keo bidul, mun begsde,
Beao Sanjog; Permalâ burrê
Kos sat'h so, mun chit d'harrê;*

who evinced no more submission than the sword and their Islamite successors exacted from them.

Baloji, who was the actual founder of the numerous families now designated by the more distinguished name of Shékhji, his grandson, obtained as an appanage the district of Amrutsir, but whether by his own prowess or by other means, is not mentioned. He had three sons; Mokulji, Khemraj, and Kharud. The first succeeded to the patrimony of Amrutsir; the second had a numerous issue styled *Balapota*, one of whom was adopted into the twelve chambers (*bara-kotri*) of Cuchwahas. The third had a son called Kumun, whose descendants were styled Kumawut, but are now early extinct.

Mokul had a son who was named Shékhji, in compliment to a miracle-working Islamite saint, to whose prayers the childless chief was indebted for a son destined to be the patriarch of a numerous race, occupying, under the term Shekhawut, an important portion of the surface of Rajpootana. Shékh Boorhan was the name of this saint, whose shrine (still existing) was about six miles from Achrole, and fourteen from the residence of Mokul. As the period of time was shortly after Timoor's invasion, it is not unlikely he was a pious missionary, who remained behind for the conversion of the warlike but tolerant Rajpoot, with whom, even if he should fail in his purpose, he was certain of protection and hospitality.

*Tá bétá Kátum ca
Nam Permala¹ ho
Lékhá hoon kurtár ko
Eca jána sarb ko."*

This is a fragment of a long poem relative to the rivalry of Raja Chund of Abhánair, and Raja Soorsén of Indrapoori, who was betrothed to Permala, daughter of *Kátum*, and had gone to Gírnair, or Gírnar, to espouse her, when the Abhánair prince abducted her. Raja Soorsén of Indrapoori (Dehli), if the ancestor of the Súráséní, and founder of Soorpoori, existed probably twelve hundred years before Christ. That sun-worshippers had established themselves in the peninsula of Saurashtra (whose capital was Junagurh-Gírnár), its appellation, in the days of the Greeks of Bactria, as now, proves (see Strabo, Justin, etc.), but whether Kátum, the father of Permala, is the Caicumaras of Ferdoosi, we shall not stop to inquire. The connection between this peninsula and Persia was intimate in later times, so as even to give rise to the assertion that the Ranás of Méwar were descended from the Sassanian kings. It was my good fortune to discover Soorpoori, on the Jumna, the residence of the rival of Chund of Abhánair, which city I leave to someone imbued with similar taste to visit, and merely add, he will find there an inscription in a *coond* or fountain dedicated to the Sun. The distance, however, seven hundred coss (*kos sa'h so*), whether from Indrapoori or Abhánair, to Gírnár, even admitting them to be *gao coss*, would be too much. I believe this would make it eight hundred miles, and certainly, as the crow flies, it is not seven hundred. Interwoven with the story there is much about Raja Chambha, prince of Jajnuggur, a city of great antiquity in Orissa, and containing some of the finest specimens of sculpture I ever saw. There is also mention of a Raja Saér (*qu. Sahir* or *Schris* of Aróre) of Perman. In 1804, I passed through Jajnuggur, after the conquest of the province of Cuttack, with my regiment. At Jajnuggur, my earliest friend, the late Captain Bellet Sealy, employed his pencil for several days with the sculptured remains. These drawings were sent to the authorities at Calcutta: perhaps this notice may rescue from oblivion the remains of Jajnuggur, and of my deceased friend's talent, for Captain Bellet Sealy was an ornament equally to private life and to his profession. He fell a victim to the fever contracted in the Nepal war. The ruins of *Abhdnair* are on the Bángungá, three coss east of Lalsont.

¹ *Prof málá* means fairy garland.

The Shékh in one of his peregrinations had reached the confines of Amrutsir, and was passing over an extensive meadow, in which was Mokulji. The *Mangla* (mendicant) approached with the usual salutation, "Have you anything for me?" "Whatever you please to have, *Babaji* (sire)," was the courteous reply. The request was limited to a draught of milk, and if our faith were equal to the Shekhawut's, we should believe that Shékh Boorhan drew a copious stream from the exhausted udder of a female buffalo. This was sufficient to convince the old chief that the Shékh could work other miracles; and he prayed that, through his means, he might no longer be childless. In due time he had an heir, who, according to the injunctions of Boorhan, was styled, after his own tribe, Shékh. He directed that he should wear the *buddea*,¹ which, when laid aside, was to be suspended at the saint's *durgáh*; and further, that he should assume the blue tunic and cap, abstain from hog's flesh, and eat no meat "in which the blood remained." He also ordained that at the birth of every Shekhawut male infant a goat should be sacrificed, the *Kulma* (Islamite creed) read, and the child sprinkled with the blood. Although four centuries have passed away since these obligations were contracted by Mokul, they are still religiously maintained by the little nation of his descendants, occupying a space of ten thousand square miles. The wild hog, which, according to immemorial usage, should be eaten once a year by every Rajpoot, is rarely even hunted by a Shekhawut; and though they have relaxed in that ordinance, which commanded the suspension of the *buddeas* at the shrine of Boorhan, still each infant wears them, as well as the blue tunic and cap, for two years after his birth; and a still greater mark of respect to the memory of the saint is evinced in the blue pennon which surmounts the yellow banner, or national flag, of the Shekhawuts. It is even gravely asserted, that those who, from indolence, distance, or less justifiable motives, have neglected the least important injunction, that of depositing the initiatory strings or *buddeas*, have never prospered. But a still stronger proof is furnished of the credulity, the toleration, and yet immutability of the Rajpoot character, in the fact, that, although Amrutsir,² and the lands around the *durgah*, are annexed to the fisc of Ambér, yet the shrine of Shékh Boorhan continues a *sirna* (sanctuary), while lands are assigned to almost a hundred families, the descendants of the saint, who reside in the adjacent town of Talla.

Shékhji, when he attained man's estate, greatly augmented the territory left by his father, and had consolidated three hundred and sixty villages under his sway, by conquest from his neighbours, when his reputation and power attracted the jealous notice of the lord paramount of Ambér. He was attacked; but by the aid of the Punnee Pat'hans³ he successfully

¹ Strings, or threads, worn crossways by Mahomedan children.

² The town of Amrutsir and forty-five villages are still left to the Munohurpoor branch.

³ The Punnees are a tribe of Doorannees, regarding whom Mr. Elphinstone's account of Caubul may be consulted. In after times, there was a chieftain of this tribe so celebrated for his generosity and hospitality, that his name has become proverbial:

Bunné, to, bunné
Nuhyn, Dáod Khan Punné;

that is, if they failed elsewhere, there was always Dáod Khan in reserve. His gallant bearing, and death in Ferochsér's reign, are related in Scott's excellent *History of the Dekkan*.

withstood the reiterated assaults of his suzerain. Up to this period, they had acknowledged the Ambér princes as liege lords, and in token of alliance paid as tribute all the colts reared on the original estate.¹ A dispute on this point was the ostensible cause (though subordinate to their rapid prosperity), which occasioned a total separation of the Shekhawut colonies from the parent state, until the reign of Sowae Jey Sing, who, with his means as lieutenant of the empire, compelled homage, submission, and pecuniary relief from them. Shékhi left a well-established authority to his son, *Raemul*, of whom nothing is recorded. *Raemul* was followed by *Sooja*, who had three sons, namely, Noonkurn, Raesil, and Gopal. The elder succeeded to the patrimony of Amrutsir and its three hundred and sixty townships, while to his brothers, the fiefs of Lambi and Jharli were respectively assigned. With the second brother, Raesil, the fortunes of the Shekhawuts made a rapid stride, from an occurrence in which the Rajpoot appears in the position we desire to see him occupy.

Noonkurn, the chief of the Shekhawuts, had a minister named Dévidás, of the *banya* or mercantile caste, and, like thousands of that caste, energetic, shrewd, and intelligent. He one day held an argument with his lord (which the result proves he maintained with independence), that "genius with good fortune was the first gift of heaven, and to be far more prized than a man's mere inheritance." Noonkurn warmly disputed the point, which ended by his telling the minister he might go to Lambi and make experiment of the truth of his argument on his brother Raesil. Dévidás lost no time, on this polite dismissal from his office, in proceeding with his family and property to Lambi. He was received with the usual hospitality; but soon discovered that Raesil's means were too confined to bear an additional burden, and that the field was too restricted to enable him to demonstrate the truth of the argument which lost him his place. He made known his determination to proceed to the imperial city, and advised Raesil to accompany him, and try his luck at court. Raesil, who was valiant and not without ambition, could only equip twenty horse, with which he arrived at Dehli just as an army was forming to oppose one of those Afghan invasions, so common at that period. In the action which ensued, Raesil had the good fortune to distinguish himself by cutting down a leader of the enemy, in the presence of the imperial general, which had a decided influence on the event of the day. Enquiries were made for the brave unknown, who had performed this heroic deed; but as, for reasons which will be perceived, he kept aloof from the quarters of his countrymen, the argument of Dévidás would never have been illustrated, had not the imperial commander determined to seek out and reward merit. He ordered a grand *zâfut*, or 'entertainment' to be prepared for the chiefs of every grade in the army, who were commanded afterwards to pay their respects to the general. As soon as Raesil appeared, he was recognised as the individual of whom they were in search. His name and family being disclosed, his brother, Noonkurn, who was serving with his quota, was called, whose anger was peremptorily expressed at his presuming to appear at court without his permission; but

¹ This will recall to the reader's recollection a similar custom in the ancient Persian empire, where the tribute of the distant Satrapies was of the same kind. Armenia, according to Herodotus, alone gave an annual tribute of twenty thousand colts.

this ebullition of jealousy was of little avail. Raesil was at once introduced to the great Akber, who bestowed upon him the title of *Raesil Durbári*,¹ and a more substantial mark of royal favour, in a grant of the districts of Rewasso and Khasullí, then belonging to the Chundaila Rajpoots. This was but the opening of Raesil's career, for scarcely had he settled his new possessions, when he was recalled to court to take part in an expedition against Bhutnair. Fresh services obtained new favours, and he received a grant of Khundaila and Oodipoor, then belonging to the Nurbhan Rajpoots, who disdained to pay allegiance to the empire, and gave themselves up to unlicensed rapine.

Raesil finding it would be a work of difficulty to expel the brave Nurbhans from their ancient *bapôtá* (patrimony), had recourse to stratagem to effect his object. Previous to the expedition to Bhutnair, Raesil had espoused the daughter of the chief of Khundaila, and it is related that a casual expression, dropped on that occasion, suggested his desire to obtain it for himself. Being dissatisfied with the dower (*dâjeja*) given with his bride, he, with no commendable taste, pertinaciously insisted upon an increase; upon which the Nurbhan chief, losing patience, hastily replied, "We have nothing else to give, unless you take the stones of the hill." The attendant *Sooguní* (augur), immediately turning to Raesil, said, in an undertone, "Tie a knot on the skirt of your garment in remembrance of this." An expression like this from a prophetic tongue gave birth to the wish to be lord of Khundaila; while his services to the king, and the imbecility of its Nurbhan possessor, conspired to fulfil it. Watching his opportunity, he marched against the place, and being in all probability supported by his liege lord, it was abandoned without defence, and the inhabitants tendered their submission to him. Henceforth, Khundaila was esteemed the principal city of the Shekhawut confederation; and the descendants of Raesil, using his name as a patronymic, are styled Raesilote, occupying all southern Shékhávátí; while another branch of later origin, called *Sadhani*, holds the northern tracts. Immediately after the occupation of Khundaila, Raesil obtained possession of Oodipoor, formerly called *Kasoombi*, also belonging to the Nurbhans.²

Raesil accompanied his proper liege lord, the great Raja Maun of Ambér, against the heroic Rana Pertap of Méwar. He was also in the expedition to Caubul, against the Afghans of Cohistán, in all of which enterprises he obtained fresh distinctions. Regarding his death, there is no record; but his history is another illustration of the Rajpoot character, whilst it confirms the position of the *Banyá*, that "genius and good fortune are far superior to inheritance."

Raesil, at his death, had a compact and well-managed territory, out

¹ It is always agreeable to find the truth of these simple annals corroborated in the historical remains of the conquerors of the Rajpoots. The name of Raesil Durbári will be found, in the Ayéen Akberri, amongst the *munsuddars* of twelve hundred and fifty horse; a rank of high importance, being equivalent to that conferred on the sons of potent Rajas.

² The Nurbhan is a *sach'ha*, or ramification of the Chohan race. They had long held possession of these regions, of which *Káts*, or Kasoombi, now Oodipoor, was the capital, the city where the grand council of the confederation always meets on great occasions. This may throw light on the Cusoombee mentioned on the triumphal pillar at Dehli; the Nurbhan capital is more likely to be the town alluded to, than Cusoombee on the Ganges.

of which he assigned appanages to his seven sons, from whom are descended the various families, who, with relative distinctive patronymics, Bhojânis Sadhânis, Larkhânis, Taj-khânis, Pursrâmpotas, Hur-râmpotas, are recognised throughout Rajwarra by the generic name of Shekhawut.

| | | | |
|---------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Gîrdhur . | . | . | Had Khundaila and Rewasso. |
| 2. Lârkhân | . | . | „ Kachriâwas. |
| 3. Bhojraj . | . | . | „ Oodipoor. |
| 4. Tirmul Rao | . | . | „ Kasulli and eighty-four villages. |
| 5. Pursrâm | . | . | „ Bâé. |
| 6. Hur-râmji | . | . | „ Moondurri. |
| 7. Taj-khân | . | . | „ No appanage. |

We shall not break the thread of the narrative of the elder branch of Khundaila, “chief of the sons of Shékhji,” to treat of the junior line, though the issue of Bhojraj have eclipsed, both in population and property, the senior descendants of Raesil.

Gîrdhur-ji succeeded to the prowess, the energy, and the estates of his father, and for a gallant action obtained from the emperor the title of Raja of Khundaila. At this period, the empire was in a most disordered state, and the mountainous region, called Méwat, was inhabited by a daring and ferocious banditti, called Mewohs, who pillaged in gangs even to the gates of the capital. The task of taking, dead or alive, the leader of this banditti, was assigned to the chief of Khundaila, who performed it with signal gallantry and success. Aware that, by the display of superior force, his enemy would remain in his lurking places, Gîrdhur put himself on terms of equality with his foe, and with a small but select band hunted the Mewatti leader down, and in the end slew him in single combat. The career of Gîrdhur, short as it was brilliant, was terminated by assassination, while bathing in the Jumna. The anecdote is descriptive of the difference of manners between the rustic Rajpoot and the debauched retainer of the court.

One of the Khundaila chief's men was waiting, in a blacksmith's shop, while his sword was repaired and sharpened. A Mooslem, passing by, thought he might have his jest with the unpolished Rajpoot, and after asking some impertinent questions, and laughing at the unintelligible replies in the *Bakha* of Rajwarra, slipped a heated cinder in the turban of the soldier: the insult was borne with great coolness, which increased the mirth of the Mussulman, and at length the turban took fire. The sword was then ready, and the *Thakoor*, after feeling the edge, with one blow laid the jester's head at his feet. He belonged to one of the chief nobles of the court, who immediately led his retainers to the Khundaila chief's quarters, and thence to where he was performing his religious ablutions in the Jumna, and whilst engaged in which act, unarmed and almost unattended, basely murdered him. Gîrdhur left several children.

Dwarca-dás, his eldest son, succeeded, and soon after his accession nearly fell a victim to the jealousy of the Munohurpoor chief, the representative of the elder branch of the family, being the lineal descendant of Noonkurn. The emperor had caught a lion in the toils, and gave out a grand hunt, when the Munohurpoor chief observed that his relative, the Raesilote, who was a votary of *Nahr-Singh*, was the proper person to

time the tyrant issued his mandate for the capitation-tax on all his Hindu subjects, and for the destruction of their temples.¹

To the personal enemy of the Shékhâwut was intrusted the twofold duty of exacting tribute, and the demolition of the temple, the ornament of Khundaila, whose chief, degrading the name of Bahadoor (warrior), abandoned his capital; and the royal army had arrived within two coss without the appearance of opposition. The news spread over the lands of the confederacy, that Bahadoor had fled from Khundaila, and that the Toork was bent on the destruction of its shrines. It reached the ear of Shujaun Sing, the chieftain of Chapowlee, a descendant of Bhojraj, the second son of Raesil. Embued with all the spirit of this hero, the brave Bhojaní resolved to devote himself to the protection of the temple, or perish in its defence. At the moment the tidings reached him, he was solemnising his nuptials on the Marwar frontier. Hastening home with his bride, he left her with his mother, and bade both a solemn farewell. In vain his kindred, collecting round him, dissuaded him from his design, urging that it was Bahadoor Sing's affair, not his. "Am not I," he said, "also of Raesil's stock, and can I allow the Toork to destroy the dwelling of the *T'hakoor* (lord), and not attempt to save it? Would this be acting the part of a Rajpoot?" As their entreaties were vain, they, to the number of sixty, resolved to accompany him, and share his fate. They were joined by a party of Bahadoor's adherents, and succeeded in entering Khundaila. The imperial commander, to whom this unlooked-for opposition was reported, well aware of what a Rajpoot is capable when excited to action, and perhaps moved by a generous feeling at seeing a handful of men oppose an army, requested that two of their number might be deputed to his camp to confer with him. He told them, that notwithstanding it was the king's command that he should raze the temple to the ground, he would be satisfied (if accompanied by proper submission) with taking off the *kullus*, or golden ball which surmounted its pinnacle. They endeavoured to dissuade him; offered money to the utmost possible amount of their means; but the answer was, "The *kullus* must come down." One of these noble delegates, no longer able to contain himself, exclaimed, "Break down the *kullus*!" as with some moist clay at his feet he moulded a ball, which he placed on a little mound before him; and drawing his sword, repeated, "Break down the *kullus*! I'dare you even to break this ball of clay!" The intrepidity of this action gained the applause even of the foe, and they had safe conduct to rejoin their brethren, and prepare them for the worst.

At this time, Khundaila had no fortifications; there was, however, a gateway half way up the hill in the route of ascent, which led to the place of residence of its chieftains, adjoining which was the temple. One party

¹ The numerous ruined shrines and mutilated statues in every town and village, still attest the zeal with which the bigot's orders were obeyed; nor is there an image of any antiquity with an entire set of features (except in spots impervious to his myrmidons), from Lahore to Cape Comorin. Omkarji, whose temple is on a small island of the Nerbudda, alone, it is said, supported his dignity in the indiscriminate attack on the deities of Hind. "If they are gods (said the tyrannical but witty iconoclast), let them evince their power, and by some miracle resist my commands." Omkarji received the first blow on his head, as if embued with mortal feeling, for the blood gushed from his nose and mouth, which prevented a repetition of the injury! This sensibility, though without the power of avenging himself, made Omkar's shrine doubly respected, and it continues to be one of the best frequented and most venerated in these regions.

quota, led by the *dhabhae* (foster-brother), to aid the national cause. Thus strengthened, Kesuri determined to oppose the royal forces hand to hand in the plain, and the rival armies encountered at the border town of Deolee. While victory manifested a wish to side with the confederated Shekhawuts, the old jealousies of Munohurpoor revived, and he withdrew his quota from the field, at the same moment that the Kasulli chief, on whom much depended, was slain. To crown these misfortunes, the Larkhani chief of Danta, basely deeming this an opportunity to consult his own interest, abandoned the field, to take possession of Rewasso. The 'lion' of Khundaila (Kesuri), observing these defections, when the shout of "*Jy ! jy !*" (victory, victory), already rang in his ears, could not help exclaiming, in the bitterness of despair, "Had Futteh Sing been here, he would not have deserted me." He disdained, however, to give way, and prepared to meet his fate like a true Raesilote. Sending to where the battle yet raged for his youngest brother, Oodi Sing, he urged him to save himself ; but the young Rajpoot scorned obedience to such a behest, until Kesuri made known his determination not to quit the field, adding that if he also were slain, there would be an end of his line. Others joined their persuasions, and even attempted to turn Kesuri from his purpose. "No," replied the chief, "I have no desire for life ; two black deeds press upon me ; the murder of my brother, and the curse of the Charuns of Bikanér, whom I neglected at the distribution of the nuptial gifts. I will not add a third by dastardly flight." As Oodi Sing reluctantly obeyed, while the swords rung around him, Kesuri made a hasty sacrifice to *Awini-mata* (mother earth), of which flesh, blood, and earth are the ingredients. He cut pieces from his own body, but as scarcely any blood flowed, his own uncle, Mokum Sing of Allodah, parted with some of his, for so grand an obligation as the retention of Khundaila. Mixing his own flesh, and his uncle's blood, with a portion of his own sandy soil, he formed small balls in *dan* (gift), for the maintenance of the land to his posterity. The *D'homb* (bard), who repeated the incantations, pronounced the sacrifice accepted, and that seven generations of his line should rule in Khundaila.¹ The brave Kesuri was slain, the town taken, and Oodi Sing carried to Ajmér, where he remained three years in captivity. At this time, the chiefs of Oodipoor and Kasulli determined to cut off the royal garrison in Khundaila ; but apprehensive of the danger it might occasion to their chief, they sent a special messenger to Ajmér, to acquaint the viceroy of their scheme, previous to its execution, to prevent his being implicated. Khundaila was surprised, and Deonath and three hundred Toorks put to the sword. The viceroy, desirous to recover the place, consulted his prisoner, who offered to reinstate him if he granted him liberty. The Nawab demanded a hostage, but the young Rajpoot said he knew of none but his own mother, who willingly became the pledge for her son. He fulfilled his agreement, and the viceroy was so pleased with his frank and loyal conduct, that on paying a large *nuzzarana*, he restored him to his capital.

Oodi Sing's first act was to assemble his brethren, in order to punish Munohurpoor, whose treachery had caused them so much misery. The

¹ The fifth, as will be seen hereafter, has been expelled, and authority usurped by the Kasulli branch of the family, and unless some fortunate change should occur, the devotion of Kesuri was useless, and the prophecy must fall to the ground.

foster-brother, who commanded on that occasion, was again entrusted with the command; but he fled after a sharp encounter, and Munohurpoor was invested. Seeing he had no chance of salvation, he had again recourse to *chul* (stratagem). There were two feudatories of Noonkurn's line, joint-holders of Khajrolli, who had long been at variance with Deep Sing of Kasulli, the principal adviser of the young Raja of Khundaila. They were gained over to the purpose of the Munohurpoor chief, who sent them with a private message to Deep Sing, that no sooner should Munohurpoor fall than he would be deprived of Kasulli. These treacherous proceedings were but too common amongst "the sons of Shékhji." Deep Sing fell into the snare, and at break of day, when the trumpets sounded for the assault, the drums of the Kasulli chief were heard in full march to his estate. Oodi Sing, thus deprived of his revenge, followed Deep Sing, who, aware of his inability to cope with his immediate chief, fled for succour to Jeipoor, and Kasulli fell a sacrifice to the artifices which preserved Munohurpoor. The great Jey Sing then ruled Ambér; he received the suppliant chief, and promised him ample redress, on his swearing to become his vassal and tributary. Deep Sing swore allegiance to the *gadi* of Jey Sing, and signed a tributary engagement of four thousand rupees annually!

Thus recommenced the supremacy of Ambér over the confederated Shekhawuts, which had been thrown off ever since the dispute regarding the colts of Amrutsir, the ancient mark of homage, when "the sons of Shékhji" consisted only of a few hundred armed men. Shortly after this transaction, Jey Sing proceeded to the Ganges to fulfil certain rites upon an eclipse, and while performing his ablutions in the sacred stream, and the gifts for distribution to the priests being collected on the bank, he inquired "who was present to receive *dân* that day?" The Kasulli chief, spreading out the skirt of his garment, replied, he was an applicant. Such *dân* (gifts) being only given to *manglas*, or mendicants, in which class they put priests, poets, and the poor, the Raja asked, laughing, "What is your desire, T'hakoor?" To which Deep Sing replied, that through his intercession the son of Futteh Sing might obtain his father's share of Khundaila; which request was complied with.

This occurrence was in A.D. 1716, when the Jâts were rising into power, and when all the minor Rajas served with their contingents under the great Jey Sing, as lieutenant of the emperor. Along with the princes of Kerowli, Bhadorea, Sheopoor, and many others of the third rank, was Oodi Sing of Khundaila. During the siege of Thoon, the Shekhawut chief was reprimanded for neglect of duty, and although he owed a double allegiance to Jey Sing, as his natural liege lord and lieutenant of the king, he would not brook the censure from one of his own race, and indignantly withdrew from the siege. Chooramun the Jât, having contrived to make his peace with the Syed vizier, when Thoon was upon the eve of surrender, and Oodi Sing being implicated in this intrigue, Jey Sing, who was mortified at an occurrence which prevented the gratification of a long-cherished resentment against the upstart Jâts, determined that the Khundaila chief should suffer for his audacity. Attended by the imperialists under Bazeed Khan, and all his home clans, he laid siege to the citadel called Oodigurh. Oodi Sing held out a month in this castle he had constructed and called by his own name, when his resources failing, he fled to Nuroo in Marwar, and his son, Sowaé Sing, presented the keys, throwing himself on

the clemency of the conqueror. He was well received, and pardoned, on condition of becoming tributary to Ambér. He followed the example of the Kasulli chief, and signed an engagement to pay annually one lakh of rupees. From this a deduction of fifteen thousand was subsequently made, and in time being reduced twenty thousand more, sixty-five thousand continued to be the tribute of Khundaila, until the decay of both the parent state and its scion, when the weakness of the former, and the merciless outrages of the predatory powers, Pat'han and Mahratta, rendered its amount uncertain and difficult to realise. Moreover, recalling his promise to Deep Sing, he restored the division of the lands as existing prior to the murder of Futteh Sing, namely, three shares to Sowae Sing, with the title of chief of the Shekhawuts, and two to Dheer Sing, son of Futteh Sing. The young cousin chieftains, now joint-holders of Khundaila, attended their liege lord with their contingent; and Oodi Sing, taking advantage of their absence, with the aid of a band of outlawed Larkhanis, surprised and took Khundaila. Attended by the Jeipoor troops, the son performed the dutiful task of expelling his father from his inheritance, who again fled to Nuroo, where he resided upon a pension of five rupees a day, given by his son, until his death. He, however, outlived Sowae Sing, who left three sons: Bindrabun, who succeeded to Khundaila; Simboo, who had the appanage of Ranolli; and Koosul, having that of Piperolli.

CHAPTER VI

Bindrabun Das adheres to Madhú Sing in the civil wars of Ambér—Partition of lands annulled—Self-immolation of the Brahmins—Consequences to Bindrabun, in his contest with Indur Sing, the other chief of Khundaila—Civil war—Prodigal expiatory sacrifice of Bindrabun—He abdicates—Govind Sing—Is assassinated—Nursing-Das—Rise and devastations of the Mahrattas—Siege of Khundaila—Terms of redemption—Murder of deputies by the Mahrattas—Indur Sing perishes in the attempt to avenge them—Pertap Sing—Rise of the Seekur chief—Transactions between Pertap and Nursing, his co-partner—Pertap obtains the whole of Khundaila—Nursing recovers by stratagem his share of Khundaila—Domestic broils and feuds—General assembly of the Sadhani and Raesilote chiefs, to counteract the encroachments of Ambér—Treaty between the Shekhawuts and the court of Ambér—Violated by the latter—The confederacy assault the town of the Huldea faction—Nursing refuses tribute to the court; and Khundaila is sequestered—Nursing and Pertap treacherously made captive, and conveyed to Jeipoor—Khundaila annexed to the fisc.

BINDRABUN DAS steadfastly adhered to Madhú Sing in the civil wars which ensued for the *gadi* of Ambér, and the latter, when success attended his cause, wished to reward the important services of his feudatory. At his request, he consented that the partition of the lands which had caused so much bloodshed should be annulled, and that Bindrabun should rule as sole lord of Khundaila. Five thousand men were placed under his command for the expulsion of the minor, Indur Sing, grandson of Deo Sing, who made a stout resistance for many months; but at length his little castle was no longer tenable, and he fled to Parasoli, where he again defended himself, and was again on the point of surrender, when an

unexpected accident not only saved him from exile, but restored him to his rights.

The mercenaries were supported at the sole charge of Bindrabun, and as his ancestors left no treasury, he was compelled to resort to the contribution called *dind* from his subjects, not even exempting the hierarchy. Piqued at this unusual demand, some of the wealthiest Brahmins expostulated with the Raja on this indignity to the order. But their appeals were disregarded by their chief, whose existence depended on supplies. The loss of influence as well as wealth being the fruit of this disregard of their remonstrance, they had recourse to that singular species of revenge termed *chandi*, or self-immolation, and poignarded themselves in his presence, pouring maledictions on his head with their last breath. The blood of Brahmins now rested on the head of Bindrabun; even amongst his personal friends he laboured under a species of excommunication, and his liege lord, Madhú Sing of Ambér, in order to expiate his indirect share in the guilt, recalled his troops, and distributed twenty thousand rupees to the Brahmins of his own capital. Indur Sing had thus time to breathe, and having collected all his retainers, wisely joined the Jeipoor army assembling under the command of the celebrated Khoshialiram Bhora to chastise the Rao of Macherri, who was expelled and obliged to seek refuge with the Jâts. In this service Indur Sing so much distinguished himself, that, on the payment of a *nuzzerana* of fifty thousand rupees, he recovered his lost share of Khundaila, by a regular *putta*, or grant, of the Raja.

Perpetual feuds, however, raged between these two kings of Khundaila, each of whom had his castle, or fortified palace. Each day "there was war even in the gates" of Khundaila, and at the hazard of prolixity we shall state how it was conducted, challenging the records of any civil war to produce an instance in which all the ties of blood and kindred were more disregarded than in this *bellum plusquam civile*.

Indur Sing had popularity on his side to balance the other's superior power, and he was briskly pushing an attack on Oodigurh, the castle of his opponent, when he was joined by Raghúnat Sing, the younger son of his foeman. This youth, who had the township of Koochore in appanage, helped himself to three more, to retain which he sided with his father's foe. Bindrabun, in order to create a diversion, sallied out to attack Koochore; to oppose which, his son, together with his nephew, Pirthi Sing of Ranolli and his retainers, withdrew from the batteries to defend it. But the attack on Koochore had already failed, and Bindrabun was on his retreat to regain Khundaila, when he was intercepted. The battle took place outside the city, whose gates were shut against friend and foe, to prevent a pell-mell entry. At the same time, the siege of Oodigurh was not slackened; it was defended by Govind Sing, the eldest son of Bindrabun, while the batteries against it were commanded by another near kinsman, Nahr Sing of Cherana. For several days daily combats ensued, in which were to be seen father and son, uncles and nephews, and cousins within every degree of affinity, destroying each other. At length, both parties were exhausted and a compromise ensued, in which Indur Sing obtained the rights he had so manfully vindicated.

At this time, a dying and desultory effort to regain his lost power was made by Nujuf Kooli Khan, at the head of the imperialists, who,

conducted by the traitorous Macherri Rao, led the royal army into the lands of the confederacy to raise contributions, for which he was cordially and laudably detested. Nowul Sing of Nowulgurh, Bagh Sing of Keytri, Soorajmul of Bussao, all chieftains of the Sadhanís, unable to comply with the requisitions, were carried off, and retained captive till ransomed for many lakhs of rupees ; all eventually raised upon the impoverished husbandman and industrious merchant.

The din of civil war having ended, the ministers of religion never ceased pouring into the ears of Bindrabun the necessity of expiation and oblations for the murder of their brethren, and he was daily sacrificing the birthright of his children, in grants of the best lands of Khundaila, to these drones of society, when Govind, the heir-apparent, remonstrated, which was followed by the abdication of Bindrabun, who, appropriating five townships and the impost duties of Khundaila for his support, left the cares of government to his son.¹

Govind Sing did not long enjoy the honours of chief of the Raesilotes. The year of his elevation having produced an unfavourable harvest, at the request of his vassal of Ranolli he proceeded to inspect the crops preparatory to a reduction in the assessment. Less superstitious than his father, he persevered in spite of the predictions of the astrologer, who told him, "to beware the ides (*amavus*) of Paush," and not to go abroad that day. In the course of the excursion, one of his personal attendants, a Rajpoot of Kajrolli, had lost some valuable article entrusted to his charge, and the impetuous chief broadly taxed him with theft. His protestations of innocence were unavailing, and considering himself dishonoured by the imputation, which might possibly be followed by some disgraceful punishment, he determined to anticipate his chief, and murdered him that night. Govind left five sons, Nursing, Soorajmul (who had Dodeca), Bagh Sing, Jowan Sing, and Runjeet, all of whom had families.

Nursing-Das, his eldest son, succeeded. In spite of internal dissensions, occasional chastisement, and pecuniary exactions from the imperial armies, or those of their immediate liege lord of Ambér, the confederated *frèrage* of Shékhávati had increased their territory and population. Only the shadow of a name now remained to the empire of the Great Mogul ; and their own lord-paramount, satisfied with a certain degree of homage, tribute, and service on emergencies, was little inclined to trench further upon their national independence. But a new enemy had now arisen, and though of their own faith, far more destructive than even the intolerant Islamite. Happy were the inhabitants of the desert who had an ocean of sand between them and this scourge of India, the insatiable Mahratta. After the fatal day of Mairta, where the evil genius of Rajpootana enabled De Boigne to give the last blow to her independence, the desultory hordes roved in bands through the lands of the confederation, plundering, murdering, and carrying off captive the principal chiefs or their children, as hostages for contributions they could not realise. These were dragged about after their armies, until the hardships and indignities they underwent made them sell every article of value, or until the charge of keeping, or the trouble of guarding them, rendered their prolonged captivity burdensome to the wandering Southrons.

Let us follow the path of the barbarians, and trace only one day's

¹ His second son, Raghúnath, had Koochore in appanage.

acts of outrage. When the Mahrattas entered the lands of the federation, soon after the battle of Mairta, they first attacked Baé. The inhabitants, knowing that they had no hope of mercy from these marauders, fled, carrying away all the effects they could to the larger towns, while a garrison of eighty Rajpoots took post in the little castle, to defend the point of honour against this new assailant. Baé was stormed; not one Rajpoot would accept of quarter, and all were put to the sword. The enemy proceeded to Khundaila, the route marked by similar tracks of blood. When within two *cos*s of the town, the horde halted at Hodegong, and a *Pundit*¹ was sent to Rao Indur Sing to settle the contribution, which was fixed at twenty thousand rupees, besides three thousand in *ghoos*² (bribe), for the Brahmin negotiator. The two chiefs, who negotiated on the part of the joint Rajas of Khundaila, proceeded with the *Pundit* to the enemy's camp; their names were Nowal and Duleel. As it was out of their power to realise so large a sum, they were accompanied by the joint revenue officers of Khundaila as *ole*, or hostage, when to their dismay, the Southron commander demurred, and said they themselves must remain. One of the chieftains, with the *sang froid* which a Rajpoot never loses, coolly replied, that should not be, and taking his *hooka* from his attendant, began unceremoniously to smoke, when a rude *Dekhany* knocked the pipe from his hand. The T'hakoor's sword was unsheathed in an instant, but ere he had time to use it a pistol-ball passed through his brain. Duleel Sing's party, attempting to avenge their companion, were cut off to a man; and Indur Sing, who had left Khundaila to learn how the negotiations sped, arrived just in time to see his clansmen butchered. He was advised to regain Khundaila: "No," replied the intrepid Raesilote; "better that I should fall before the gates of Khundaila than enter them after such disgrace, without avenging my kinsmen." Dismounting from his horse, he turned him loose, his adherents following his example; and sword in hand they rushed on the host of assassins and met their fate. Indur Sing was stretched beside his vassals, and, strange to say, Duleel was the only survivor: though covered with wounds, he was taken up alive, and carried to the hostile camp.

Such was the opening scene of the lengthened tragedy enacted in Shék-hávati, when Mahratta actors succeeded to Pat'hans and Moguls: heirs to their worst feelings, without one particle of their magnanimity or courtesy. But the territory of the confederacy was far too narrow a stage; even the entire plain of India appeared at one time too restricted for the hydra-headed banditti, nor is there a principality, district, or even township, from the Sutlej to the sea, where similar massacres have not been known, and but for our interposition, such scenes would have continued to the present hour.

Pertap Sing, who succeeded his brave father in his share of the patri-

¹ The ministers of religion were the only *clerks* amongst this race of depredators, and they were not behind the most illiterate in cupidity, and to say the truth, courage, when required; and as for skill in negotiation, a Mahratta Brahmin stands alone: keen, skilful, and imperturbable, he would have baffled Machiavelli himself.

² *Ghoos* is literally 'a bribe'; and no treaty or transaction was ever carried on without this stipulation. So sacred was the *ghoos* held, from tyrant usage, that the Peshwa ministers, when they ruled the destinies of their nation, stipulated that the *ghoos* should go to the privy purse!

mony, was at this crisis with his mother at Sikrâc, a strong fort in the hills, ten miles from Khundaila. To save the town, the principal men dug up the grain-pits, selling their property to release their minor chief from further trouble. Having obtained all they could, the enemy proceeded to the lands of the Sadhanis. Oodipoor was the first assaulted, taken, and sacked; the walls were knocked down, and the floors dug up in search of treasure. After four days' havoc, they left it a ruin, and marched against the northern chieftains of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Keytri. On the departure of the foe, young Pertap and his kinsman, Nursing, took up their abode in Khundaila; but scarcely had they recovered from the effects of the Dekhani incursion, before demands were made by their liege lord of Ambér for the tribute. Pertap made his peace by assigning a fourth of the harvest; but Nursing, in the procrastinating and haughty spirit of his ancestors, despised an arrangement which, he said (and with justice), would reduce him to the level of a common *Bhomia* landholder.

At this period, a remote branch of the Khundaila Shekhawuts began to disclose a spirit that afterwards gained him distinction. Dévl Sing, chieftain of Seekur, a descendant of Rao Tirmul of Kasulli, had added to his patrimony by the usurpation of no less than twenty-five large townships, as Lohagurra, Kho, etc.; and he deemed this a good opportunity, his chief being embroiled with the court, to make an attack on Rewasso; but death put a stop to the ambitious views of the Seekur chieftain. Having no issue, he had adopted Luchmun Sing, son of the Shahpoora T'hakoor; but the Jeipoor court, which had taken great umbrage at these most unjustifiable assaults of the Seekur chief on his weaker brethren, commanded Nundram Huldia (brother of the prime minister Doulet Ram), collector of the Shekhawut tribute, to attack and humble him. No sooner were the orders of the court promulgated, than all the *Barwuttias*¹ gathered round the standard of the collector, to aid in the redemption of their patrimonies wrested from them by Seekur. Besides the Khundaila chief in person, there were the *Putlawuts* of Kasulli, Bilara, and others of Tirmul's stock; and even the Sadhanis, who little interfered in the affairs of the Raesilotes, repaired with joy with their tribute and their retainers to the camp of the Jeipoor commander, to depress the Seekur chief, who was rapidly rising over them all. Nearly the whole troops of the confederacy were thus assembled. Dévl Sing, it may be imagined, was no common character, to have excited such universal hatred; and his first care had been to make strong friends at court, in order to retain what he had acquired. He had especially cultivated the minister's friendship, which was now turned to account. A deputation, consisting of a Chondawut chief, the Dewân of Seekur, and that important character the *Dhâbhâc*, repaired to the Huldia, and implored him in the name of the deceased, not to give up his infant son to hungry and revengeful *Barwuttias*. The Huldia said there was but one way by which he could avoid the fulfilment of his court's command, which was for them, as he approached the place, to congregate a force so formidable from its numbers, as to exonerate him from all suspicion of collusion. With the treasury of Dévl

¹ *Barwuttia* is 'one expatriated,' from 'bar,' 'out of,' and *wuttun*, 'a country,' and it means either an exile or an outlaw, according to the measure of crime which caused his banishment from his country.

Sing, overflowing from the spoliation of the Kaimkhani of Futtehpoor, it was easy to afford such indemnity to the Huldia, at whose approach to Seekur ten thousand men appeared to oppose him. Having made a show of investing Seekur, and expended a good deal of ammunition, he addressed his court, where his brother was minister, stating he could make nothing of Seekur without great loss, both of time, men, and money, and advising an acceptance of the proffered submission. Without waiting a reply, he took two lakhs as a fine for his sovereign, and a present of one for himself. The siege was broken up, and Seekur was permitted to prosecute his schemes ; in which he was not a little aided by the continued feuds of the co-partner chiefs of Khundaila. Pertap took advantage of Nursing's non-compliance with the court's requisition, and his consequent disgrace, to settle the feud of their fathers, and unite both shares in his own person ; and stipulated in return to be responsible for the whole tribute, be ready with his contingent to serve the court, and pay besides a handsome *nuzzerana* or investiture. The Huldia was about to comply, when Rawul Indur Sing of Samote, chief of the Nat'hawut clan, interceded for Nursing, and inviting him on his own responsibility to the camp, acquainted him with the procedure of his rival, in whose name the patent for Khundaila was actually made out ; "but even now," said this noble chief, "I will stay it if you comply with the terms of the court." But Nursing either would not, or could not, and the Samote chief urged his immediate departure ; adding that as he came under his guarantee, he was desirous to see him safe back, for "such were the crooked ways of the Ambér house," that if he prolonged his stay, he might be involved in ruin in his desire to protect him. Accordingly, at dusk, with sixty of his own retainers, he escorted him to Nowulgurh, and the next morning he was in his castle of Govindgurh. The precautions of the Samote chief were not vain, and he was reproached and threatened with the court's displeasure, for permitting Nursing's departure ; but he nobly replied, "he had performed the duty of a Rajpoot, and would abide the consequences." As the sequel will further exemplify the corruptions of courts, and the base passions of kindred, under a system of feudal government, we shall trespass on the reader's patience by recording the result.

Samote and Chomoo are the chief houses of the Nat'hawut clan ; the elder branch enjoying the title of Rawul, with supremacy over the numerous vassalage. But these two families had often contested the lead, and their feuds had caused much bloodshed. On the disgrace of Indur Sing, as already related, his rival of Chomoo repaired to court, and offered so large a *nuzzerana* as to be invested with rights of seniority. Avarice and revenge were good advocates : a warrant was made out and transmitted to Indur Sing (still serving with the collector of the tribute) for the sequestration of Samote. Placing, like a dutiful subject, the warrant to his forehead, he instantly departed for Samote, and commanded the removal of his family, his goods and chattels, from the seat of his ancestors, and went into exile in Marwar. In after times, his Raní had a grant of the village of Peeplye, to which the magnanimous, patriotic, and loyal Indur Sing, when he found the hand of death upon him, repaired, that he might die in the hands of the Cuchwahās, and have his ashes buried amongst his fathers. This man, who was naturally brave, acted upon the abstract principle of *swamdherma*, or 'fealty,' which is not even now exploded, in

the midst of corruption and demoralisation. Indur Sing would have been fully justified, according to all the principles which govern these states, in resisting the iniquitous mandate. Such an act might have been deemed rebellion by those who look only at the surface of things; but let the present lords-paramount go deeper, when they have to decide between a Raja and his feudatories, and look to the origin and condition of both, and the ties which alone can hold such associations together.

To return: Pertap Sing, having thus obtained the whole of Khundaila, commenced the demolition of a fortified gate, whence during the feuds his antagonist used to play some swivels against his castle. While the work of destruction was advancing, an omen occurred, foreboding evil to Pertap. An image of Ganésa, the god of wisdom and protector of the arts (more especially of architecture), was fixed in the wall of this gate, which an ill-fated and unintentional blow knocked from its elevated position to the earth, and being of *terra-cotta*, his fragments lay dishonoured and scattered on the pavement. Notwithstanding this, the demolition was completed, and the long obnoxious gateway levelled with the earth. Pertap, having adjusted affairs in the capital, proceeded against Réwasso, which he reduced, and then laid siege to Govindgurh, aided by a detachment of the Huldia. Having encamped at Goorah, two coss from it, and twice that distance from Ranolli, its chief, who still espoused the cause of his immediate head, the unfortunate Nursing, sent his minister to the Huldia, offering not only to be responsible for all arrears due by Nursing, but also a handsome *douceur*, to restore him to his rights. He repaired to Khundaila, stationed a party in the fortified palace of Nursing, and consented that they should be expelled, as if by force of his adherents, from Govindgurh. Accordingly, Soorajmul and Bagh Sing, the brothers of Nursing, in the dead of night, with one hundred and fifty followers, made a mock attack on the Huldia's followers, expelled them, and made good a lodgment in their ancient dwelling. Pertap was highly exasperated; and to render the acquisition useless, he ordered the possession of a point which commanded the *mahl*; but here he was anticipated by his opponent, whose party now poured into Khundaila. He then cut off their supplies of water, by fortifying the reservoirs and wells, and this brought matters to a crisis. An action ensued, in which many were killed on each side, when the traitorous Huldia interposed the five-coloured banner, and caused the combat to cease. Nursing, at this juncture, joined the combatants in person, from his castle of Govindgurh, and a treaty was forthwith set on foot, which left the district of Rewasso to Pertap, and restored to Nursing his share of Khundaila.

These domestic broils continued, however, and occasions were perpetually recurring to bring the rivals in collision. The first was on the festival of the *Gangore*; ¹ the next on the Ranolli chief placing in durance a vassal of Pertap, which produced a general gathering of the clans: both ended in an appeal to the lord-paramount, who soon merged the office of arbitrator in that of dictator.

The Sadhanis, or chieftains of northern Shékáhvati, began to feel the bad effects of these feuds of the Raesilotes, and to express dissatisfaction at the progressive advances of the Jeipoor court for the establishment of its supremacy. Until this period they had escaped any tributary engage-

¹ See vol. i. p. 454, for an account of this festival.

ments, and only recognised their connection with Ambér by marks of homage and fealty on lapses, which belonged more to kindred than political superiority. But as the armies of the court were now perpetually on the frontiers, and might soon pass over, they deemed it necessary to take measures for their safety. The township of Tooe, appertaining to Nowulgurh, had already been seized, and Ranolli was battered for the restoration of the subject of Pertap. These were grievances which affected all the Sadhanis, who, perceiving they could no longer preserve their neutrality, determined to abandon their internal dissensions, and form a system of general defence. Accordingly, a general assembly of the Sadhani lords, and as many of the Raesilotes as chose to attend, was announced at the ancient place of rendezvous, Oodipoor. To increase the solemnity of the occasion, and to banish all suspicion of treachery, as well as to extinguish ancient feuds, and reconcile chiefs who had never met but in hostility, it was unanimously agreed that the most sacred pledge of good faith, the *Noon-dáb*,¹ or dipping the hand in the salt, should take place.

The entire body of the Sadhani lords, with all their retainers, met at the appointed time, as did nearly all the Raesilotes, excepting the joint chieftains of Khundaila, too deeply tainted with mutual distrust to take part in this august and national congress of all "the children of Shékhji." It was decided in this grand council, that all internal strife should cease; and that for the future, whenever it might occur, there should be no appeals to the arbitration of Jeipoor; but that on all such occasions, or where the general interests were endangered, a meeting should take place at "the Pass of Oodipoor," to deliberate and decide, but above all to repel by force of arms, if necessary, the further encroachments of the court. This unusual measure alarmed the court of Ambér, and when oppression had generated determined resistance, it disapproved and disowned the proceedings of its lieutenant, who was superseded by Rora Ram, with orders to secure the person of his predecessor. His flight preserved him from captivity in the dungeons of Ambér, but his estates, as well as those of the minister his brother, were resumed, and all their property was confiscated.

The new commander, who was a tailor by caste, was ordered to follow the Huldia to the last extremity; for, in these regions, displaced ministers and rebels are identical. It was expected, if they did not lose their heads, to see them in opposition to the orders of their sovereign lord, whose slaves they had so lately proclaimed themselves: in fact, a rebel minister in Rajwarra is like an ex-Tory or ex-Whig elsewhere, nor does restoration to the councils of his sovereign, perhaps in a few short months after he carried arms against him, plundered his subjects, and carried conflagration in his towns, excite more than transient emotion. The new commander was eager to obtain the services of the assembled Shekhawuts against the Huldias, but experience had given them wisdom; and they not only exacted stipulations befitting their position, as the price of this aid, but, what was of more consequence, negotiated the conditions of their future connection with the lord-paramount.

The *first* article was the immediate restoration of the townships which the Huldia had seized upon, as Tooe, Gwala, etc.

The *second*, that the court should disavow all pretensions to exact

¹ *Noon* or *loon* 'salt,' and *dábna*, 'to dip, bespatter, or sprinkle.'

tribute beyond what they had voluntarily stipulated, and which they would remit to the capital.

Third, that on no account should the armies of the court enter the lands of the confederation, the consequences of which had been so strongly marked in the atrocities at Khundaila.

Fourth, that the confederacy would furnish a contingent for the service of the court, which should be paid by the court while so employed.

The treaty being ratified through the intervention of the new commander, and having received in advance 10,000 rupees for their expenses, the chiefs with their retainers repaired to the capital, and after paying homage to their liege lord, zealously set to work to execute its orders on the Huldia faction, who were dispossessed of their estates. But, as observed in the annals of the parent state, Jeipoor had obtained the distinction of the *jootha durbar*, or 'lying court,' of the justness of which epithet it afforded an illustration in its conduct to the confederated chieftains, who soon discovered the difference between promises and performance. They had done their duty, but they obtained not one of the advantages for which they agreed to serve the court; and they had the mortification to see they had merely displaced the garrisons of the Huldia for those of Rora Ram. After a short consultation, they determined to seek themselves the justice that was denied them; accordingly, they assaulted in succession the towns occupied by Rora Ram's myrmidons, drove them out, and made them over to their original proprietors.

At the same time, the court having demanded the usual tribute from Nursing Das, which was always in arrear, he had the imprudence to stone the agent, who was a relation of the minister. He hastened to the Presence, "threw his turban at the Raja's feet," saying, he was dishonoured for ever. A mandate was instantaneously issued for the sequestration of Khundaila and the capture of Nursing, who bade his liege lord defiance from his castle of Govindgurrh: but his co-partner, Pertap Sing, having no just cause of apprehension, remained in Khundaila, which was environed by the Jeipoor troops under Assaram. His security was his ruin; but the wily Banyan (Assaram), who wished to seize at once the joint holders of the estate, offered no molestation to Pertap, while he laid a plot for the other. He invited his return, on the *buchun*, or 'pledge of safety,' of the Munohurpoor chief. Nursing did not hesitate, for rank as was the character of his countrymen in these degenerate days, no Rajpoot had ever incurred the epithet of *Buchun-chook*, tenfold more odious than that of murderer, and which no future action, however brilliant, could obliterate, even from his descendants to the latest posterity. On the faith of this *buchun*, Nursing came, and a mock negotiation was carried on for the arrears of tribute, and a time fixed for payment. Nursing returned to Khundaila, and Assaram broke up his camp and moved away. The crafty Banyan, having thus successfully thrown him off his guard, on the third day rapidly retraced his steps, and at midnight surrounded Nursing in his abode, who was ordered to proceed forthwith to the camp. Burning with indignation, he attempted self-destruction, but was withheld; and accompanied by a few Rajpoots who swore to protect or die with him, he joined Assaram to see the issue.

A simple plan was adopted to secure Pertap, and he fearlessly obeyed the summons. Both parties remained in camp; the one was amused

with a negotiation for his liberation on the payment of a fine ; the other had higher hopes ; and in the indulgence of both, their vassals relaxed in vigilance. While they were at dinner, a party planted in ambuscade rushed out, and before they could seize their arms, made captive both the chiefs. They were pinioned like felons, put into a covered carriage, despatched under the guard of five hundred men to the capital, and found apartments ready for them in the state-prison of Ambér. It is an axiom with these people, that the end sanctifies the means ; and the prince and his minister congratulated each other on the complete success of the scheme. Khundaila was declared *khālisa* (fiscal), and garrisoned by five hundred men from the camp, while the inferior feudatories, holding estates detached from the capital, were received on terms, and even allowed to hold their fiefs on the promise that they did not disturb the sequestered lands.

CHAPTER VII

Bagh Sing opposes the faithless court of Ambér—He is joined by the celebrated George Thomas—Desperate action—Bagh Sing placed in the fortified palace at Khundaila—His garrison, with his brother, slain by Hunwunt Sing, son of Pertap—Bagh regains the palace—The lands of Khundaila farmed by Ambér to two Brahmins—They are expelled by the feudatory *Barwutteas*, who resist the court—They become a banditti—Singram Sing, cousin to Pertap, their leader—He avoids the treachery of the court—His death—The confederacy unite in the league against Jodpoor—New treaty with the Ambér court—Liberation of Pertap and Nursing—Grand union of the Shekha-wuts—Abhé Sing succeeds in Khundaila—Treachery of the court—Hunwunt regains Govindgurh, Khundaila, etc.—Restoration of Khooshialiram to the ministry of Jeipoor—New investitures granted to the feudatories of Khundaila—Abhé and Pertap inducted into their ancestral abodes—Incident illustrative of the defects of the Rajpoot feudal system—Khundaila assailed by Luchman Sing, chief of Seekur—Gallant defence of Hunwunt—His death—Surrender of Khundaila to Luchman Sing—The co-heirs exiled—Power and influence of Luchman Sing—Fails the designs of the Purohit—Present attitude of Luchman Sing—Subordinate branches of the Shekha-wuts—The Sadhanis—Their territories wrested from the Kaimkhanis and Rajpoots—The Keytri branch of the family of Sadhoo attains superiority—Bagh Sing of Keytri murders his own son—The Larkhanis—Revenues of Shékshávatí.

DEENARAM BOHRA was now (A.D. 1798-9) prime minister of Jeipoor, and he no sooner heard of the success of Assaram, than he proceeded to join him in person, for the purpose of collecting the tribute due by the Sadhani chiefs. Having formed a junction with Assaram at Oodipoor, they marched to Pursarampoor, a town in the heart of the Sadhanis, whence they issued commands for the tribute to be brought ; to expedite which, the ministers sent *d'hoos*¹ to all the townships of the confederacy. This insulting process irritated the Sadhanis to such a degree that they wrote to Deenaram to withdraw his parties instantly, and retrace his steps to Jhoonjoonoo, or abide the consequences ; declaring, if he did so, that

¹ *Dhoos* is an expedient to hasten the compliance of a demand from a dependent. A party of horse proceeds to the township, and are commanded to receive so much per day till the exaction is complied with. If the *dhoos* is refused, it is considered tantamount to an appeal to arms.

the collective tribute, of which ten thousand was then ready, would be forthcoming. All had assented to this arrangement but Bagh Sing, brother of the captive prince of Khundaila, who was so incensed at the faithless conduct of the court, after the great services they had so recently performed, that he determined to oppose by force of arms this infraction of their charter, which declared the inviolability of the territory of the confederation so long as the tribute was paid. He was joined by five hundred men of Keytrí, with which having levied contributions at Singhana and Futtehpoor from the traitorous lord of Seekur, he invited to their aid the celebrated George Thomas, then carving out his fortunes amongst these discordant political elements. Nearly the whole of the Jeipoor mercenary and feudal army was embodied on this occasion, and although far superior in numbers to the confederation, yet the presence of Thomas and his regulars more than counterpoised their numerical inferiority. The attack of Thomas was irresistible; the Jeipoor lines led by Rora Ram gave way, and lost several pieces of artillery. To redeem what the cowardice and ill conduct of the general in chief had lost, the chieftain of Chomoo formed a *gole* or dense band of the feudal chivalry, which he led in person against Thomas's brigade, charging to the mouths of his guns. His object, the recovery of the guns, was attained with great slaughter on each side. The Chomoo chief (Runjeet Sing) was desperately wounded, and Buhadoor Sing, Pahar Sing, chiefs of the Khangarote clans, with many others, were slain by discharges of grape; the guns were retrieved, and Thomas and his auxiliaries were deprived of a victory, and ultimately compelled to retreat.¹

The captive chiefs of Khundaila deemed this revolt and union of their countrymen favourable to their emancipation, and addressed them to this effect. A communication was made to the discomfited Rora Ram, who promised his influence, provided an efficient body of Raesilotes joined his camp, and by their services seconded their requests. Bagh Sing was selected; a man held in high esteem by both parties, and even the court manager of Khundaila found it necessary to retain his services, as it was by his influence only over his unruly brethren that he was enabled to make anything of the new fiscal lands. For this purpose, and to preserve the point of honour, the manager permitted Bagh Sing to remain in the fortified palace of Khundaila, with a small party of his brethren: but on being selected to lead the quotas of his countrymen with the court commander, he left his younger brother, Luchman Sing, as his deputy.

No sooner did it reach the ears of Hunwunt Sing of Sillédé, son of the captive Pertap, that Bagh Sing had joined the army, than in the true spirit of these relentless feuds, he determined to attempt the castle. As soon as the darkness of night favoured his design, he hastened its accomplishment, escalated it, and put the unprepared garrison to the sword. Intelligence of this event reached Bagh Sing at Ranolli, who instantly countermarched, and commenced the assault, into which even the townspeople entered heartily, inspired as they were with indignation at the atrocious murder of the young chief. The day was extremely hot; the

¹ Franklin, in his life of George Thomas, describes this battle circumstantially; but makes it appear an affair of the Jeipoor court, with Thomas and the Mah-rattas, in which the Shekhawuts are not mentioned. Thomas gives the Rajpoot chivalry full praise for their gallant bearing.—*Memoir of George Thomas*, p. 109.

defendants fought for their existence, for their leader could not hope for mercy. The assailants were served with the best food ; such was the enthusiasm, that even the women forgot their fears, and cheered them on as the ladders were planted against the last point of defence. Then the white flag was displayed, and the gate opened, but the murderer had fled.

Manji Dás succeeded Deenaram as minister of Jeipoor ; and Rora Ram, notwithstanding his disgraceful defeat and the lampoons of the bards, continued to be collector of the Shekhawut tribute, and farmed the fiscal lands of Khundaila to a Brahmin for twenty thousand rupees annually. This Brahmin, in conjunction with another speculative brother, had taken a lease of the *Mápa Rahdari*, or town and transit duties at Jeipoor, which having been profitable, they now agreed to take on lease the sequestered lands of Khundaila. Having not only fulfilled their contract the first year, but put money in their pocket, they renewed it for two more. Aided by a party of the *Sillehposhians* of the court, the minister of religion showed he was no messenger of peace, and determined to make the most of his ephemeral power, he not only levied contributions on the yet independent feudatories, but attacked those who resisted, and carried several of their castles sword in hand. The brave " sons of Raesil " could not bear this new mark of contumely and bad faith of the court,— " to be made the sport of a tailor and a Brahmin,"—and having received intimation from the captive chiefs that there was no hope of their liberty, they at once threw away the scabbard, and commenced a scene of indiscriminate vengeance, which the Rajpoot often has recourse to when urged to despair. They at once assailed Khundaila, and in spite of the resistance of seven thousand *Dadoopuntis*, dispossessed the Purohit, and sacked it. Then advancing within the Jeipoor domains, they spread terror and destruction, pillaging even the estates of the queen. Fresh troops were sent against them, and after many actions the confederacy was broken up. The Ranolli chief and others of the elder branches made their peace, but the younger branches fled the country, and obtained *sirna* (sanctuary) and subsistence in Marwar and Bikanér : Singram Sing of Soojawas (cousin to Pertap) sought the former, Bagh Sing and Sooruj Sing the latter, whose prince gave them lands. There they abode in tranquillity for a time, looking to that justice from the prince which tributary collectors knew not ; but when apathy and neglect mistook the motive of this patient suffering, he was aroused from his indifference to the fate of the brave *Barwulleas*, by the tramp of their horses' feet even at the gates of his capital.

Singram Sing headed the band of exiles, which spread fear and desolation over a great portion of Dhoondar. In many districts they established *rékwalli* ;¹ and wherever they succeeded in surprising a *ghanna* (garrison) of their liege lord, they cut it up without mercy. They sacked the town of Kho, within a few miles of the city of Jeipoor, from under whose walls they carried off horses to mount their gang. Animated by successful revenge, and the excitement of a life so suited to the Rajpoot, Singram became the leader of a band of several hundred horse, bold enough to attempt anything. Complaints for redress poured in upon the court from all quarters, to which a deaf ear might have been turned, had they not been accompanied with applications for reduction of rent. The court

¹ The *salvamenta*, or blackmail of our own feudal system. See vol. i. p. 122.

at length, alarmed at this daring desperado, made overtures to him through Shiam Sing, Sadhani, the chief of Bussão, on whose *buchun* (pledge) Singram consented to appear before his liege lord. As soon as he arrived under the walls of the city, his cavalcade was surrounded by all classes, but particularly the Sikh mercenaries, all of whom recognised their property, some a horse, some a camel, others arms, etc.; but none durst advance a claim to their own, so daring was their attitude and so guarded their conduct. The object of the minister was to secure the person of Singram, regardless of the infamy which would attach to the chief who, at his desire, had pledged himself for his safety. But Shiam Sing, who had heard of the plot, gave Singram warning. In forty-eight hours, intelligence reached the court that Singram was in Tuárvati, and that, joined by the Tüars and Larkhanis, he was at the head of one thousand horse. He now assailed the large fiscal towns of his prince; contributions were demanded, and if they could not be complied with, he carried off in *ole* (hostage) the chief citizens, who were afterwards ransomed. If a delay occurred in furnishing either, the place was instantly given over to pillage, which was placed upon a body of camels. The career of this determined *Barwuttia* was at length closed. He had surrounded the town of Madhupoor, the estate of one of the queens, when a ball struck him in the head. His body was carried to Ranolli and burnt, and he had his cenotaph amongst the *Joojárs* (those slain in battle) of his fathers. The son of Singram succeeded to the command and the revenge of his father, and he continued the same daring course, until the court restored his patrimony of Soojawas. Such were the tumultuous proceedings in Shékhávati, when an event of such magnitude occurred as to prove an epoch in the history of Rajpootana, and which not only was like oil effused upon their afflictions, but made them prominent to their own benefit in the transaction.

That grand international war, ostensibly for the hand of the Helen of Rajwarra, was on the point of bursting forth. The opening scene was in Shékhávati, and the actors chiefly Sadhanis. It will be recollected, that though this was but the underplot of a tragedy, chiefly got up for the deposal of Raja Maun of Jodpoor, in favour of Dhonkul Sing, Rac-Chund was then Dewán, or prime minister, of Jeipoor; and to forward his master's views for the hand of Kishna, supported the cause of the pretender.

The minister sent his nephew, Kirparam, to obtain the aid of the Shekhawuts, who appointed Kishen Sing as interpreter of their wishes, while the *Khér* assembled at the "Pass of Oodipoor." There a new treaty was formed, the main article of which was the liberation of their chieftains, the joint Rajas of Khundaila, and the renewal of the ancient stipulations regarding the non-interference of the court in their internal arrangements, so long as they paid the regulated tribute. Kishen Sing, the organ of the confederation, together with Kirparam, left the assembly for the capital, where they soon returned with the ratification of their wishes. On these conditions ten thousand of the sons of Shékhji were embodied, and ready to accompany their lord-paramount wherever he might lead them, receiving *paiti*, or subsistence, while out of their own lands.

These preliminaries settled, Shiam Sing Champawut (nephew of the Pokurn chief), with Kirparam repaired to Keytri, whence they conveyed the young pretender, Dhonkul Sing, to the camp of the confederates.

They were met by a deputation headed by the princess Anundí Kowur (daughter of the late Raja Pertab, and one of the widows of Raja Bheem of Marwar, father of the pretender), who received the boy in her arms as the child of her adoption, and forthwith returned to the capital, where the army was forming for the invasion of Marwar.

It moved to Kátóo, ten coss from Khundaila, where they waited the junction of the Bikanér Raja and other auxiliaries. The Shekhawut lords here sent in their imperative demand for the liberation of the sons of Raesil, "that they might march under a leader of their own, equal in celebrity to the proudest of that assembled host." Evasion was dangerous; and in a few days their chiefs were formally delivered to them. Even the self-abdicated Bindrabun could not resist this general appeal to arms. The princes encamped in the midst of their vassals, nor was there ever such a convocation of 'the sons of Shékhji': Raesilotes, Sadhanis, Bhojanis, Larkhanis, and even the *Barwuttias*, flocked around the 'yellow banner of Raesil.' The accounts of the expedition are elsewhere narrated, and we shall only add that the Shekhawuts participated in all its glory and all its disgrace, and lost both Rao Nursing and his father ere they returned to their own lands.

Abhé Sing, the son of Nursing, succeeded, and conducted the contingent of his countrymen until the ill-starred expedition broke up, when they returned to Khundaila. But the faithless court had no intention of restoring the lands of Khundaila. Compelled to look about for a subsistence, with one hundred and fifty horse, they went to Raja Buktawur Sing of Macherri; but he performed the duties of kindred and hospitality so meanly, that they only remained a fortnight. In this exigence, Pertap and his son repaired to the Mahratta leader, Bapoo Sindia, at Dewnsa, while Hunwunt, in the ancient spirit of his race, determined to attempt Govindgurh. In disguise, he obtained the necessary information, assembled sixty of his resolute clansmen, whom he concealed at dusk in a ravine, whence, as soon as silence proclaimed the hour was come, he issued, ascended the well-known path, planted his ladders, and cut down the sentinels ere the garrison was alarmed. It was soon mastered, several being killed and the rest turned out. The well-known beat of the Raesilote *naharras* awoke the Larkhanis, Meenas, and all the Rajpoots in the vicinity, who immediately repaired to the castle. In a few weeks the gallant Hunwunt was at the head of two thousand men, prepared to act offensively against his faithless liege lord. Khundaila and all the adjacent towns surrendered, their garrisons flying before the victors, and Khoshial Daroga, a name of note in all the intrigues of the *darbar* of that day, carried to court the tidings of his own disgrace, which, his enemies took care to proclaim, arose from his cupidity: for though he drew pay and rations for a garrison of one hundred men, he only had thirty. Accompanied by Ruttun Chund, with two battalions and guns, and the reproaches of his sovereign, he was commanded at his peril to recover Khundaila. The gallant Hunwunt disdained to await the attack, but advanced outside the city to meet it, drove Khoshial back, and had he not in the very moment of victory been wounded, while the Larkhanis hung behind, would have totally routed them. Hunwunt was compelled to retreat within the walls, where he stood two assaults, in one of which he slew thirty *Sillehposh*, or men in armour, the body-guard of the prince; but the only water of the garrison being

from *tankas* (reservoirs), he was on the point of surrendering at discretion, when an offer of five townships being made, he accepted the towns.

Another change took place in the ministry of Ambér at this period ; and Khooshialiram, at the age of fourscore and four years, was liberated from the state-prison of Ambér, and once more entrusted with the administration of the government. This hoary-headed politician, who, during more than half a century, had alternately met the frowns and the smiles of his prince, at this the extreme verge of existence, entered with all the alacrity of youth into the tortuous intrigues of office, after witnessing the removal of two prime ministers, his rivals, who resigned power and life together. Khooshialiram had remained incarcerated since the reign of Raja Pertab, who, when dying, left three injunctions ; the first of which was, that 'the Bohra' (his caste) should never be enfranchised ; but if in evil hour his successor should be induced to liberate him "he should be placed uncontrolled at the head of affairs."¹

When this veteran politician, whose biography would fill a volume,² succeeded to the helm at Jeipoor, a solemn deputation of the principal Shekhawut chieftains repaired to the capital, and begged that through his intercession they might be restored to the lands of their forefathers. The Bohra, who had always kept up, as well from sound principle as from personal feeling, a good understanding with the feudality, willingly became their advocate with his sovereign, to whom he represented that the defence of the state lay in a willing and contented vassalage : for, notwithstanding their disobedience and turbulence, they were always ready, when the general weal was threatened, to support it with all their power. He appealed to the late expedition, when ten thousand of the children of Shékhji were embodied in his cause, and what was a better argument, he observed, the Mahrattas had only been able to prevail since their dissensions amongst themselves. The Bohra was commanded to follow his own goodwill and pleasure ; and having exacted an engagement, by which the future tribute of the Raesilotes was fixed at sixty thousand rupees annually, and the immediate payment of a *nuzzarana* of forty thousand, fresh *puttas* of investiture were made out for Khundaila and its dependencies. There are so many conflicting interests in all these courts, that it by no means follows that obedience runs on the heels of command ; even though the orders of the prince were countersigned by the minister, the *Nagas*, who formed the garrison of Khundaila, and the inferior *fiels*, showed no disposition to comply. The gallant Hunwunt, justly suspecting the Bohra's good faith, proposed to the joint rajas a *coup de main*, which he volunteered to lead. They had five hundred retainers amongst them ; of these Hunwunt selected twenty of the most intrepid, and repaired to

¹ The second injunction was to keep the office of Foujdar, or commander of the forces, in the family of Simboo Sing, Googawut, a tribe always noted for their fidelity, and like the Maitheas of Marwar, even a blind fidelity, to the *gadi* whoever was the occupant. The third injunction is left blank in my manuscript.

² His first act, after his emancipation from the dungeons of Ambér, was the delicate negotiation at Dhoncee, the castle of Chand Sing, Googawut. He died at Busswah, 22nd April 1812, on his return from Macherri to Jeipoor, where he had been unsuccessfully attempting a reconciliation between the courts. It will not be forgotten that the independence of the *Narooca* chief in Macherri had been mainly achieved by the Bohra, who was originally the *homme d'affaires* of the traitorous *Narooca*.

Oodigurh, to which he gained admission as a messenger from himself; twenty more were at his heels, who also got in, and the rest rapidly following, took post at the gateway. Hunwunt then disclosed himself, and presented the fresh *putta* of Khundaila to the Nagas, who still hesitating to obey, he drew his sword, when seeing that he was determined to succeed or perish, they reluctantly withdrew, and Abhé and Pertap were once more indicted into the dilapidated abodes of their ancestors. The adversity they had undergone, added to their youth and inexperience, made them both yield a ready acquiescence to the advice of their kinsman, to whose valour and conduct they owed the restoration of their inheritance, and the ancient feuds, which were marked on every stone of their castellated *mahls*, were apparently appeased.

Shortly after this restoration, the Shekhawut contingents were called out to serve against the common enemy of Rajpootana, the notorious Meer Khan, whose general, Mahomed Shah Khan, was closely blockaded in the fortress of Bhômгурh, near Tonk, by the whole strength of Jeipoor, commanded by Rao Chand Sing of Dhoonee. An incident occurred, while the siege was approaching a successful conclusion, which well exemplifies the incorrigible imperfections of the feudal system, either for offensive or defensive operations. This incident, trivial as it is in its origin, proved a death-blow to these unfortunate princes, so long the sport of injustice, and appears destined to falsify the *dhôm*, who prophesied, on the acceptance of his self-sacrifice, that seven successive generations of his issue should occupy the *gadi* of Khundaila. In the disorderly proceedings of this feudal array, composed of all the quotas of Ambér, a body of Shekhawuts had sacked one of the townships of Tonk, in which a Googawut inhabitant was slain, and his property plundered, in the indiscriminate pell-mell. The son of the Googawut instantly carried his complaints to the besieging general, Chand Sing, the head of his clan, who gave him a party of the *Sillehposh* (men in armour) to recover his property. The Shekhawuts resisted, and reinforced their party; Chand Sing did the same; the Khundaila chiefs repaired in person, accompanied by the whole confederacy with the exception of Seekur: and the Googawut chief, who had not only the ties of clan-ship, but the dignity of commander-in-chief, to sustain, sent every man he could spare from the blockade. Thus nearly the whole feudal array of Ambér was collected round a few *hakeries* (carts), ready to cut each other to pieces for the *point of honour*: neither would relinquish the claim, and swords were already drawn, when the Khangarote chief stepped between them as peacemaker, and proposed an expedient which saved the honour of both, namely, that the plundered property should be permitted to proceed to its destination, the Khundaila prince's quarters, who should transmit it, "*of his own accord*," to the commander-in-chief of the army. The Shekhawuts assented; the havoc was prevented; but the pride of Chand Sing was hurt, who saw in this a concession to the commander of the army, but none to the leader of the Googawuts.

Luchman Sing, the chief of Seekur, who, as before stated, was the only Shekhawut who kept aloof from the affray, saw the moment was arrived for the accomplishment of his long-concealed desire to be lord of Khundaila. The siege of Bhômгурh being broken up, in consequence of these dissensions and the defection of the confederated Shekhawuts, the Seekur chief no sooner saw them move by the circuitous route of the capital, than he

marched directly for his estates, and throwing aside all disguise, attacked Seessoh, which by an infamous stratagem he secured, by inveigling the commandant, the son of the late Bohra minister. Then making overtures to the enemy, against whom he had just been fighting, for the sum of *two lakhs* of rupees, he obtained a brigade of the mercenary Pat'hans, under their leaders Munnoo and Mahtab Khan, the last of whom, but a few days before, had entered into a solemn engagement with Hunwunt, as manager for the minor princes, to support whose cause, and to abstain from molesting their estates, he had received fifty thousand rupees ! Such nefarious acts were too common at that period even to occasion remark, far less reprehension.

The gallant Hunwunt now prepared for the defence of the lands which his valour had redeemed. His foeman made a lavish application of the wealth which his selfish policy had acquired, and Rewasso and other fiefs were soon in his possession. The town of Khundaila, being open, soon followed, but the castle held out sufficiently long to enable him to strengthen and provision Kote, which he determined to defend to the last. Having withstood the attacks of the enemy, during three weeks, in the almost ruined castle, he sallied out sword in hand, and gained Kote, where he assembled all those yet faithful to the family, and determined to stand or fall with the last stronghold of Khundaila. The other chiefs of the confederation beheld with indignation this unprovoked and avaricious aggression on the minor princes of Khundaila, not only because of its abstract injustice, but of the undue aggrandisement of this inferior branch of the Raesilotes, and the means employed, namely, the common enemy of their country. Many leagued for its prevention, but some were bribed by the offer of a part of the domain, and those who were too virtuous to be corrupted, found their intentions defeated by the necessity of defending their own homes against the detachments of Meer Khan, sent by desire of Seekur to neutralise their efforts. The court was steeled against all remonstrance, from the unhappy rupture at Bhômгурh, the blockade of which, it was represented, was broken by the conduct of the followers of Khundaila.

Hunwunt and some hundreds of his brave clansmen were thus left to their own resources. During three months they defended themselves in a position outside the castle, when a general assault was made on his intrenchments. He was advised to retreat into the castle, but he nobly replied, " Khundaila is gone for ever, if we are reduced to shelter ourselves behind walls " ; and he called upon his brethren to repel the attack or perish. Hunwunt cheered on his kinsmen, who charged the battalions-sword in hand, drove them from their guns, and completely cleared the intrenchments. But the enemy returned to the conflict, which lasted from morn until nightfall. Another sortie was made ; again the enemy was ignominiously dislodged, but the gallant Hunwunt, leading his men to the very muzzle of the guns, received a shot which ended his career. The victory remained with the besieged, but the death of their leader disconcerted his clansmen, who retired within the fort. Five hundred of the mercenary Pat'hans and men of Seekur (a number equal to the whole of the defenders), accompanied to the shades the last intrepid Raesilote of Khundaila.

The next morning an armistice for the removal of the wounded and

obsequies of the dead was agreed to, during which terms were offered, and refused by the garrison. As soon as the death of Hunwunt was known, the Oodipoor chief, who from the first had upheld the cause of justice, sent additional aid both in men and supplies; and had the Keytri chief been at his estates, the cause would have been further supported; but he was at court, and had left orders with his son to act according to the advice of the chief of Bussao, who had been gained over to the interests of Seekur by the bribe of participation in the conquered lands. Nevertheless, the garrison held out, under every privation, for five weeks longer, their only sustenance at length being a little Indian corn introduced by the exertions of individual *Meenas*. At this extremity, an offer being made of ten townships, they surrendered. Pertap Sing took his share of this remnant of his patrimony, but his co-heir Abhé Sing inherited too much of Raesil's spirit to degrade himself by owing aught to his criminal vassal and kinsman. It would have been well for Pertap had he shown the same spirit; for Luchman Sing, now lord of Khundaila, felt too acutely the injustice of his success, to allow the rightful heir to remain upon his patrimony; and he only allowed sufficient time to elapse for the consolidation of his acquisition, before he expelled the young prince. Both the co-heirs, Abhé Sing and Pertap, now reside at Jhoonjoonoo, where each receives five rupees a day, from a joint purse made for them by the Sadhanis, nor at present¹ is there a ray of hope of their restoration to Khundaila.

In 1814, when Misr Sheonarain, then minister of Jeipoor, was involved in great pecuniary difficulties, to get rid of the importunities of Meer Khan, he cast his eyes towards the Seekur chief, who had long been desirous to have his usurpation sanctioned by the court; and it was stipulated that on the payment of nine lakhs of rupees (namely, five from himself, with the authority and force of Jeipoor to raise the rest from the Sadhanis), he should receive the *putta* of investiture of Khundaila. Meer Khan, the mutual agent on this occasion, was then at Ranolli, where Luchman Sing met him and paid the amount, receiving his receipt, which was exchanged for the grant under the great seal.

Immediately after, Luchman Sing proceeded to court, and upon the further payment of one year's tribute in advance, henceforth fixed at fifty-seven thousand rupees, he received from the hands of his liege lord, the Raja Juggut Sing, the *khelat* of investiture. Thus, by the ambition of Seekur, the cupidity of the court, and the jealousies and avarice of the Sadhanis, the birthright of the lineal heirs of Raesil was alienated.

Luchman Sing, by his talents and wealth, soon established his influence at the court of his sovereign; but the jealousy which this excited in the Purohit minister of the day very nearly lost him his dearly bought acquisition. It will be recollected that a Brahmin obtained the lease of the lands of Khundaila, and that for his extortions he was expelled with disgrace. He proceeded, however, in his career of ambition; subverted the influence of his patron Sheonarain Misr, forcing him to commit suicide, ruined the prospects of his son, and by successful and daring intrigue established himself in the ministerial chair of Ambér. The influence of Luchman Sing, who was consulted on all occasions, gave him umbrage, and he determined to get rid of him. To drive him into opposition to his sovereign was his aim, and to effect this there was no better method than to sanction an

¹ This was written in 1813-14.

attack upon Khundaila. The Sadhanis, whose avarice and jealousies made them overlook their true interests, readily united to the troops of the court, and Khundaila was besieged. Luchman Sing, on this occasion, showed he was no common character. He tranquilly abided the issue at Jeipoor, thus neutralising the malignity of the Purohit, while, to ensure the safety of Khundaila, a timely supply of money to the partisan, Jumshed Khan, brought his battalions to threaten the Purohit in his camp. Completely foiled by the superior tact of Luchman Sing, the Brahmin was compelled to abandon the undertaking and to return to the capital, where his anger made him throw aside the mask, and attempt to secure the person of his enemy. The Seekur chief had a narrow escape: he fled with fifty horse, hotly pursued by his adversary, while his effects, and those of his partisans (amongst whom was the Samote chief) were confiscated. The Sadhanis, led by the chiefs of Keytri and Bussao, even after the Purohit had left them, made a bold attempt to capture Khundaila, which was defeated, and young Abhé Sing, who was made a puppet on the occasion, witnessed the last defeat of his hopes.

If necessity or expediency could palliate or justify such nefarious acts, it would be shown in the good consequences that have resulted from evil. The discord and bloodshed produced by the partition of authority between the sons of Bahadoor Sing are now at an end. Luchman Sing is the sole tyrant in Khundaila, and so long as the system which he has established is maintained, he may laugh at the efforts, not only of the Sadhanis, but of the court itself, to supplant him.

Let us, in a few words, trace the family of Luchman Sing. It will be recollected that Raesil, the first Raja amongst the sons of Shékhji, had seven sons, the fourth of whom, Tirmul (who obtained the title of Rao), held Kasulli and its eighty-four townships in appanage. His son, Hurree Sing, wrested the district of Bilara, with its one hundred and twenty-five townships, from the Kaimkhanis of Futtehpoor, and shortly after, twenty-five more from Rewasso. Seo Sing, the son of Hurree, captured Futtehpoor itself, the chief abode of the Kaimkhanis, where he established himself. His son, Chand Sing, founded Seekur, whose lineal descendant, Dévi Sing, adopted Luchman Sing, son of his near kinsman, the Shahpoora *t'hakoor*. The estates of Seekur were in admirable order when Luchman succeeded to his uncle, whose policy was of the exterminating sort. Luchman improved upon it; and long before he acquired Khundaila, had demolished all the castles of his inferior feudatories, not even sparing that of Shahpoora, the place of his nativity, as well as Bilara, Buthotie, and Kasulli; and so completely did he allow the ties of adoption to supersede those of blood, that his own father preferred exile, to living under a son who, covered with "the turban of Seekur," forgot the author of his life, and retired to Jodpoor.

Luchman Sing has now a compact and improving country, containing five hundred towns and villages, yielding a revenue of eight lakhs of rupees. Desirous of transmitting his name to posterity, he erected the castle of Luchmangur'h,¹ and has fortified many other strongholds, for the defence

¹ Luchmangur'h, or "the castle of Luchman," situated upon a lofty mountain, was erected in S. 1862, or A.D. 1806, though probably on the ruins of some more ancient fortress. It commands a most extensive prospect, and is quite a beacon in that country, studded with hill-castles. The town is built on the model of

of which he has formed a little army, which, in these regions, merits the title of regulars, consisting of eight battalions of *alligole*, armed with matchlocks, with a brigade of guns to each battalion. He has besides an efficient cavalry, consisting of one thousand horse, half of which are *bargeers*, or stipendiary; the other half *jagheerdars*, having lands assigned for their support. With such means, and with his ambition, there is very little doubt that, had not the alliance of his liege lord of Ambér with the English Government put a stop to the predatory system, he would, by means of the same worthy allies by whose aid he obtained Khundaila,¹ before this time have made himself supreme in Shékhávati.

Having thus brought to a conclusion the history of the princes of Khundaila, we shall give a brief account of the other branches of the Shekhawuts, especially the most powerful, the Sadhani.

The Sadhanis are descended from Bhojraj, the third son of Raesil, and in the division of fiefs amongst his seven sons, obtained Oodipoor and its dependencies. Bhojraj had a numerous issue, styled Bhojani, who arrogated their full share of importance in the infancy of the confederacy, and in process of time, from some circumstance not related, perhaps the mere advantage of locality, their chief city became the rendezvous for the great council of the federation, which is still in the defile of Oodipoor.²

Several generations subsequent to Bhojraj, Jugram succeeded to the lands of Oodipoor. He had six sons, the eldest of whom, Sadhoo, quarrelled with his father, on some ceremonial connected with the celebration of the military festival, the *doserrah*,³ and quitting the paternal roof, sought his fortunes abroad. At this time, almost all the tract now inhabited by the Sadhanis was dependent on Futtehpoor (Jhoonjoonoo), the residence of a Nawáb of the Kaimkhaní tribe of Afghans, who held it as a fief of the empire. To him Sadhoo repaired, and was received with favour, and by his talents and courage rose in consideration, until he was eventually intrusted with the entire management of affairs. There are two accounts of the mode of his ulterior advancement: both may be correct. One is, that the Nawáb, having no children, adopted young Sadhoo, and assigned to him Jhoonjoonoo and its eighty-four dependencies, which he retained on the Kaimkhaní's death. The other, and less favourable though equally probable account, is that, feeling his influence firmly established, he hinted to his patron, that the township of ——— was prepared for his future residence, where he should enjoy a sufficient pension, as he intended to retain possession of his delegated authority. So completely had he supplanted the Kaimkhaní, that he found himself utterly unable to make a party against the ungrateful Shekhawut. He therefore fled from Jhoonjoonoo to Futtehpoor, the other division of his

Jeipoor, with regular streets intersecting each other at right angles, in which there are many wealthy merchants, who enjoy perfect security.

¹ Khundaila is said to have derived its name from the *Khokur* Rajpoot. The *Khokur* is often mentioned in the Bhatti Annals, whom I have supposed to be the Ghuker, who were certainly Indo-Scythic. Khundaila has four thousand houses, and eighty villages dependent on it.

² The ancient name of Oodipoor is said to be *Kâes*; it contains three thousand houses, and has forty-five villages attached to it, divided into four portions.

³ See vol. i. p. 467.

authority, or at least one of his own kin, who espoused his cause, and prepared to expel the traitor from Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo, in this emergency, applied to his father, requesting him to call upon his brethren, as it was a common cause. The old chief, who, in his son's success, forgave and forgot the conduct which made him leave his roof, instantly addressed another son, then serving with his liege lord, the Mirza Raja Jey Sing, in the imperial army, to obtain succour for him ; and some regular troops with guns were immediately dispatched to reinforce young Sadhoo and maintain his usurpation, which was accomplished, and moreover Futtch-poor was added to Jhoonjoonoo. Sadhoo bestowed the former with its dependencies, equal in value to his own share, on his brother, for his timely aid, and both, according to previous stipulation, agreed to acknowledge their obligations to the Raja by an annual tribute and *nuzzerana* on all lapses, as lord-paramount. Sadhoo soon after wrested Singhana, containing one hundred and twenty-five villages, from another branch of the Kaimkhanis ; Sooltano, with its *chourasi*, or division of eighty-four townships, from the Gôr Rajpoots ; and Keytri and its dependencies from the Túars, the descendants of the ancient emperors of Dehli : so that, in process of time, he possessed himself of a territory comprising more than one thousand towns and villages. Shortly before his death he divided the conquered lands amongst his five sons, whose descendants, adopting his name as the patronymic, are called Sadhani ; namely, Zoorawur Sing, Kishen Sing, Nowul Sing, Kesuri Sing, and Pahar Sing.

Zoorawur Sing, besides the paternal and original estates, had, in virtue of primogeniture, the town of Chokeri and its twelve subordinate villages, with all the other emblems of state, as the elephants, palkees, etc. ; and although the cupidity of the Keytri chief, the descendant of the second son, Kishen, has wrested the patrimony from the elder branch, who has now only Chokeri, yet the distinctions of birth are never lost in those of fortune, and the petty chief of Chokeri, with its twelve small townships, is looked upon as the superior of Abhé Sing, though the lord of five hundred villages.

The descendants of the other four sons, now the most distinguished of the Sadhanis, are,¹

Abhé Sing of Keytri ;
 Shiâm Sing of Bussão ;
 Gyân Sing of Nowulgurh ;²
 Shere Sing of Sooltano.

Besides the patrimonies assigned to the five sons of Sadhoo, he left the districts of Singhana, Jhoonjoonoo, and Soorujgurh (the ancient Oreecha), to be held in joint heirship by the junior members of his stock. The first, with its one hundred and twenty-five villages, has been usurped by Abhé Sing of Keytri, but the others still continue to be frittered away in sub-infeudations among this numerous and everspreading *frérange*.

¹ It must be borne in mind that this was written in 1814.

² Nowulgurh contains four thousand houses, environed by a *scherpunna*. It is on a more ancient site called Roleanî, whose old castle in ruins is to the south-east, and the new one midway between it and the town, built by Nowul Sing in S. 1802, or A.D. 1746.

| | Rupees. |
|--|-----------|
| Luchman Sing, of Seekur, including Khundaila | 800,000 |
| Abhé Sing, of Keytri, including Kot-Pootli, given by Lord Lake . | 600,000 |
| Shiam Sing of Bussao, including his brother Runjeet's share of 40,000 (whom he killed) | 100,000 |
| Gyan Sing of Nowulgurh, including Mundao, each fifty villages | 70,000 |
| Luchman Sing, Mayndsir, the chief sub-infeudation of Nowul- gurh | 30,000 |
| Taen and its lands, divided amongst the twenty-seven great grandsons of Zoorawur Sing, eldest son of Sadhoo | 100,000 |
| Oodipoor-vatf | 100,000 |
| Munohurpoor ¹ | 30,000 |
| Larkhanis | 100,000 |
| Hur-ramjis | 40,000 |
| Girdhur-potas | 40,000 |
| Smaller estates | 200,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 2,300,000 |
| | <hr/> |

The tribute established by Jeipoor is as follows :—

| | Rupees. |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Sadhanis | 200,000 |
| Kundaila | 60,000 |
| Futtelepoor | 64,000 |
| Oodipoor and Bubhye | 22,000 |
| Kasullf | 4,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 350,000 |
| | <hr/> |

Thus, supposing the revenues, as stated, at twenty-three lakhs, to be near the truth, and the tribute at three and a half, it would be an assessment of one-seventh of the whole, which is a fair proportion, and a measure of justice which the British Government would do well to imitate.

CHAPTER VIII

Reflections—Statistics of Ambér—Boundaries—Extent—Population—Number of townships—Classification of inhabitants—Soil—Husbandry—Products—Revenues—Foreign army—The feudal levies.

WE have thus developed the origin and progress of the Cuchwaha tribe, as well as its scions of Shékhávát and Macherri. To some, at least, it may be deemed no uninteresting object to trace in continuity the issue

¹ The Munohurpoor chief was put to death by Raja Jugut Sing (*vide* Madarri Lall's Journal of A.D. 1814), and his lands were sequestrated and partitioned amongst the confederacy: the cause, his inciting the *Ráhts* or *Ratts* (an epithet for the proselyte Bhatti plunderers of Bhattiana) to invade and plunder the country.

of a fugitive individual, spreading, in the course of eight hundred years, over a region of fifteen thousand square miles ; and to know that forty thousand of his flesh and blood have been marshalled in the same field, defending, sword in hand, their country and their prince. The name of 'country' carries with it a magical power in the mind of the Rajpoot. The name of his wife or his mistress must never be mentioned at all, nor that of his country but with respect, or his sword is instantly unsheathed. Of these facts, numerous instances abound in these Annals ; yet does the ignorant *purdési* (foreigner) venture to say there are no indigenous terms either for patriotism or gratitude in this country.

Boundaries and extent.—The boundaries of Ambér and its dependencies are best seen by an inspection of the map. Its greatest breadth lies between Sambhur, touching the Marwar frontier on the west, and the town of Surout, on the Jât frontier, east. This line is one hundred and twenty British miles, whilst its greatest breadth from north to south, including Shékhávati, is one hundred and eighty. Its form is very irregular. We may, however, estimate the surface of the parent state, Dhoondhar or Jeipoor, at nine thousand five hundred square miles, and Shékhávati at five thousand four hundred ; in all, fourteen thousand nine hundred square miles.

Population.—It is difficult to determine with exactitude the amount of the population of this region ; but from the best information, one hundred and fifty souls to the square mile would not be too great a proportion in Ambér, and eighty in Shékhávati ; giving an average of one hundred and twenty-four to the united area, which consequently contains 185,670 ; and when we consider the very great number of large towns in this region, it may not be above, but rather below, the truth. Dhoondhar, the parent country, is calculated to contain four thousand townships, exclusive of *poorwās*, or hamlets, and Shékhávati about half that number, of which Luchman Sing of Seekur and Khundaila, and Abhé Sing of Keytri, have each about five hundred, or the half of the lands of the federation.

Classification of inhabitants.—Of this population, it is still more difficult to classify its varied parts, although it may be asserted with confidence that the Rajpoots bear but a small ratio to the rest, whilst they may equal in number any individual class, except the aboriginal *Meenas*, who, strange to say, are still the most numerous. The following are the principal tribes, and the order in which they follow may be considered as indicative of their relative numbers. 1. Meenas ; 2. Rajpoots ; 3. Brahmins ; 4. Baniyas ; 5. Jâts ; 6. Dhakur, or Kirâr (qu. *Cirâta* ?) ; 7. Goojurs.

Meenas.—The Meenas are subdivided into no less than thirty-two distinct clans or classes, but it would extend too much the annals of this state to distinguish them. Moreover, as they belong to every state in Rajwarra, we shall find a fitter occasion to give a general account of them. The immunities and privileges preserved to the Meenas best attest the truth of the original induction of the exiled prince of Nurwar to the sovereignty of Ambér ; and it is a curious fact, showing that such establishment must have been owing to adoption, not conquest, that this event was commemorated on every installation by a Meena of Kalikho marking with his blood the *teeka* of sovereignty on the forehead of the prince. The blood was obtained by incision of the great toe, and though, like many

other antiquated usages, this has fallen into desuetude here (as has the same mode of inauguration of the Ranas by the Ondeva Bhils), yet both in the one case and in the other, there cannot be more convincing evidence that these now outcasts were originally the masters. The Meenas still enjoy the most confidential posts about the persons of the princes of Ambér, having charge of the archives and treasure in Jeygurh; they guard his person at night, and have that most delicate of all trusts, the charge of the *rawula*, or seraglio. In the earlier stages of Cuchwaha power, these their primitive subjects had the whole insignia of state, as well as the person of the prince, committed to their trust; but presuming upon this privilege too far, when they insisted that, in leaving their bounds, he should leave these emblems, the *nakarras* and standards, with them, their pretensions were cancelled in their blood. The Meenas, Jâts, and Kirârs, are the principal cultivators, many of them holding large estates.

Jâts.—The Jâts nearly equal the Meenas in numbers, as well as in extent of possessions, and are, as usual, the most industrious of all husbandmen.

Brahmins.—Of Brahmins, following secular as well as sacred employments, there are more in Ambér than in any other state in Rajwarra; from which we are not to conclude that her princes were more religious than their neighbours, but on the contrary, that they were greater sinners.

Rajpoots.—It is calculated that, even now, on an emergency, if a national war roused the patriotism of the Cuchwaha feudality, they could bring into the field thirty thousand of their kin and clan, or, to repeat their own emphatic phrase, "the sons of one father," which includes the Narocas and the chiefs of the Shekhawut federation. Although the Cuchwahs, under their popular princes, as Pujoon, Raja Maun, and the Mirza Raja, have performed exploits as brilliant as any other tribes, yet they do not now enjoy the same reputation for courage as either the Rahtores or Haras. This may be in part accounted for by the demoralisation consequent upon their proximity to the Mogul court, and their participation in all enervating vices; but still more from the degradations they have suffered from the Mahrattas, and to which their western brethren have been less exposed. Every feeling, patriotic or domestic, became corrupted wherever their pernicious influence prevailed.

Soil, husbandry, products.—Dhoondhar contains every variety of soil, and the *khureef* and *rubbee*, or autumnal and spring crops, are of nearly equal importance. Of the former *bajrâ* predominates over *joôâr*, and in the latter barley over wheat. The other grains, pulses, and vegetables, reared all over Hindust'han, are here produced in abundance, and require not to be specified. The sugar-cane used to be cultivated to a very great extent, but partly from extrinsic causes, and still more from its holding out such an allurements to the renters, the husbandman has been compelled to curtail this lucrative branch of agriculture; for although land fit for *cek* (cane) is let at four to six rupees per beega, sixty have been exacted before it was allowed to be reaped. Cotton of excellent quality is produced in considerable quantities in various districts, as are indigo and other dyes common to India. Neither do the implements of husbandry or their application differ from those which have been described in this and various other works sufficiently well known.

Farming system.—It is the practice in this state to farm its lands to the highest bidder ; and the mode of farming is most pernicious to the interests of the state and the cultivating classes, both of whom it must eventually impoverish. The farmers-general are the wealthy bankers and merchants, who make their offers for entire districts ; these they underlet in *tuppas*, or subdivisions, the holders of which again subdivide them into single villages, or even shares of a village. With the profits of all these persons, the expenses attending collections, quartering of *burkendases*, or armed police, are the poor *Bhomias* and Ryots saddled. Could they only know the point where exaction must stop, they would still have a stimulus to activity ; but when the crops are nearly got in, and all just demands satisfied, they suddenly hear that a new renter has been installed in the district, having ousted the holder by some ten or twenty thousand rupees, and at the precise moment when the last toils of the husbandman were near completion. The renter has no remedy ; he may go and " throw his turban at the door of the palace, and exclaim *dohâe, Raja Saheb !*" till he is weary, or marched off to the cutwal's *chabootra*, and perhaps fined for making a disturbance. Knowing, however, that there is little benefit to be derived from such a course, they generally submit, go through the whole accounts, make over the amount of collections, and with the host of vultures in their train, who, never unprepared for such changes, have been making the most of their ephemeral power by battenning on the hard earnings of the peasantry, retire for this fresh band of harpies to pursue a like course. Nay, it is far from uncommon for three different renters to come upon the same district in one season, or even the crop of one season, for five or ten thousand rupees, annulling the existing engagement, no matter how far advanced. Such was the condition of this state ; and when to these evils were superadded the exactions called *dind*, or *burrar*, forced contributions to pay those armies of robbers who swept the lands, language cannot exaggerate the extent of misery. The love of country must be powerful indeed which can enchain man to a land so misgoverned, so unprotected.

Revenues.—It is always a task of difficulty to obtain any correct account of the revenues of these states, which are ever fluctuating. We have now before us several schedules, both of past and present reigns, all said to be copied from the archives, in which the name of every district, together with its rent, town and transit duties, and other sources of income, are stated ; but the details would afford little satisfaction, and doubtless the resident authorities have access to the fountain head. The revenues of Dhoondhar, of every description, fiscal, feudal, and tributary, or impost, are stated, in round numbers, at one crore of rupees, or about a million of pounds sterling, which, estimating the difference of the price of labour, may be deemed equivalent to four times that sum in England. Since this estimate was made, there have been great alienations of territory, and no less than sixteen rich districts have been wrested from Ambér by the Mahrattas, or her own rebel son, the Narooca chief of Macherri.

The following is the schedule of alienations :—

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1. Kamah | } Taken by General Perron, for his master Sindia ; since rented to the Jâts, and retained by them. |
| 2. Khorî | |
| 3. Pahari | |

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 4. Kantí | } | Seized by the Macherri Rao. |
| 5. Ookrode | | |
| 6. Pundapun | | |
| 7. Gazi-ca-t'hana | | |
| 8. Rampoorra (kirda) | | |
| 9. Gaonrie | | |
| 10. Rinnie | | |
| 11. Purbainie | } | Taken by De Boigne and given to Morteza Khan, Baraitch, confirmed in them by Lord Lake. |
| 12. Mozpoor Hursana | | |
| 13. Kanorh or Kanound ¹ | } | Taken in the war of 1803-4, from the Mahrattas, and given by Lord Lake to Abhé Sing of Keytri. |
| 14. Narnol | | |
| 15. Kotpootlee | | |
| 16. Tonk | } | Granted to Holcar by Raja Madhú Sing; confirmed in sovereignty to Meer Khan by Lord Hastings. |
| 17. Rampoorra | | |

It must, however, be borne in mind, that almost all these alienated districts had but for a comparatively short period formed an integral portion of Dhoondhar; and that the major part were portions of the imperial domains, held in *jaedâd*, or 'assignment,' by the princes of this country, in their capacity of lieutenants of the emperor. In Raja Pirthi Sing's reign, about half a century ago, the rent-roll of Ambér and her tributaries was seventy-seven lakhs: and in a very minute schedule formed in S. 1858 (A.D. 1802), the last year of the reign of Raja Pertap Sing, they were estimated at seventy-nine lakhs: an ample revenue, if well administered, for every object. We shall present the chief items which form the budget of ways and means of Ambér.

Schedule of the Revenues of Ambér for S. 1858 (A.D. 1802-3), the year of Raja Juggut Sing's accession.

Khalsa, or Fiscal land.

| | Rupees. |
|---|-----------|
| Managed by the Raja, or rented | 2,055,000 |
| Déorí talooka, expenses of the queen's household | 500,000 |
| Sagird-péshá, servants of the household | 300,000 |
| Ministers, and civil officers | 200,000 |
| Jagheers for the Sillehposh, or men at arms | 150,000 |
| Jagheers to army, namely, ten battalions of infantry with cavalry | 714,000 |
| Total Fiscal land | 3,919,000 |
| Feudal lands (of Jeipoor Proper). | 1,700,000 |
| Ooduk, or charity lands, chiefly to Brahmins | 1,600,000 |
| Dân and Mauppa, or transit and impost duties of the country | 190,000 |
| Cucherri, of the capital, includes town-duties, fines, contributions, etc. etc. | 215,000 |
| Carry forward | 7,624,000 |

¹ Kanorh was the fief of Ameer Sing, Khangarote, one of the twelve great lords of Ambér.

A detailed schedule of the feudal levies of Ambér may diversify the dry details of these annals, obviate repetition, and present a perfect picture of a society of clanships. In this list we shall give precedence to the *kotrībund*, the holders of the twelve great fiefs (*bara-kotrī*) of Ambér—

Schedule of the names and appanages of the twelve sons of Raja Pirtha Raj, whose descendants form the bara-kotrī, or twelve great fiefs of Ambér.

| Sons of Pirthi Raj. | Names of Families. | Names of Fiefs. | Present Chiefs. | Revenues. | Personal Quotas. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------------|
| 1. Chuthurbhoj | Chuthurbhojote | Pinar and Bhugron | Bag'h Sing | 18,000 | 28 |
| 2. Kullian | Kallianote | Lotwarra | Gunga Sing | 25,000 | 47 |
| 3. Nathoo | Nat'hawut | Chomoo | Kishen Sing | 115,000 | 205 |
| 4. Balbudhur | Balbudhurote | Acherole | Kaim Sing | 28,850 | 57 |
| 5. Jugmal his son } Khargar | Khargarote | Thodree | Pirthi Sing | 25,000 | 40 |
| 6. Sooltān | Sooltānote | Chandsirr | — | — | — |
| 7. Puchaēn | Puchaenote | Sambra | Sullee Sing | 17,700 | 32 |
| 8. — | Googawut | Dhoonee | Rao Chand Sing | 70,000 | 88 |
| 9. Kaem | Khoombani | Bhanskho | Puddum Sing | 21,535 | 31 |
| 10. Koombho | Khoombawut | Mahār | Rawut Suroop Sing | 27,538 | 45 |
| 11. Soorut | Sheoburrupota | Neendir | Rawut Hurree Sing | 10,000 | 19 |
| 12. Bunbeer | Bunbeerpota | Batko | Suroop Sing | 19,000 | 35 |

It will be remarked that the estates of these, the chief vassals of Ambér, are, with the exception of two, far inferior in value to those of the sixteen great chiefs of Méwar, or the eight of Marwar; and a detailed list of all the inferior feudatories of each *kotree*, or clan, would show that many of them have estates greater than those of their leaders: for instance, Kishen Sing of Chomoo has upwards of a lakh, while Berri Sal of Samote, the head of the clan (Nat'hawut), has only forty thousand: again, the chief of Ballahairi holds an estate of thirty-five thousand, while that of the head of his clan is but twenty-five thousand. The representative of the Sheoburrupotas has an estate of only ten thousand, while the junior branch of Gooroh has thirty-six thousand. Again, the chief of the Khangarotes has but twenty-five thousand, while no less than three junior branches hold lands to double that amount; and the inferior of the Balbhudurotes holds upwards of a lakh, while the superior of Acherole has not a third of this rental. The favour of the prince, the turbulence or talents of individuals, have caused these inequalities; but, however disproportioned the gifts of fortune, the attribute of honour always remains with the lineal descendant and representative of the original fief.

We shall further illustrate this subject of the feudalities of Ambér by inserting a general list of all the clans, with the number of subdivisions, the resources of each, and the quotas they ought to furnish. At no remote period this was held to be correct, and will serve to give a good idea of the Cuchwaha aristocracy. It was my intention to have given a detailed account of the subdivisions of each fief, their names, and those of their holders, but on reflection, though they cost some diligence to obtain, they would have little interest for the general reader.

Amurgurh.—Three coss from Kooshalgurh ; built by the Nāgvansa.

Birât.—Three coss from Bussye in Macherrí, attributed to the Pandús.

Patún and *Ganiþoor*.—Both erected by the ancient Túar kings of Dehli.

Khurar, or *Khandár*.—Near Rinthumbor.

Ootgeer.—On the Chumbul.

Ambér, or *Amb-Keswur*, a title of Sívá, whose symbol is in the centre of a *coond* or tank in the middle of the old town. The water covers half the *lingam* ; and a prophecy prevails, that when it is entirely submerged the state of Ambér will perish ! There are inscriptions.

ANNALS OF HARAVATI

BOONDÍ

CHAPTER I

Haravati defined—Fabulous origin of the *Agnicúla* races—Mount Aboo—The Chohans obtain Macavati, Golconda, and the Konkan—Found Ajmér—Ajtpál—Manika Rac—First Islamite invasion—Ajmér taken—Sambhur founded; its salt lake—Offspring of Manik Rac—Establishments in Rajpootana—Contests with the Mahomedans—Beelundeo of Ajmér; Goga Chohan of Mehera; both slain by Mahmoud—Beesildeo Generalissimo of the Rajpoot nations; his period fixed; his column at Dehli; his alliances—Origin of the Hara tribe—Anúrāj obtains Asi—Dispossessed—Ishtpál obtains Asér—Rao Hamir—Rao Chund slain—Asér taken by Alla-o-din—Prince Rainsi escapes to Cheetore; settles at Bhynsrar, in Méwar—His son Kolun declared lord of the *Pathar*.

HARAVATI, or Haroutí, 'the country of the Haras,' comprehends two principalities, namely, Kotah and Boondí. The Chumbul intersects the territory of the Hara race, and now serves as their boundary, although only three centuries have elapsed since the younger branch separated from and became independent of Boondí.

The Hara is the most important of the twenty-four Chohan *sac'há*, being descended from Anúrāj, the son of Manik Ræe, king of Ajmér, who in S. 741 (A.D. 685) sustained the first shock of the Islamite arms.

We have already sketched the pedigree of the Chohans,¹ one of the most illustrious of the "thirty-six royal races" of India.² We must, however, in this place, enter into it somewhat more fully; and in doing so, we must not discard even the fables of their origin, which will at least demonstrate that the human understanding has been similarly constructed in all ages and countries, before the thick veil of ignorance and superstition was withdrawn from it. So scanty are the remote records of the Chohans, that it would savour of affectation to attempt a division of the periods of their history, or the improbable, the probable, and the certain. Of the first two, a separation would be impracticable, and we cannot trace the latter beyond the seventh century.

"When the impieties of the kings of the warrior race drew upon them

¹ See vol. i. p. 79.

² According to Herodotus, the Scythic *sacæ* enumerated eight races with the epithet of royal, and Strabo mentions one of the tribes of the Thyssagetæ as boasting the title of *Basilií*. The Rajpoots assert that in ancient times they only enumerated eight royal *sac'ham* or branches, namely, Surya, Soma, Hya or Aswa (*qu. Asi?*) Nima, and the four tribes of Agnivansa, namely, Pramara, Purihara, Solanki, and Chohán.

Abulgazi states that the Tatars or Scythians were divided into six grand families. The Rajpoots have maintained these ideas, originally brought from the Oxus.

the vengeance of Pursarama, who twenty-one times extirpated that race, some, in order to save their lives, called themselves bards ; others assumed the guise of women ; and thus the *singh* (horn) of the Rajpoots was preserved, when dominion was assigned to the Brahmins. The impious avarice of Sehara Arjuna, of the Hya race, king of Mahésvar on the Ner-budda, provoked the last war, having slain the father of Pursarama.

" But as the chief weapon of the Brahmin is his curse or blessing, great disorders soon ensued from the want of the strong arm. Ignorance and infidelity spread over the land ; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood.¹ In this exigence, Viswamitra, the instructor in arms ² of Bhâgwân, revolved within his own mind, and determined upon, the re-creation of the Chetries. He chose for this rite the summit of Mount Aboo,³ where dwell the hermits and sages (*Maonis* and *Roosis*) constantly occupied in the duties of religion, and who had carried their complaints even to the *keer samûdrâ* (sea of curds), where they saw the Father of Creation floating upon the hydra (emblem of eternity). He desired them to regenerate the warrior race, and they returned to Mount Aboo with Indra, Brimha, Roodra, Vishnu, and all the inferior divinities, in their train. The fire-fountain (*anhul-coond*) was instrated with the waters of the Ganges ; expiatory rites were performed, and, after a protracted debate, it was resolved that Indra should initiate the work of re-creation. Having formed an image (*poolli*) of the *dhûba* grass, he sprinkled it with the water of life, and threw it into the fire-fountain. Thence, on pronouncing the *sajivan mantri* (incantation to give life), a figure slowly emerged from the flame, bearing in the right hand a mace, and exclaiming, "*Mar ! már !*" (slay, slay). He was called Pramâr ; and Aboo, Dhar, and Oojcin were assigned to him as a territory.

" Brimha was then entreated to frame one from his own essence (*ansa*). He made an image, threw it into the pit, whence issued a figure armed with a sword (*kharga*) in one hand, with the *vêda* in the other, and a *zûnoo* round his neck. He was named Chalook or Solanki, and Anhulpoor Patun was appropriated to him.

" Roodra formed the third. The image was sprinkled with the water of the Ganges, and on the incantation being read, a black ill-favoured figure arose, armed with the *d'hanoos* or bow. As his foot slipped when sent against the demons, he was called Purihâr, and placed as the *poleoh*, or guardian of the gates. He had the *nouângul Marûs'thalî*, or 'nine habitations of the desert,' assigned him.

" The fourth was formed by Vishnu ; when an image like himself four-armed, each having a separate weapon, issued from the flames, and was thence styled Chatûrbhooja Chau-hân, or the 'four-armed.' The gods bestowed their blessing upon him, and *Macâvatî-nagri* as a territory. Such was the name of Gurra-Mundilla in the Dwâpur, or silver age.

" The Dytes were watching the rites, and two of their leaders were close to the fire-fountain ; but the work of regeneration being over, the new-born warriors were sent against the infidels, when a desperate en-

¹ Or, as the bard says, Dytes, Asûras, and Dânoos, or demons and infidels, as they style the Indo-Scythic tribes from the north-west, who paid no respect to the Brahmins.

² Awud-gûrû.

³ My last pilgrimage was to Aboo.

counter ensued. But as fast as the blood of the demons was shed, young demons arose ; when the four tutelary divinities, attendant on each newly-created race, drank up the blood, and thus stopped the multiplication of evil. These were—

Asápúraná of the Chohan.
Gâjun Matá of the Purihar
Keonj Matá of the Solanki.
Sanchair Matá of the Pramara.

“ When the Dytes were slain, shouts of joy rent the sky ; ambrosial showers were shed from heaven ; and the gods drove their cars (*vahan*) about the firmament, exulting at the victory thus achieved.

“ Of all the thirty-six royal races (says Chund, the great bard of the Chohans), the *Agnicúla* is the greatest : the rest were born of woman ; these were created by the Brahmins !¹—Gotr-áchárya of the Chohans, Sham Véda, Somvansa, Mad’hooni sac’ha, Vacha gotra, Panch purwur junoo, Laktuncari nekás, Chandrabhága Nádí, Brigoo néshán, Amba-ca-Bhavani, Bálun Pútra, Kâl-Bhiroo, Aboo Achilésvar Mahadeo, Chatúr-bhooja Chauhán.”

The period of this grand convocation of the gods on Mount Aboo, to regenerate the warrior race of Hind, and to incite them against “ the infidel races who had spread over the land,” is dated so far back as the opening of the second age of the Hindus : a point which we shall not dispute. Neither shall we throw a doubt upon the chronicles which claim Prince Sehl, one of the great heroes of the *Máhábhárat*, as an intermediate link between Anhul Chohan and Satpati, who founded Mácávati, and conquered the Konkan ; while another son, called Tuntur Pal, conquered Asér and Gówálcoond (*Golconda*), planted his garrisons in every region, and possessed nine hundred elephants to carry *puckals*, or water-skins.

Let us here pause for a moment before we proceed with the chronicle, and inquire who were these warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahminism, and brought within the pale of their faith. They must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance, by the ministers of the pervading religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing amongst them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive, and ill-favoured ; the Agnicúlas are of good stature, and fair, with prominent features, like those of the Parthian kings. The ideas which pervade their martial poetry are such as were held by the Scythian in distant ages, and which even Brahminism has failed to eradicate ; while the *tumuli*, containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gówálcoond, where the Chohans held sway, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Aboo.

Of the four Agnicúla races, the Chohans were the first who obtained

¹ It is by no means uncommon for this arrogant priesthood to lay claim to powers co-equal with those of the Divinity, nay, often superior to them. Witness the scene in the *Ramáyana*, where they make the deity a mediator, to entreat the Brahmin Vashishta to hearken to King Vishwamitra’s desire for his friendship. Can anything exceed this ? Parallel it, perhaps, we may, in that memorable instance of Christian idolatry, where the Almighty is called on to intercede with St. Januarius to perform the annual miracle of liquefying the congealed blood.

extensive dominions. The almost universal power of the Pramaras is proverbial ; but the wide sway possessed by the Chohans can only be discovered with difficulty. Their glory was on the wane when that of the Pramaras was in the zenith ; and if we may credit the last great bard of the Rajpoots, the Chohans held *in capite* of the Pramaras of Telingana, in the eighth century of Vicrama, though the name of Pirthiraj threw a parting ray of splendour upon the whole line of his ancestry, even to the fire-fountain on the summit of classic Aboo.

The facts to be gleaned in the early page of the chronicle are contained in a few stanzas, which proclaim the possession of paramount power, though probably of no lengthened duration. The line of the Nerbudda, from Macávati, or Macâouti, to Mahéswar, was their primitive seat of sovereignty, comprehending all the tracts in its vicinity both north and south. Thence, as they multiplied, they spread over the peninsula, possessing Mandoo, Asér, Golconda, and the Konkan ; while to the north, they stretched even to the fountains of the Ganges. The following is the bard's picture of the Chohan dominion :—

“ From ‘ the seat of government ’ (*rajást'hán*) Macâouti, the oath of allegiance (*án*) resounded in fifty-two castles. The land of Tatha, Lahore, Mooltan, Peshore,¹ the Chohan in his might arose and conquered even to the hills of Bhadri. The infidels (*asiúras*) fled, and allegiance was proclaimed in Dehli and Cabul, while the country of Nepál he bestowed on the Mallani.² Crowned with the blessing of the gods, he returned to Macâouti.”

It has already been observed, that Macâouti-Nagri was the ancient name of Gurra Mundilla, whose princes for ages continued the surname of Pal, indicative, it is recorded by tradition, of their nomadic occupation. The Aheers, who occupied all Central India, and have left in one nook (*Aheerwarra*) a memorial of their existence, was a branch of the same race, Aheer being a synonym for Pal. Bhélsa, Bhojpoor, Diep, Bhopal, Airun, Garspoor, are a few of the ancient towns established by the Pals or Palis ; and could we master the still unknown characters appertaining to the early colonists of India, more light would be thrown on the history of the Chohans.³

A scion from Macâouti, named Ajipál, established himself at Ajmér,⁴

¹ The Mahomedan writers confirm this account, for in their earliest recorded invasion, in A.H. 143, the princes of Lahore and Ajmér, said to be of the same family, are the great opponents of Islam, and combated its advance in fields west of the Indus. We know beyond a doubt that Ajmér was then the chief seat of Chohan power.

² The Mallani is (or rather was) one of the Chohan Sächæ and may be the *Malli* who opposed Alexander at the confluent arms of the Indus. The tribe is extinct, and was so little known even five centuries ago, that a prince of Boondí, of the Hara tribe, intermarried with a Mallani, the book of genealogical affinities not indicating her being within the prohibited canon. A more skilful bard pointed out the incestuous connection, when divorce and expiation ensued. *Vide* p. 239.

³ All these towns contain remains of antiquity, especially in the district of Diep, Bhojpoor, and Bhélsa. Twenty years ago, in one of my journeys, I passed the ruins of Airun, where a superb column stands at the junction of its two streams. It is about thirty feet in height, and is surmounted by a human figure, having a glory round his head : a colossal bull is at the base of the column. I sent a drawing of it to Mr. Colebrooke at the time, but possess no copy.

⁴ It is indifferently called *Aji-mér*, and *Aji-doorg*, the invincible hill (*méra*), or invincible castle (*doorg*). Tradition, however, says that the name of this renowned abode, the key of Rajpootana, is derived from the humble profession

have said, in S. 741.¹ Here the bard has recourse to celestial interposition in order to support Manika Ræe in his adversity. The goddess *Sâcambhari* appears to him, while seeking shelter from the pursuit of this merciless foe, and bids him establish himself in the spot where she manifested herself, guaranteeing to him the possession of all the ground he could encompass with his horse on that day; but commanded him not to look back until he had returned to the spot where he left her. He commenced the circuit, with what he deemed his steed could accomplish, but forgetting the injunction, he was surprised to see the whole space covered as with a sheet. This was the desiccated *sirr*, or salt-lake, which he named after his patroness *Sâcambhari*, whose statue still exists on a small island in the lake, now corrupted to *Sambhur*.²

However *jejune* these legends of the first days of Chohan power, they suffice to mark with exactness their locality; and the importance attached to this settlement is manifested in the title of "*Sambhri Rao*," maintained by *Pirthi Raj*, the descendant of *Manika Ræe*, even when emperor of all Northern India.

Manika Ræe, whom we may consider as the founder of the Chohans of the north, recovered *Ajmér*. He had a numerous progeny, who established many petty dynasties throughout Western *Rajwarra*, giving birth to various tribes, which are spread even to the *Indus*. The *Kheechie*,³ the *Hârâ*, the *Mohil*, *Nurbhana*, *Badorea*, *Bhowrêcha*, *Dhunairea*, and *Bâgrêcha*, are all descended from him. The *Kheechies* were established in the remote *Dô-abeh*, called *Sinde-Sagur*, comprising all the tract between the *Behut* and the *Sinde*, a space of sixty-eight coss, whose capital was *Keechpoor-Patun*. The *Haras* obtained or founded *Asi* (*Hansi*) in *Heriana*; while another tribe held *Gowalcoond*, the celebrated *Golconda*, now *Hydrabad*, and when thence expelled, regained *Asér*. The *Mohils* had the tracts round *Nagore*.⁴ The *Bhadoreas* had an appanage on the *Chumbul*, in a tract which bears their name, and is still subject to them. The *Dhunaireas* settled at *Shahabad*, which by a singular fatality has at length come into the possession of the *Haras* of *Kotah*. Another branch fixed at *Nadole*, but never changed the name of *Chohan*.⁵

¹ "*Samvat, sât'h soh châtêes*
Malut bali bês
Sambhur aya tûti surr-us
Manik Ræe, Nur-ês."

² An inscription on the pillar at *Feroz Shah's* palace at *Dehli*, belonging to this family, in which the word *sacambhari* occurs, gave rise to many ingenious conjectures by *Sir W. Jones*, *Mr. Colebrooke*, and *Colonel Wilford*.

³ Called *Kheech-kote* by *Baber*.

⁴ In the *Annals of Marwar* it will be shown, that the *Rahtores* conquered *Nagore*, or *Nâga-doorg* (the 'serpent's castle'), from the *Mohils*, who held fourteen hundred and forty villages so late as the fifteenth century. So many of the colonies of *Agnicûlas* bestowed the name of *serpent* on their settlements, that I am convinced all were of the *Tak*, *Takshac*, or *Nâgvansa* race from *Sacadwipa*, who, six centuries anterior to *Vicramaditya*, under their leader *Schesnaga*, conquered *India*, and whose era must be the limit of *Agnicûla* antiquity.

⁵ The importance of *Nadole* was considerable, and is fully attested by existing inscriptions as well as by the domestic chronicle. Midway from the founder, in the eighth century, to its destruction in the twelfth, was *Rao Lakhun*, who in S. 1039 (A.D. 983), successfully coped with the princes of *Nehrvala*.

"*Sumeak dos s'h onchdêes*
Bar ehhoua, Patun pyla pôl."

Many chieftainships were scattered over the desert, either trusting to their lances to maintain their independence, or holding of superiors; but a notice of them, however interesting, would here, perhaps, be out of place. Eleven princes are enumerated in the *Jáéga's* catalogue, from Manika Rae to Beesildéo, a name of the highest celebrity in the Rajpoot annals, and a landmark to various authorities, who otherwise have little in common even in their genealogies, which I pass over in silence, with the exception of the intermediate name of Hursraj,¹ common to the *Hamír Rasa* as well as the *Jáéga's* list. The authority of Hursraj stretched along the Aravulli mountains to Aboo, and east of the Chumbul. He ruled from S. 812 to 827 (A.H. 138 to 153), and fell in battle against the Asúras, having attained the title of *Ari-murdhan*. Ferishta says, that "in A.H. 143, the Mooslems greatly increased, when issuing from their hills they obtained possession of Kirman, Peshore, and all the lands adjacent; and that the Raja of Lahore, who was of the family of the Raja of Ajmér, sent his brother against these Afghans, who were reinforced by the tribes of Ghilij, of Ghor and Caubul, just become proselytes to Islám";² and he adds, that during five months, seventy battles were fought with success; or, to use the historian's own words, "in which *Sejáhi sirmah* (General Frost) was victorious over the infidel, but who returned when the cold season was passed with fresh force. The armies met between Kirmán and Peshawer; sometimes the infidel (Rajpoot) carried the war to the *Kohistan*, 'mountainous regions,' and drove the Moosulmauns before him; sometimes the Moosulmauns, obtaining reinforcements, drove the infidel by flights of arrows to their own borders, to which they always retired when the torrents swelled the *Niláb* (*Indus*)."

Whether the Raja of Ajmér personally engaged in these distant combats the chronicle says not. According to the *Hamír Rasa*, Hursraj was succeeded by Doojgun-deo, whose advanced post was Bhutnair, and who overcame Nasir-oo-dín, from whom he captured twelve hundred horse, and hence bore the epithet of *Sultán Graha*, or 'King-seizer.' Nasir-oo-dín was the title of the celebrated Soobektegin, father to the still more celebrated

*Dán Chohán agdvl
Méwar Dhanni dind bhurri
Tís bár Rao Lákhun t'huppi
Jo arumba, so kurri."*

Literally: "In S. 1039, at the farther gate of the city of Patun, the Chohan collected the commercial duties (*ddn*). He took tribute from the lord of Méwar, and performed whatever he had a mind to:"

Lakhun drew upon him the arms of Soobektegin, and his son Mahmoud, when Nadole was stripped of its consequence; its temples were thrown down, and its fortress was dilapidated. But it had recovered much of its power, and even sent forth several branches, who all fell under Alla-o-dín in the thirteenth century. On the final conquest of India by Shahbudín, the prince of Nadole appears to have effected a compromise, and to have become a vassal of the empire. This conjecture arises from the singularity of its currency, which retains on the one side the names in Sanscrit of its indigenous princes, and on the other that of the conqueror.

¹ Hursraj and Beejy Raj were sons of Aji-pal, king of Ajmér, according to the chronicle.

² This is a very important admission of Ferishta, concerning the proselytism of all these tribes, and confirms my hypothesis, that the Afghans are converted *Jadoons* or *Yadús*, not *Yahudís*, or Jews. The *Gor* is also a well-known Rajpoot tribe, and they had only to convert it into Ghor. *Vide* Annals of the Bhattis.

Mahmood. Soobektegin repeatedly invaded India during the fifteen years' reign of his predecessor Aliptegin.

Passing over the intermediate reigns, each of which is marked by some meagre and unsatisfactory details of battles with the Islamite, we arrive at Beesildeo. The father of this prince, according to the Hara genealogists, was Dherma-Guj, apparently a title—"in faith like an elephant"—as in the *Jâtga's* list is Beer Beclundeo, confirmed by the inscription on the triumphal column at Dehli. The last of Mahmood's invasions occurred during the reign of Beclundeo, who, at the expense of his life, had the glory of humbling the mighty conqueror, and forcing him to relinquish the siege of Ajmér. Before we condense the scanty records of the bards concerning Visala-Deva,¹ we may spare a few words to commemorate a Chohan who consecrated his name, and that of all his kin, by his deeds in the first passage of Mahmood into India.

Goga Chohan was the son of Vacha Raja, a name of some celebrity. He held the whole of Jungul-dés, or the forest lands from the Sutlej to Heriana; his capital, called Mehera, or, as pronounced, *Goga câ Mairi*, was on the Sutlej. In defending this he fell, with forty-five sons and sixty nephews; and as it occurred on Sunday (*Rubwâr*), the ninth (*nomee*) of the month, that day is held sacred to the *manes* of Goga by the "thirty-six classes"² throughout Rajpootana, but especially in the desert, a portion of which is yet called *Gogadeo ca l'hul*. Even his steed, *Javâdia*,³ has been immortalised and has become a favourite name for a war-horse throughout Rajpootana, whose mighty men swear "by the *saca* of Goga," for maintaining the Rajpoot fame when Mahmood crossed the Sutlej.

This was probably the last of Mahmood's invasions, when he marched direct from Mooltan through the desert. He attacked Ajmér, which was abandoned, and the country around given up to devastation and plunder. The citadel, Gurh-Beetli, however, held out, and Mahomed was foiled, wounded, and obliged to retreat by Nadole,³ another Chohan possession, which he sacked, and then proceeded to Nehrwalla, which he captured. His barbarities promoted a coalition, which, by compelling him to march through the western deserts to gain the valley of Sinde, had nearly proved fatal to his army.

The exploits of Beesildeo form one of the books of Chund the bard. The date assigned to Beesildeo in the *Rasa* (S. 921) is interpolated—a vice not uncommon with the Rajpoot bard, whose periods acquire verification

¹ The classical mode of writing the name of Beesildeo.

² *Chatees-pon*.

³ It is related by the Rajpoot romancers that Goga had no children; that lamenting this his guardian deity gave him two barley-corns (*java* or *jao*), one of which he gave to his queen, another to his favourite mare, which produced the steed (*Javâdia*) which became as famous as Goga himself. The Rana of Oodipoor gave the author a blood-horse of Kattiawâr, whose name was Javâdia. Though a lamb in disposition, when mounted he was a piece of fire, and admirably broken in to all the *manège* exercise. A more perfect animal never existed. The author brought him, with another (*Mirg-râj*), from Oodipoor to the ocean, intending to bring them home; but the grey he gave to a friend, and fearful of the voyage, he sent Javâdia back six hundred miles to the Rana, requesting "he might be the first worshipped on the annual military festival": a request which he doubts not was complied with.

See note, p. 360, for remarks on Nadole, whence the author obtained much valuable matter, consisting of coins, inscriptions on stone and copper, and MSS., when on a visit to this ancient city in 1821.

from less mutable materials than those out of which he weaves his song.¹

Chund gives an animated picture of the levy of the Rajpoot chivalry, which assembled under Beesildeo, who, as the champion of the Hindu faith, was chosen to lead its warriors against the Islamite invader. The Chalook king of Anhulwarra alone refused to join the confederation, and in terms which drew upon him the vengeance of the Chohan. A literal translation of the passage may be interesting:

"To the Goelwal Jait, the prince entrusted Ajmér, saying, 'On your fealty I depend'; where can this Chalook find refuge? He moved from the city (Ajmér) and encamped on the lake Visala,² and summoned his tributaries and vassals to meet him. Maunsi Purihar with the array of Mundore, touched his feet.³ Then came the Ghelote, the ornament of the throng;⁴ and the Pawasir, with Tûár,⁵ and Rama the Gor;⁶ with Mohés the lord of Méwát.⁷ The Mohil of Doonapoor with tribute sent excuse.⁸ With folded hands arrived the Baloch,⁹ but the lord of Bamuní abandoned Sinde.¹⁰ Then came the Nuzzur from Bhutnair,¹¹ and the Nalbundi from Tatta¹² and Mooltan.¹² When the summons reached the

¹ We have abundant checks, which, could they have been detailed in the earlier stage of inquiry into Hindu literature, would have excited more interest for the hero whose column at Dehli has excited the inquiries of Jones, Wilford, and Colebrooke.

² This lake still bears the name of *Beesil-ca-tál* notwithstanding the changes which have accrued during a lapse of one thousand years, since he formed it by damming up the springs. It is one of the reservoirs of the Looni river. The emperor Jehangír erected a palace on the bank of the Beesil-cá-tál, in which he received the ambassador of James I. of England.

³ This shows that the Purihars were subordinate to the Chohans of Ajmér.

⁴ The respectful mention of the Ghelote as 'the ornament of the throng,' clearly proves that the Cheetore prince came as an ally: How rejoicing to an antiquary to find this confirmed by an inscription found amidst the ruins of a city of Méwar, which alludes to this very coalition! The inscription is a record of the friendship maintained by their issue in the twelfth century—Samarsi of Cheetore, and Pirthiraj the last Chohan king of India—on their combining to chastise the king of Patun Anhulwarra, "in like manner as did Beesildeo and Téjsi of old unite against the foe, so," etc. etc. Now Téjsi was the grandfather of Rawul Samarsi, who was killed in opposing the final Mooslem invasion, on the Caggar, after one of the longest reigns in their annals: from which we calculate that Téjsi must have sat on the throne about the year S. 1120 (A.D. 1064). His youth and inexperience would account for his acting subordinately to the Chohan of Ajmér. The name of Udyadita further confirms the date, as will be mentioned in the text. His date has been fully settled by various inscriptions found by the author. (*See Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223).

⁵ This Tûár must have been one of the Dehli vassals, whose monarch was of this race.

⁶ The Gor was a celebrated tribe, and amongst the most illustrious of the Chohan feudatories: a branch until a few years ago held Sooe-Soopoor and about nine lakhs of territory. I have no doubt the Gor appanage was west of the Indus, and that this tribe on conversion became the Ghor.

⁷ The Mewoh race of Méwát is well known; all are Mahomedans now.

⁸ The Mohils have been sufficiently discussed.

⁹ The Baloch was evidently Hindu at this time; and as I have repeatedly said, of Jit or Gete origin.

¹⁰ "The lord of Bamuní," in other places called Bamunwasso, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad, or *Dewul*, on whose site the modern Tatta is built.

¹¹ See Annals of Jessulmér.

¹² All this evinces supremacy over the princes of this region: the Soda, the Samma, and Soomura.

Bhomia Bhatti of Derrawul,¹ all obeyed ; as did the Jadoon of Mallunwas.² The Mori³ and Birgoojur³ also joined with the Cuchwahs of Antervéd.³ The subjugated Méras worshipped his feet.⁴ Then came the array of Takitpoor, headed by the Goelwâl Jait.⁵ Mounted in haste came Udyâ Pramâr,⁶ with the Nurbhân⁷ and the Dor,⁸ the Chundail,⁸ and the Dahima."⁹

In this short passage, a text is afforded for a dissertation on the whole genealogical history of Rajpootana at that period. Such extracts from the more ancient bards, incorporated in the works of their successors, however laconic, afford decisive evidence that their poetic chronicles bore always the same character ; for this passage is introduced by Chund merely as a preface to the history of his own prince, Pirthiraj, the descendant of Beesildeo.

A similar passage was given from the ancient chronicles of Méwar, recording an invasion of the Mooslems, of which the histories of the invaders have left no trace (vol. i. p. 202). The evidence of both is incontestable ; every name affords a synchronism not to be disputed ; and though the isolated passage would afford a very faint ray of light to the explorer of those days of darkness, yet when the same industrious research has pervaded the annals of all these races, a flood of illumination pours upon us, and we can at least tell who the races were who held sway in these regions a thousand years ago.

Amidst meagre, *jejune*, and unsatisfactory details, the annalist of Rajpootana must be content to wade on, in order to obtain some solid foundation for the history of the tribes ; but such facts as these stimulate his exertions and reward his toil : without them, his task would be hopeless. To each of the twenty tribes enumerated, formed under the standard of the Chohan, we append a separate notice, for the satisfaction of the few who can appreciate their importance, while some general remarks may suffice as a connection with the immediate object of research, the Haras, descended from Beesildeo.

In the first place, it is of no small moment to be enabled to adjust the date of Beesildeo, the most important name in the annals of the Chohans from Manik Rae to Pirthiraj, and a slip from the genealogical tree will elucidate our remarks. ,

¹ Of Derrawul we have spoken in the text.

² Mallunwas we know not.

³ The Moris, the Cuchwahs and Birgoojurs require no further notice.

⁴ The Méras inhabited the Aravalli.

⁵ Takitpoor is the modern Thoda, near Tonk, where there are fine remains.

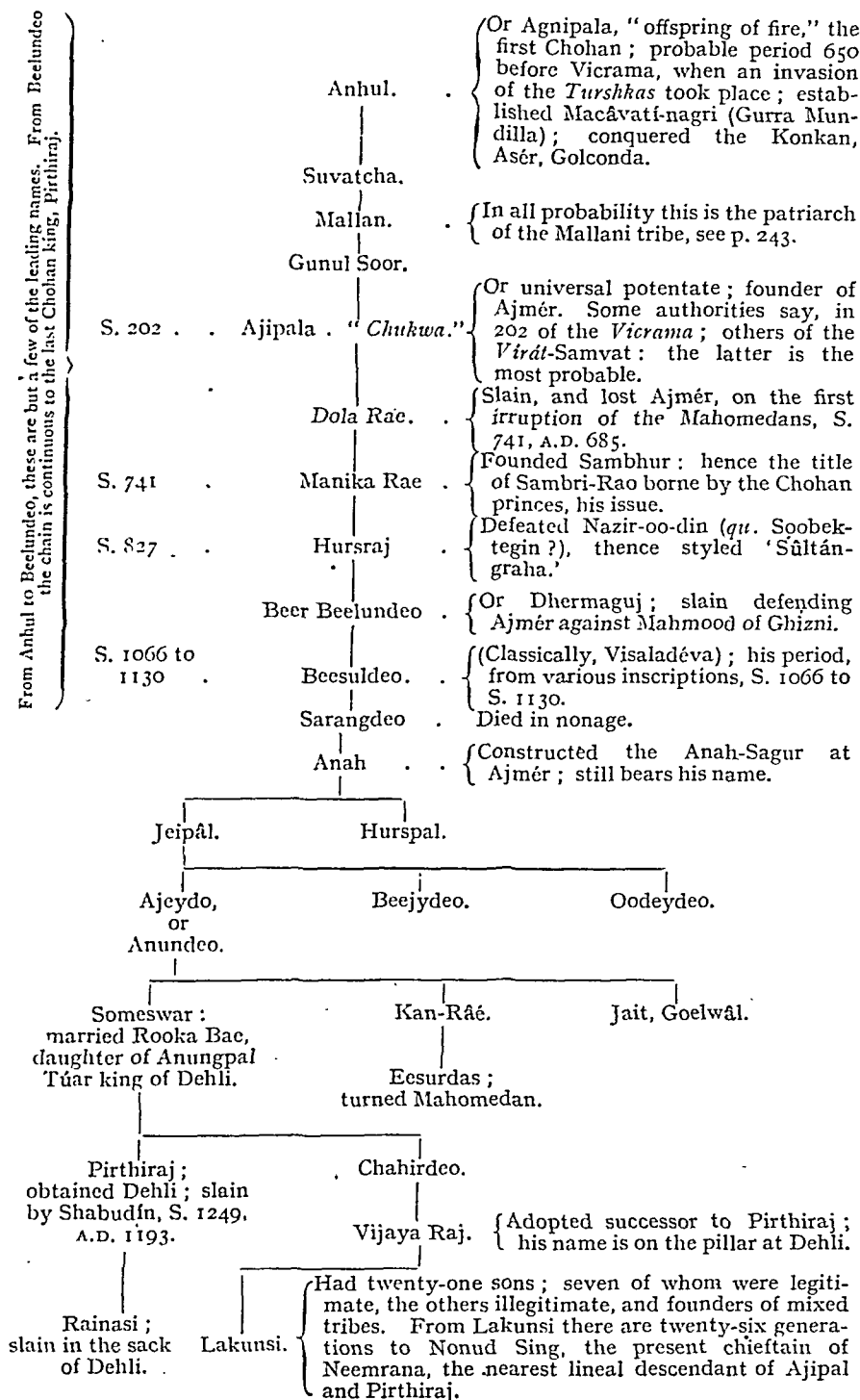
⁶ Udyadita, now a landmark in Hindu history.

⁷ See annals of Shekhavati for the Nurbhans, who held Khundaila as a fief of Ajmér.

⁸ The Dor and Chundail were well known tribes ; the latter contended with Pirthi-Raj, who deprived them of Mahoba and Kalingar, and all modern Boondelkund.

⁹ The renowned Dahima was lord of Biana ; also called Drûinâdhâr.

CHOHAN GENEALOGY.



The name of Beesildeo (*Visaladeva*) heads the inscription on the celebrated column erected in the centre of Feroz Shah's palace at Dehli. This column, alluded to by Chund, as "telling the fame of the Chohan," was "placed at Nigumbode," a place of pilgrimage on the Jumna, a few miles below Dehli, whence it must have been removed to its present singular position.¹

The inscription commences and ends with the same date, namely, 15th of the month Bysakh, S. 1220. If correctly copied, it can have no reference to Beesildeo, excepting as the ancestor of *Prativa Chahmana tilaco Sâcambhari bhûpati*; or 'Pirthirâja Chohan, the anointed of Sambhur, Lord of the earth,' who ruled at Dehli in S. 1220, and was slain in S. 1249, retaining the ancient epithet of 'Lord of Sambhur,' one of the early seats of their power.² The second stanza, however, tells us we must distrust the first of the two dates, and read 1120 (instead of 1220), when Visaladeva "exterminated the barbarians" from *Aryaverta*. The numerals 1 and 2 in Sanscrit are easily mistaken. If, however, it is decidedly 1220, then the whole inscription belongs to *Prativa Chahmana*, between whom and Visala no less than six princes intervene,³ and the opening is merely to introduce Pirthiraja's lineage, in which the sculptor has foisted in the date.

I feel inclined to assign the first stanza to Visaladeva (Beesildeo), and what follows to his descendant Pirthi Raj, who by a conceit may have availed himself of the anniversary of the victory of his ancestor, to record his own exploits. These exploits were precisely of the same nature—successful war against the Islamite, in which each drove him from *Aryaverta*; for even the Mooslem writers acknowledge that Shahbudîn was often ignominiously defeated before he finally succeeded in making a conquest of northern India.

If, as I surmise, the first stanza belongs to Beesildeo, the date is S. 1120,

¹ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 379, vol. vii. p. 180, and vol. ix. p. 453.

² I brought away an inscription of this, the last Chohan emperor, from the ruins of his palace at Hasl or Hansl, dated S. 1224. See comments thereon, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 133.

³ These inscriptions, while they have given rise to ingenious interpretations, demonstrate the little value of mere translations, even when made by first-rate scholars, who possess no historical knowledge of the tribes to whom they refer. This inscription was first translated by Sir W. Jones in 1784 (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. i.). A fresh version (from a fresh transcript I believe) was made by Mr. Colebrooke in 1800 (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii.), but rather darkening than enlightening the subject, from attending to his pundit's emendation, giving to the prince's name and tribe a metaphorical interpretation. Nor was it till Wilford had published his hodge-podge Essay on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, that Mr. Colebrooke discovered his error, and amended it in a note to that volume; but even then, without rendering the inscription useful as a historical document. I call Wilford's essay a hodge-podge advisedly. It is a paper of immense research; vast materials are brought to his task, but he had an hypothesis, and all was confounded to suit it. Chohans, Solankis, Ghelotes, all are amalgamated in his crucible. It was from the *Sarangadhar Padhati*, written by the bard of Hamira Chohan, not king of Méwar (as Wilford has it), but of Rinthumbor, lineally descended from Visaladeva, and slain by Alla-o-din. Sarangadhar was also author of the *Hamir Râsâ*, and the *Hamir Cavyâ*, bearing this prince's name, the essence of both of which I translated with the aid of my Gûrû. I was long bewildered in my admiration of Wilford's researches; but experience inspired distrust, and I adopted the useful adage in all these matters, "*nil admirari*."

or A.D. 1064, and this grand confederation described by the Chohan bard was assembled under his banner, preparatory to the very success, to commemorate which the inscription was recorded.

In the passage quoted from Chund, recording the princes who led their household troops under Beesildeo, there are four names which establish synchronisms: one, by which we arrive directly at the date, and three indirectly. The first is Udyadit Pramár, king of Dhar (son of Raja Bhoj), whose period I established from numerous inscriptions,¹ as between S. 1100 and S. 1150; so that the date of his joining the expedition would be about the middle of his reign. The indirect but equally strong testimony consists of,

First, The mention of "the Bhomia Bhatti from Derrawul;"² for had there been anything apocryphal in Chund, Jessulmér, the present capital, would have been given as the Bhatti abode.³

Second, The Cuchwahás, who are also described as coming from *Antervéd* (the region between the Jumna and Ganges); for the infant colony transmitted from Nurwar to Ambér was yet undistinguished.

The third proof is in the Méwar inscription, when Téjsi, the grandfather of Samarsi, is described as in alliance with Beesildeo. Beesildeo is said to have lived sixty-four years. Supposing this date, S. 1120, to be the medium point of his existence, this would make his date S. 1088 to S. 1152, or A.D. 1032 to A.D. 1096; but as his father, Dherma Guj, "the elephant in faith," or Beer Beelun Deo (called Malun Deo, in the *Hamir Rasa*), was killed defending Ajmér on the last invasion of Mahmood, we must necessarily place Beesil's birth (supposing him an infant on that event), ten years earlier, or A.D. 1022 (S. 1078), to A.D. 1086 (S. 1142), comprehending the date on the pillar of Dehli, and by computation all the periods mentioned in the catalogue. We may therefore safely adopt the date of the *Rásá*, namely S. 1066 to S. 1130.

Beesildeo was, therefore, cotemporary with Jeipal, the Túar king of Dehli; with Doorlub and Bhima of Guzzerat; with Bhoj and Udyá Dít of Dhar; with Pudumsi and Téjsi of Méwar; and the confederacy which he headed must have been that against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmood of Ghizni, whose expulsion from the northern parts of Rajpootana (as recorded on the pillar of Dehli) caused *Aryaverta* again to become 'the land of virtue.' Mahmood's final retreat from India by Sinde, to avoid the armies collected "by Byramdeo and the prince of Ajmér" to oppose him, was in A.H. 417, A.D. 1026, or S. 1082, nearly the same date as that assigned by Chund, S. 1086.

We could dilate on the war which Beesildeo waged against the prince

¹ See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 133.

² See *Annals of Jessulmér*, for foundation of Derrawul, p. 188.

³ In transcribing the *Annals of the Kheechies*, an important branch of the Chohans, their bards have preserved this passage; but ignorant of Derrawul and Lodorva (both preserved in my version of Chund), they have inserted Jessulmér. By such anachronisms, arising from the emendations of ignorant bards, their poetic chronicles have lost half their value. To me the comparison of such passages, preserved in Chund from the older bards, and distorted by the moderns, was a subject of considerable pleasure. It reconciled much that I might have thrown away, teaching me the difference between absolute invention, and ignorance creating errors in the attempt to correct them. The Kheechie bard, no doubt, thought he was doing right when he erased Derrawul and inscribed Jessulmér.

of Guzzerat, his victory, and the erection of Beesil-nuggur,¹ on the spot where victory perched upon his lance ; but this we reserve for the introduction of the history of the illustrious Pirthiraj. There is much fable mixed up with the history of Beesildeo, apparently invented to hide a blot in the annals, warranting the inference that he became a convert, in all likelihood a compulsory one, to the doctrines of Islam. There is also the appearance of his subsequent expiation of this crime in the garb of a penitent ; and the mound (*dhoond*), where he took up his abode, still exists, and is called after him, *Beesil-ca-d'hoond*, at Kalik Jobnair.²

According to the *Book of Kings* of Gomund Ram (the Hara bard), the Haras were descended from Anurāj, son of Beesildeo ; but Mog-ji, the Kheechie bard, makes Anurāj progenitor of the Keechchies, and son of Manika Rae. We follow the Hara bard.

Anurāj had assigned to him in appanage the important frontier fortress of Asī (*vulg.* Hansi). His son Ishtpāl, together with Agunrāj, son of Ajey-Rao, the founder of Keechpoor Patun in Sind-Sagur, was preparing to seek his fortunes with Rundheer Chohan, prince of Gowalcoond : but both Asī and Golconda were almost simultaneously assailed by an army "from the wilds of Gujlibund." Rundheer performed the *sacā* ; and only a single female, his daughter, named Soorahbāē, survived ; and she fled for protection towards Asī, then attacked by the same furious invader. Anurāj prepared to fly ; but his son, Ishtpāl, determined not to wait the attack, but seek the foe. A battle ensued, when the invader was slain, and Ishtpāl, grievously wounded, pursued him till he fell, near the spot where Soorahbāē was awaiting death under the shade of a *peepul* : for "hopes of life were extinct, and fear and hunger had reduced her to a skeleton." In the moment of despair, however, the *ashitwa* (*peepul*) tree under which she took shelter was severed, and *Asapurnā*, the guardian goddess of her race, appeared before her. To her, Soorahbāē related how her father and twelve brothers had fallen in defending Golconda against 'the demon of Gujlibund.' The goddess told her to be of good cheer, for that a Chohan of her own race had slain him, and was then at hand ; and led her to where Ishtpāl lay senseless from his wounds. By her aid he recovered,³ and possessed himself of that ancient heirloom of the Chohans, the famed fortress of Asér.

Ishtpāl, the founder of the Haras, obtained Asér in S. 1081⁴ (or A.D.

¹ This town—another proof of the veracity of the chronicle—yet exists in Northern Guzzerat.

² The pickaxe, if applied to this mound (which gives its name to Dhoondâr), might possibly show it to be a place of sepulture, and that the Chohans, even to this period, may have entombed at least the bones of their dead. The numerous *tumuli* about Hydrabad, the ancient Gowalcoond, one of the royal abodes of the Chohans, may be sepultures of this race, and the arms and vases they contain all strengthen my hypothesis of their Scythic origin.

³ Or, as the story goes, his limbs, which lay dissevered, were collected by Soorahbāē, and the goddess sprinkling them with "the water of life," he arose ! Hence the name *Hara*, which his descendants bore, from *har*, or 'bones,' thus collected ; but more likely from having lost (*hadrā*) Asī.

⁴ The Hara chronicle says S. 981, but by some strange, yet uniform error, all the tribes of the Chohans antedate their chronicles by a hundred years. Thus Beesildeo's taking possession of Anhulpoor Patun is "nine hundred, fifty, thirty and six" (S. 986), instead of S. 1086. But it even pervades Chund the poet of Pirthiraj, whose birth is made 1115, instead of S. 1215 ; and here, in

1025); and as Mahmood's last destructive visit to India, by Mooltân through the desert to Ajmér, was in A.H. 714, or A.D. 1022, we have every right to conclude that his father Anurâj lost his life and Asî to the king of Ghizni; at the same time that Ajmér was sacked, and the country laid waste by this conqueror, whom the Hindu bard might well style "the demon from Gujlibund."¹ The Mahomedan historians give us no hint even of any portion of Mahmood's army penetrating into the peninsula, though that grasping ambition, which considered the shores of Saurashtra but an intermediate step from Ghizni to the conquest of Ceylon and Pegu,² may have pushed an army during his long halt at Anhulwarra, and have driven Rindheer from Golconda. But it is idle to speculate upon such slender materials; let them suffice to illustrate one new fact, namely, that these kingdoms of the south as well as the north were held by Rajpoot sovereigns, whose offspring, blending with the original population, produced that mixed race of Mahrattas, inheriting with the names the warlike propensities of their ancestors, but who assume the name of their abodes as titles, as the Nismalkurs, the Phalkias, the Patunkars, instead of their tribes of Jadoon, Túar, Púar, etc. etc.

Ishtpâl had a son called Chand-kurn; his son, Lok Pal, had Hamir and Gumbír, names well known in the wars of Pirthiraj. The brothers were enrolled amongst his one hundred and eight great vassals, from which we may infer that, though Asér was not considered absolutely as a fief, its chief paid homage to Ajmér, as the principal seat of the Chohans.

In the *Canouj Samya*, that book of the poems of Chund devoted to the famous war in which the Chohan prince carries off the princess of Canouj, honourable mention is made of the Hara princes in the third day's fight, when they covered the retreat of Pirthiraj—

"Then did the Hara Rao Hamir, with his brother Gumbír, mounted on Lakhi steeds, approach their lord, as thus they spoke: 'Think of thy safety, Jungel-és,³ while we make offerings to the array of Jychund. Our horses' hoofs shall plough the field of fight, like the ship of the ocean.'"

The brothers encountered the contingent of the prince of Kasi (Benares), one of the great feudatories of Canouj. As they joined, "the shout raised by Hamír reached Doorga on her rock-bound throne." Both brothers fell in these wars, though one of the few survivors of the last battle fought with Shahbudín for Rajpoot independence, was a Hara—

Hamir had Kálkurna, who had Máha Mugd: his son was Ráo Bacha; his, Ráo Chund.

Amongst the many independent princes of the Chohan race to whom Alla-o-din was the messenger of fate, was Rao Chund of Asér. Its walls, though deemed impregnable, were not proof against the skill and valour of this energetic warrior; and Chund and all his family, with the excep-

all probability, the error commenced, by the ignorance (wilful we cannot imagine) of some rhymers.

¹ 'The elephant wilds.' They assert that Ghizni is properly Gujni, founded by the Yadus: and in a curious specimen of Hindu geography (presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society), all the tract about the glaciers of the Ganges is termed Gujlibun, or Gujlibu, the 'Elephant Forest.' There is a "*Gujingurh*" mentioned by Abulfazil in the region of Bijore, inhabited by the Sooltano, Jadoon, and Euso-fyze tribes.

² See Ferishta, life of Mahmood.

³ Jungul-és, 'lord of the forest lands,' another of Pirthi Raj's titles.

tion of one son, were put to the sword. This son was prince Rainsi, a name fatal to Chohan heirs, for it was borne by the son of Pirthiraj who fell in the defence of Dehli: but Rainsi of Asér was more fortunate. He was but an infant of two years and a half old, and being nephew of the Rana of Cheetore, was sent to him for protection. When he attained man's estate, he made a successful attempt upon the ruined castle of Bhynsrur, from which he drove Doonga, a Bhil chief, who, with a band of his mountain brethren, had made it his retreat. This ancient fief of Méwar had been dismantled by Alla-o-din in his attack on Cheetore, from which the Ranas had not yet recovered when the young Chohan came amongst them for protection.

Rainsi had two sons, Kolun and Kankul. Kolun being afflicted with an incurable disease, commenced a pilgrimage to the sacred "Kedarnath," one of the towns of the Ganges. To obtain the full benefit of this meritorious act, he determined to measure his length on the ground the whole of this painful journey. In six months he had only reached the Binda Pass, where, having bathed in a fountain whence flows the rivulet Bangunga, he found his health greatly restored. Kedarnath¹ was pleased to manifest himself, to accept his devotions, and to declare him "King of the Pathar," or plateau of Central India.² The whole of this tract was under the princes of Cheetore, but the sack of this famed fortress by Alla, and the enormous slaughter of the Gehlotes, had so weakened their authority, that the aboriginal Meenas had once more possessed themselves of all their native hills, or leagued with the subordinate vassals of Cheetore.

In ancient times, Raja Hoon, said to be of the Pramara race, was lord of the Pathar, and held his court at Mynál. There are many memorials of this Hoon or Hun prince, and even so far back as the first assault of Cheetore, in the eighth century, its prince was aided in his defence by "*Ungutsi, lord of the Hoons.*" The celebrated temples of Barolli are attributed to this Hoon Raja, who appears in so questionable a shape, that we can scarcely refuse to believe that a branch of this celebrated race must in the first centuries of Vicrama have been admitted, as their bards say, amongst the thirty-six royal races of the Rajpoots. Be this as it may, Rao Bango, the grandson of Kolun, took possession of the ancient Mynál, and on an elevation commanding the western face of the Pathar erected the fortress of Bumáóda. With Bhynsrur on the east, and Bumáóda and Mynál on the west, the Haras now occupied the whole extent of the Pathar. Other conquests were made, and Mandelgurh, Bijollí, Béygoó, Rutnagurh, and Choraitagurh, formed an extensive, if not a rich, chieftainship.

Rao Bango had twelve sons, who dispersed their progeny over the Pathar. He was succeeded by Dewa, who had three sons, namely, Hurraj,³ Hatiji, and Samarsi.

¹ "The lord of Kédar," the gigantic *pine* of the Himalaya, a title of Śiva.

² He bestowed in appanage on his brother Kankalji a tenth of the lands in his possession. From Kankal are descended the class of Bhats, called "Kroria Bhat."

³ Hur-ráj had twelve sons, the eldest of whom was Aloo, who succeeded to Bumáoda. Aloo Hara's name will never die as long as one of his race inhabits the Pathar; and there are many Bhomias descended from him still holding lands, as the Kombawut and Bhojawut Haras. The end of Aloo Hara, and the destruction of Bumáoda (which the author has visited), will be related in the Personal Narrative.

The Haras had now obtained such power as to attract the attention of the emperor, and Rae Dewa was summoned to attend the court when Secunder Lodi ruled. He, therefore, installed his son, Hur-raj in Bumâôda, and with his youngest, Samarsi, repaired to Dehli. Here he remained, till the emperor coveting a horse of the 'king of the Pathar,' the latter determined to regain his native hills. This steed is famed both in the annals of the Haras and Kheechies, and, like that of the Mede, had no small share in the future fortunes of his master. Its birth is thus related. The king had a horse of such mettle, that "he could cross a stream without wetting his hoof." Dewa bribed the royal equerry, and from a mare of the *Pathar* had a colt, to obtain which the king broke that law which is alike binding on the Mooslem and the Christian. Dewa sent off his family by degrees, and as soon as they were out of danger, he saddled his charger, and lance in hand appeared under the balcony where the emperor was seated. "Farewell, king," said the Rangra; "there are three things your majesty must never ask of a Rajpoot; his horse, his mistress, and his sword." He gave his steed the rein, and in safety regained the Pathar. Having resigned Bumâôda to Hur-raj, he came to Bando-Nâl, the spot where his ancestor Kolun was cured of disease. Here the Meenas of the Oosarra tribe dwelt, under the patriarchal government of Jaitah, their chief. There was then no regular city; the extremities of the valley (*t'hâl*¹) were closed with barriers of masonry and gates, and the huts of the Meenas were scattered wherever their fancy led them to build. At this time the community, which had professed obedience to the Rana on the sack of Cheetore, was suffering from the raids of Rao Gango, the Kheechie, who from his castle of Ramgur'h (Relawun) imposed "*birchi-dohâe*" on all around. To save themselves from Gango, who used "to drive his lance at the barrier of Bando," the Meenas entered into terms, agreeing, on the full moon of every second month, to suspend the tribute of the *chout'h* over the barrier. At the appointed time, the Rao came, but no bag of treasure appeared. "Who has been before me?" demanded Gango; when forth issued the "lord of the Pathar," on the steed coveted by the Lodi king. Gango of Relawun bestrode a charger not less famed than his antagonist's, "which owed his birth to the river-horse of the Par, and a mare of the Kheechie chieftain's, as she grazed on its margin."² Mounted on this steed, no obstacle could stop him, and even the Chumbul was no impediment to his seizing the tribute at all seasons from the Meenas."

The encounter was fierce, but the Hara was victorious, and Gango turned his back on the lord of the Pathar, who tried the mettle of this son of the Par, pursuing him to the banks of the Chumbul. What was his surprise, when Gango sprang from the cliff, and horse and rider disappeared in the flood, but soon to reappear on the opposite bank! Dewa, who stood amazed, no sooner beheld the Rao emerge, than he exclaimed, "Bravo, Rajpoot! Let me know your name." "Gango Kheechie," was the answer. "And mine is Dewa Hara; we are brothers, and must no longer be enemies. Let the river be our boundary."

It was in S. 1398 (A.D. 1342) that Jaita and the Oosarras acknowledged

¹ *T'hâl* and *Nâl* are both terms for a valley, though the latter is oftener applied to a defile.

² The Par, or Parbutty river, flows near Ramgur'h Relawun.—See Map.

Raé Dewa as their lord, who erected Boondl in the centre of the *Bandoo-ca-Nál*, which henceforth became the capital of the Haras. The Chumbul, which, for a short time after the adventure here related, continued to be the barrier to the eastward, was soon overpassed, and the bravery of the race bringing them into contact with the emperor's lieutenants, the Haras rose to favour and power, extending their acquisitions, either by conquest or grant, to the confines of Malwa. The territory thus acquired obtained the geographical designation of Haravati or Haroutl.¹

CHAPTER II

Recapitulation of the Hara princes from the founder Anúrāj to Raé Dewa—He erects Boondl—Massacre of the Oosarras—Dewa abdicates—Ceremony of *Yugaraj*, or abdication—Succeeded by Samarsi—Extends his sway east of the Chumbul—Massacre of the Kotah Bhils—Origin of Kotah—Napooji succeeds—Feud with the Solanki of Thoda—Assassination of Napooji—Singular Sati—Hamoo succeeds—The Rana asserts his right over the Pathar—Hamoo demurs, defies, and attacks him—Anecdote—Birsing—Biroo—Rao Bando—Famine—Anecdote—Bando expelled by his brothers; converts to Mahomedanism—Narayndas puts his uncles to death, and recovers his patrimony—Anecdotes of Narayndas—Aids the Rana of Cheetore—Gains a victory—Espouses the niece of Rana Raemull—His passion for opium—Death—Rao Soorajmul—Marries a princess of Cheetore—Fatal result—*Ahaarca* or Spring-hunt—Assassination of the Rao—His revenge—Two-fold sati—Rao Soortan—His cruelty, deposal, and banishment—Rao Arjoon elected—Romantic death—Rao Soorjun accedes.

HAVING sketched the history of this race, from the regeneration of Anhul,² the first Chohan (at a period which it is impossible to fix), to the establishment of the first Hara prince in Boondl, we shall here recapitulate the most conspicuous princes, with their dates, as established by synchronical events in the annals of other states, or by inscriptions; and then proceed with the history of the Haras as members of the great commonwealth of India.

Anurāj obtained Asl or Hansi.

Ishpāl, son of Anurāj; he was expelled from Asl, S. 1081 (A.D. 1025), and obtained Asér. He was founder of the Haras; the chronicle says not how long after obtaining Asl, but evidently very soon.

Hamir, killed in the battle of the Caggar, on the invasion of Shahbudln, S. 1240, or A.D. 1193.

Rao Chund, slain in Asér, by Alla-oo-din, in S. 1351.

Rainsi, fled from Asér, and came to Méwar, and in S. 1353 obtained Bhynsrar.

Rao Bango, obtained Bumáoda, Mynal, etc.

Rao Dewa, S. 1398 (A.D. 1342), took the Bandoo valley from the Meenas, founded the city of Boondl, and styled the country Haravati.

Rao Dewa, whose Meena subjects far outnumbered his Haras, had recourse in order to consolidate his authority, to one of those barbarous acts too common in Rajpoot conquests. The Rajpoot chronicler so far palliates the deed, that he assigns a reason for it, namely, the insolence

¹ In Mahomedan authors, Hadouty.

² *Anhul* and *Agni* have the same signification, namely, 'fire.'

of the Meena leader, who dared to ask a daughter of the "*Lord of the Pathar*." Be this as it may, he called in the aid of the Haras of Bumáóda and the Solankis of Thoda, and almost annihilated the Oosarras.

How long it was after this act of barbarity, that Dewa abdicated in favour of his son, is not mentioned, though it is far from improbable that this crime influenced his determination. This was the second time of his abdication of power; first, when he gave Bumáóda to Hur-raj, and went to Secunder Lodi; and now to Samarsi, the branches of Boondí and the Pathar remaining independent of each other. The act of abdication confers the title of *Jugraj*; ¹ or when they conjoin the authority of the son with the father, the heir is styled *Jiváraj*. Four instances of this are on record in the annals of Boondí; namely, by Dewa, by Narayndas, by Raj Chuttur Sal, and by Sriji Oméd Sing. It is a rule for a prince never to enter the capital after abandoning the government; the king is virtually defunct; he cannot be a subject, and he is no longer a king. To render the act more impressive, they make an effigy of the abdicated king, and on the twelfth day following the act (being the usual period of mourning), they commit it to the flames. In accordance with this custom, Dewa never afterwards entered the walls either of Boondí or Bumáóda, ² but resided at the village of Omurthoona, five coss from the former, till his death.

Samarsi had three sons: 1. Napooji, who succeeded; 2. Hurpal, who obtained Jujawur, and left numerous issue, called Hurpalpotas; and 3. Jaetsi, who had the honour of first extending the Hara name beyond the Chumbul. On his return from a visit to the Túar chief of Keytoon, he passed the residence of a community of Bhils, in an extensive ravine near the river. Taking them by surprise, he attacked them, and they fell victims to the fury of the Haras. At the entrance of this ravine, which was defended by an outwork, Jaetsi slew the leader of the Bhils, and erected there a *hâti* (elephant) to the god of battle, Bhíroo. He stands on the spot called *châr-jhopra*, near the chief portal of the castle of Kotah, a name derived from a community of Bhils called Koteah. ³

¹ *Yuga-Raj*, "sacrifice of the government."

² Hur-raj (elder son of Dewa), lord of Bumáóda, had twelve sons; of whom Aloo Hara, the eldest, held twenty-four castles upon the Pathar. With all of these the author is familiar, having trod the Pathar in every direction: of this, anon.

³ The descendants of Jaetsi retained the castle and the surrounding country for several generations; when Bhonungsi, the fifth in descent, was dispossessed of them by Rao Soorujmull of Boondí. Jaetsi had a son, Soorjun, who gave the name of Kotah to this abode of the Bhils, round which he built a wall. His son Dheerdeo excavated twelve lakes, and dammed up that east of the town, still known by his name, though better by its new appellation of "*Kishore Sagur*." His son was Kandul, who had Bhonungsi, who lost and regained Kotah in the following manner. Kotah was seized by two Pathans, Dhakur and Késar Khan. Bhonung, who became mad from excessive use of wine and opium, was banished to Boondí, and his wife, at the head of his household vassals, retired to Keytoon, around which the Haras held three hundred and sixty villages. Bhonung, in exile, repented of his excesses; he announced his amendment and his wish to return to his wife and kin. The intrepid Rajpootni rejoiced at his restoration, and laid a plan for the recovery of Kotah, in which she destined him to take part. To attempt it by force would have been to court destruction, and she determined to combine stratagem and courage. When the jocund festival of spring approached, when even decorum is for a while cast aside in the Rajpoot Saturnalia,

Napooji, a name of no small note in the chronicles of Haravati, succeeded Samarsi. Napooji had married a daughter of the Solankhi, chief of Thoda, the lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Anhulwarra. While on a visit to Thoda, a slab of beautiful marble attracted the regard of the Hara Rao, who desired his bride to ask it of her father. His delicacy was offended, and he replied, "he supposed the Hara would next ask him for his wife"; and desired him to depart. Napooji was incensed, and visited his anger upon his wife, whom he treated with neglect and even banished from his bed. She complained to her father. On the '*kajuli tees*,' the joyous third of the month Sawun, when a Rajpoot must visit his wife, the vassals of Boondi were dismissed to their homes to keep the festival sacred to "the mother of births." The Thoda Rao, taking advantage of the unguarded state of Boondi, obtained admittance by stealth, and drove his lance through the head of the Hara Rao. He retired without observation, and was relating to his attendants the success of his revenge, when, at this moment, they passed one of the Boondi vassals, who, seated in a hollow taking his *uml-pani* (opium-water), was meditating on the folly of going home, where no endearing caresses awaited him from his wife, who was deranged, and had determined to return to Boondi. While thus absorbed in gloomy reflections, the trampling of horses met his ear, and soon was heard the indecent mirth of the Thoda Rao's party, at the Hara Rao dismissing his vassals and remaining unattended. The Chohan guessed the rest, and as the Thoda Rao passed close to him, he levelled a blow, which severed his right arm from his body and brought him from his horse. The Solankhi's attendants took to flight, and the Chohan put the severed limb, on which was the golden bracelet, in his scarf, and proceeded back to Boondi. Here all was confusion and sorrow. The Solankhi queen, true to her faith, determined to mount the pyre with the murdered body of her lord; yet equally true to the line whence she sprung, was praising the vigour of her brother's arm, "which had made so many mouths,¹ that she wanted hands to present a *pán* to each." At the moment she was apostrophising the dead body of her lord, his faithful vassal entered, and undoing the scarf presented to her the dissevered arm, saying, "Perhaps this may aid you." She recognised the bracelet, and though, as a *sati*, she had done with this world, and should die in peace with all mankind, she could not forget, even at that dread moment, that "to revenge a feud" was the first of all duties. She called for pen and ink, and before mounting the pyre wrote to her brother, that if he did not wipe off that disgrace, his seed would be stigmatised as the issue of "the one-handed Solankhi." When he perused the dying words of his *sati*

she invited herself, with all the youthful damsels of Keytoon, to play the Holi with the Pathans of Kotah. The libertine Pathans received the invitation with joy, happy to find the queen of Keytoon evince so much amity. Collecting three hundred of the finest Hara youths, she disguised them in female apparel, and Bhonung, attended by the old nurse, each with a vessel of the crimson *abir*, headed the band. While the youths were throwing the crimson powder amongst the Pathans, the nurse led Bhonung to play with their chief. The disguised Hara broke his vessel on the head of Késar Khan. This was the signal for action: the Rajpoots drew their swords from beneath their *ghagras* (petticoats), and the bodies of Késar and his gang strewed the terrace. The *mesjid* of Késar Khan still exists within the walls. Bhonung was succeeded by his son Doongursi, whom Rao Soorujmull dispossessed and added Kotah to Boondi.

¹ "Poor dumb mouths."

sister, he was stung to the soul, and being incapable of revenge, immediately dashed out his brains against a pillar of the hall.

Napooji had three sons, Hamooji, Norung (whose descendants are Norungpotas), Thurud (whose descendants are Thurud Haras), and Hamoo, who succeeded in S. 1440. We have already mentioned the separation of the branches, when Hur-raj retained Bumâoda, at the period when his father established himself at Boondi. Aloo Hara succeeded; but the lord of the Pathar had a feud with the Rana, and he was dispossessed of his birthright. Bumâoda was levelled, and he left no heirs to his revenge.

The princes of Cheetore, who had recovered from the shock of Alla's invasion, now re-exerted their strength, the first act of which was the reduction of the power of the great vassals, who had taken advantage of their distresses to render themselves independent: among these they included the Haras. But the Haras deny their vassalage, and allege, that though they always acknowledged the supremacy of the *gadi* of Méwar, they were indebted to their swords, not his *puttas*, for the lands they conquered on the Alpine Pathar. Both to a certain degree are right. There is no room to doubt, that the fugitive Hara from Asér owed his preservation, as well as his establishment, to the Rana, who assuredly possessed the whole of the Plateau till Alla's invasion. But then the Seesodia power was weakened; the Bhomias and aboriginal tribes recovered their old retreats, and from these the Haras obtained them by conquest. The Rana, however, who would not admit that a temporary abeyance of his power sanctioned any encroachment upon it, called upon Hamoo "to do service for Boondi." The Hara conceded personal homage in the grand festivals of the Duserah and Holi, to acknowledge his supremacy and receive the *tika* of installation; but he rejected at once the claim of unlimited attendance. Nothing less, however, would satisfy the king of Cheetore, who resolved to compel submission, or drive the stock of Dewa from the Pathar. Hamoo defied, and determined to brave, his resentment. The Rana of Méwar, marched with all his vassals to Boondi, and encamped at Necmairo, only a few miles from the city. Five hundred Haras, "the sons of one father," put on the saffron robe, and rallied round their chief, determined to die with him. Having no hope but from an effort of despair, they marched out at midnight, and fell upon the Rana's camp, which was completely surprised; and each Seesodia sought safety in flight. Hamoo made his way direct to the tent of *Hindupati*; but the sovereign of the Seesodias was glad to avail himself of the gloom and confusion to seek shelter in Cheetore, while his vassals fell under the swords of the Haras.

Humiliated, disgraced, and enraged at being thus foiled by a handful of men, the Rana reformed his troops under the walls of Cheetore, and swore he would not eat until he was master of Boondi. The rash vow went round; but Boondi was sixty miles distant, and defended by brave hearts. His chiefs expostulated with the Rana on the absolute impossibility of redeeming his vow; but the words of kings are sacred: Boondi must fall, ere the king of the Gehlotes could dine. In this exigence, a childish expedient was proposed to release him from hunger and his oath; "to erect a mock Boondi and take it by storm." Instantly the mimic town arose under the walls of Cheetore; and, that the deception might be complete, the local nomenclature was attended to, and each quarter had

its appropriate appellation. A band of Haras of the Pathar were in the service of Chectore, whose leader, Koombo-Bairsi was returning him with his kin from hunting the deer, when their attention was attracted by this strange bustle. The story was soon told, that Boondí must fall ere the Rana could dine. Koombo assembled his brethren of the Pathar, declaring that even the mock Boondí must be defended. All felt the indignity to the clan, and each bosom burning with indignation, they prepared to protect the mud walls of the *pseudo* Boondí from insult. It was reported to the Rana that Boondí was finished. He advanced to the storm: but what was his surprise when, instead of the blank-cartridge he heard a volley of balls whiz amongst them! A messenger was dispatched, and was received by Bairsi at the gate, who explained the cause of the unexpected salutation, desiring him to tell the Rana that "not even the mock capital of a Hara should be dishonoured." Spreading a sheet at the little gateway, Bairsi and the Kâawunts invited the assault, and at the threshold of "*Gar-ca-Boondí*" (the Boondí of clay) they gave up their lives for the honour of the race.¹ The Rana wisely remained satisfied with this salvo to his dignity, nor sought any further to wipe off the disgrace incurred, at the real capital of the Haras, perceiving the impolicy of driving such a daring clan to desperation, whose services he could command on an emergency.

Hamoo, who ruled sixteen years, left two sons: 1. Birsing; and 2. Lalla, who obtained Khutkur, and had two sons, Novarma and Jaita, each of whom left clans called after them Novarma-pota and Jaitawut. Birsing ruled fifteen years, and left three sons: Biroo, Jubdoo, who founded three tribes,² and Nima, descendants Nimawuts. Biroo, who died S. 1526, ruled fifty years, and had seven sons: 1. Rao Bando; 2. Sando; 3. Ako; 4. Oodoh; 5. Chanda; 6. Samarsing; 7. Umursing;—the first five founded clans named after them Akawut, Oodawut, Chondawut, but the last two abandoned their faith for that of Islâm.

Bando has left a deathless name in Rajwarra for his boundless charities, more especially during the famine which desolated that country in S. 1542 (A.D. 1486). He was forewarned, says the bard, in a vision, of the visitation. *Kal* (Time or the famine personified) appeared riding on a lean black buffalo. Grasping his sword and shield, the intrepid Hara assaulted the apparition. "Bravo, Bando Hara," it exclaimed; "I am *Kal* (Time); on me your sword will fall in vain. Yet you are the only mortal who ever dared to oppose me. Now listen: I am *Béalees* (forty-two); the land will become a desert; fill your granaries, distribute liberally, they will never empty." Thus saying, the spectre vanished. Rao Bando obeyed the injunction; he collected grain from every surrounding state. One year passed and another had almost followed, when the periodical rains ceased,

¹ Somewhat akin to this incident is the history of that summer abode of kings of France in the Bois de Boulogne at Paris, called "*Madrid*." When Francis I. was allowed to return to his capital, he pledged his *parole* that he would return to *Madrid*. But the delights of liberty and Paris were too much for honour; and while he wavered, a hint was thrown out similar to that suggested to the Rana when determined to capture Boondí. A mock Madrid arose in the Bois de Boulogne, to which Francis retired.

² Jubdoo had three sons: each founded clans. The eldest, Bacha, had two sons, Sewaji and Seranji. The former had Meoji; the latter had Sawunt, whose descendants are styled Meoh and Sawunt Haras.

dose, under a tree, his mouth wide open, into which the flies had unmolested ingress, when a young *tailant*¹ came to draw water at the well, and on learning that this was Boond's prince on his way to aid the Rana in his distress, she observed, "If he gets no other aid than his, alas for my prince?" "The *umuldar* (opium-eater) has quick ears, though no eyes," is a common adage in Rajwarra. "What is that you say, *rand* (widow)?" roared the Rao, advancing to her. Upon her endeavouring to excuse herself, he observed, "Do not fear, but repeat it." In her hand she had an iron crowbar, which the Rao, taking it from her, twisted until the ends met round her neck. "Wear this garland for me," said he, "until I return from aiding the Rana, unless in the interim you can find some one strong enough to unbind it."

Cheetore was closely invested; the Rao, moved by the intricacies of the Pathar, took the royal camp by surprise, and made direct for the tent of the generalissimo, cutting down all in his way. Confusion and panic seized the Mooslems, who fled in all directions. The Boond's *nakarras* (drums) struck up; and as the morning broke, the besieged had the satisfaction to behold the invaders dispersed and their auxiliaries at hand. Rana Raemull came forth, and conducted his deliverer in triumph to Cheetore. All the chiefs assembled to do honour to Boond's prince, and the ladies "behind the curtain" felt so little alarm at their opium-eating knight, that the Rana's niece determined to espouse him, and next day communicated her intentions to the Rana. "The slave of Narayn" was too courteous a cavalier to let any fair lady die for his love; the Rana was too sensible of his obligation not to hail with joy any mode of testifying his gratitude, and the nuptials of the Hara and *Kétu* were celebrated with pomp. With victory and his bride, he returned to the Bando valley; where, however, 'the flower of gloomy Dis' soon gained the ascendant even over Camdeo, and his doses augmented to such a degree, that "he scratched his lady instead of himself, and with such severity that he marred the beauty of the Mewari." In the morning, perceiving what had happened, yet being assailed with no reproach, he gained a reluctant victory over himself, and "consigned the opium-box to her keeping." Narayn-das ruled thirty-two years, and left his country in tranquillity, and much extended, 'o his only son.

Soorujmull ascended the gadf in S. 1590 (A.D. 1534). Like his father, he was athletic in form and dauntless in soul; and it is said possessed in an eminent degree that unerring sign of a hero, long arms, his (like those of Rama and Pirthiraj) "reaching far below his knees."

The alliance with Cheetore was again cemented by intermarriage. Sooja Baé, sister to Soorujmull, was espoused by Rana Rutna, who bestowed his own sister on the Rao. Rao Sooja, like his father, was too partial to his *uml*. One day, at Cheetore, he had fallen asleep in the Presence, when a Poorbia chief felt an irresistible inclination to disturb him, and "tickled the Hara's ear with a straw." He might as well have jested with a tiger: a back stroke with his *khanda* stretched the insulter on the carpet. The son of the Poorbia treasured up the feud, and waited for revenge, which he effected by making the Rana believe the Rao had other objects in view, besides visiting his sister Sooja Baé, at the Rawula. The train thus laid, the slightest incident inflamed it. The fair Sooja had prepared a repast,

¹ Wife or daughter of a *taili*, or oilman.

to which she invited both her brother and her husband : she had not only attended the culinary process herself, but waited on these objects of her love to drive the flies from the food. Though the wedded pair of Rajpootana clings to the husband, yet she is ever more solicitous for the honour of the house from whence she sprung, than that into which she has been admitted ; which feeling has engendered numerous quarrels. Unhappily, Sooja remarked, on removing the dishes, that " her brother had devoured his share like a tiger, while her husband had played with his like a child (*balac*). " The expression, added to other insults which he fancied were put upon him, cost the Rao his life, and sent the fair Sooja an untimely victim to Indraloca. The dictates of hospitality prevented the Rana from noticing the remark at the moment, and in fact it was more accordant with the general tenor of his character to revenge the affront with greater security than even the isolated situation of the brave Hara afforded him. On the latter taking leave, the Rana invited himself to hunt on the next spring festival in the *rumnas* or preserves of Boondí. The merry month of Phalagoon arrived ; the Rana and his court prepared their suits of *amowah* (green), and ascended the Pathar on the road to Boondí, in spite of the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, who, as she ascended the pyre at Bumâôda, pronounced that whenever Rao and Rana met to hunt together at the *Ahairea*, such meeting, which had blasted all her hopes, would always be fatal. But centuries had rolled between the denunciation of the daughter of Aloo Hara and Sooja Baé of Boondí ; and the prophecy, though in every mouth, served merely to amuse the leisure hour ; the moral being forgotten it was only looked upon as " a tale that was past. "

The scene chosen for the sport was on the heights of Nandta, not far from the western bank of the Chumbul, in whose glades every species of game, from the lordly lion to the timid hare, abounded. The troops were formed into lines, advancing through the jungles with the customary noise and clamour, and driving before them a promiscuous herd of tenants of the forest—lions, tigers, hyenas, bears, every species of deer, from the enormous *bara-singa* and Nîlgâé to the delicate antelope, with jackals, foxes, hares, and the little wild dog. In such an animated scene as this, the Rajpoot forgets even his opium ; he requires no exhilaration beyond the stimulus before him ; a species of petty war, not altogether free from danger.

It was amidst the confusion of such a scene that the dastard Rana determined to gratify his malice. The princes had convenient stations assigned them, where they could securely assail the game as it passed, each having but one or two confidential attendants. With the Rana was the lagoon of his revenge, the son of the Poorbia, whom the Hara prince had slain. " Now is the moment, " said the Rana to his companion, " to slay the boar, " and instantly an arrow from the bow of the Poorbia was sped at the Rao. " With an eagle's eye he saw it coming, and turned it off with his bow. " This might have been chance, but another from the foster-brother of the Rana convinced him there was treachery. Scarcely had he warded off the second, when the Rana darted at him on horseback, and cut him down with his *khanda*. The Rao fell, but recovering, took his shawl and tightly bound up the wound, and as his foe was making off he called aloud, " Escape you may, but you have sunk Méwar. " The

Poorbia, who followed his prince, when he saw the Rao bind up his wound, said, "The work is but half done"; and like a coward, Rutna once more charged the wounded Rao. As his arm was raised to finish the deed of shame, like a wounded tiger, the Hara made a dying effort, caught the assassin by the robe, and dragged him from his steed. Together they came to the ground, the Rana underneath. The Rao knelt upon his breast, while, with preternatural strength, with one hand he grasped his victim by the throat, with the other he searched for his dagger. What a moment for revenge! He plunged the weapon into his assassin's heart, and saw him expire at his feet. The Rao was satisfied; there was no more life left him than sufficed for revenge, and he dropped a corpse upon the dead body of his foeman.

The tidings flew to Boondi, to the mother of the Rao, that her son was slain in the *Ahairea*. "Slain!" exclaimed this noble dame, "but did he fall alone? Never could a son, who has drunk at this breast, depart unaccompanied"; and as she spoke, "maternal feeling caused the milk to issue from the fount with such force, that it rent the slab on which it fell."

The dread of dishonour, which quenched the common sympathies of nature for the death of her son, had scarcely been thus expressed, when a second messenger announced the magnitude of his revenge. The Rajpoot dame was satisfied, though fresh horrors were about to follow. The wives of the murdered princes could not survive, and the pyres were prepared on the fatal field of sport. The fair Sooja expiated her jest, which cost her a husband and a brother, in the flames, while the sister of Rana Rutna, married to the Rao, in accordance with custom or affection, burned with the dead body of her lord. The cenotaphs of the princes were reared where they fell; while that of Sooja Baé was erected on a pinnacle of the Pass, and adds to the picturesque beauty of this romantic valley, which possesses a double charm for the traveller, who may have taste to admire the scene, and patience to listen to the story.¹

Soortan succeeded in S. 1591 (A.D. 1535), and married the daughter of the celebrated Sukta, founder of the Suktawuts of Méwar. He became an ardent votary of the bloodstained divinity of war, *Kál-Bhīroo*, and like almost all those ferocious Rajpoots who resign themselves to his horrid rites, grew cruel and at length deranged. Human victims are the chief offerings to this brutalised personification of war, though Soortan was satisfied with the eyes of his subjects, which he placed upon the altar of "the mother of war." It was then time to question the divine right by which he ruled. The assembled nobles deposed and banished him from Boondi, assigning a small village on the Chumbul for his residence, to which he gave the name Soortanpoor, which survives to bear testimony to one of many instances of the deposition of their princes by the Rajpoots, when they offend custom or morality. Having no offspring, the nobles elected the son of Nirboodh, son of Rao Bando, who had been brought up in his patrimonial village of Matoonda.

Rao Arjoon, the eldest of the eight sons² of Nirboodh, succeeded his

¹ The Author has seen the cenotaphs of the princes at Nandta, a place which still affords good hunting.

² Four of these had appanages and founded clans, namely, Bheem, who had

banished cousin. Nothing can more effectually evince the total extinction of animosity between these valiant races, when once 'a feud is balanced,' than the fact of Rao Arjoon, soon after his accession, devoting himself and his valiant kinsmen to the service of the son of that Rana who had slain his predecessor. The memorable attack upon Cheetore by Buhadoor of Guzzerat has already been related,¹ and the death of the Hara prince and his vassals at the post of honour, the breach. Rao Arjoon was this prince, who was blown up at the Cheetoree *boorj* (bastion). The Boondí bard makes a striking picture of this catastrophe, in which the indomitable courage of their prince is finely imagined. The fact is also confirmed by the annals of Méwar :

"Seated on a fragment of the rock, disparted by the explosion of the mine, Arjoon drew his sword, and the world beheld his departure with amazement." ²

Soorjun, the eldest of the four sons³ of Arjoon, succeeded in S. 1589 (A.D. 1533).

CHAPTER III

Rao Soorjun obtains Rinthumbor—Is besieged by Akber—The Boondí prince surrenders the castle—Becomes a vassal of the empire—Magnanimous sacrifice of Sawunt Hara—Akber bestows the title of Rao Raja on the Hara prince—He is sent to reduce Gondwana—His success and honours—Rao Bhoj succeeds—Akber reduces Guzzerat—Gallant conduct of the Haras at Surat and Ahmednuggur—Amazonian band—Disgrace of Rao Bhoj—Cause of Akber's death—Rao Ruttun—Rebellion against the emperor Jehangír—The Hara prince defeats the rebels—Partition of Harouti—Madhú Sing obtains Kotah—Rao Ruttun slain—His heir Gopinath killed—Partition of fiefs in Harouti—Rao Chuttur-sál succeeds—Appointed governor of Agra—Services in the Dekhan—Escalades Doulutabad—Calberga—Damounec—Civil war amongst the sons of Shah Jehan—Character of Arungzéb by the Boondí prince—Fidelity of the Hara princes—Battles of Oojein and Dholpoor—Heroic valour of Chutter-sál—Is slain, with twelve princes of Hara blood—Rao Bhao succeeds—Boondí invaded—Imperialists defeated—Rao Bhao restored to favour—Appointed to Arungabad—Succeeded by Rao Anurad—Appointed to Lahore—His death—Rao Boodh—Battle of Jajow—The Hara princes of Kotah and Boondí opposed to each other—Kotah prince slain—Gallantry of Rao Boodh—Obtains the victory for Buhadoor Shah—Fidelity of the Boondí prince—Compelled to fly—Feud with the prince of Ambér—Its cause—Ambitious views of Ambér—Its political condition—Treachery of Ambér—Desperate conflict—Rao Boodh driven from Boondí—Boondí territory curtailed—Rao Boodh dies in exile—His sons.

WITH Rao Soorjun commenced a new era for Boondí. Hitherto her princes had enjoyed independence, excepting the homage and occasional Takurda; Pooro, who had Hurdoe; Mapal and Puchaen, whose abodes are not recorded.

¹ See vol. i. p. 248.

² " *Sór na kēa bohut jār*
Dhur purbut ori sillā
Tyy kārī turwār
*Ad patia, Hara Uja.*³

³ Ram Sing, clan Rama Hara; Akhiraj, clan Akhirajpotā; Kandil, clan Jessa Hara.

¹ Uja, the familiar contraction for Arjoona.

service on emergencies which are maintained as much from kinship as vassalage. But they were now about to move in a more extended orbit, and to occupy a conspicuous page in the future history of the empire of India.

Sawunt Sing, a junior branch of Boondí, upon the expulsion of the Sheresahí dynasty, entered into a correspondence with the Afghan governor of Rinthumbor, which terminated in the surrender of this celebrated fortress, which he delivered up to his superior, the Rao Soorjun. For this important service, which obtained a castle and possession far superior to any under Boondí, lands were assigned near the city to Sawuntji, whose name became renowned, and was transmitted as the head of the clan, Sawunt-Hará.

The Chohan chief of Baidla, who was mainly instrumental to the surrender of this famed fortress, stipulated that it should be held by Rao Soorjun, as a fief of Méwar. Thus Rinthumbor, which for ages was an appanage of Ajmér, and continued until the fourteenth century in a branch of the family descended from Beesildeo, when it was captured from the valiant Hamir¹ after a desperate resistance, once more reverted to the Chohan race.

Rinthumbor was an early object of Akber's attention, who besieged it in person. He had been some time before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwandas of Ambér and his son, the more celebrated Raja Maun, who had not only tendered their allegiance to Akber, but allied themselves to him by marriage, determined to use their influence to make Soorjun Hara faithless to his pledge, "to hold the castle as a fief of Chectore."² That courtesy, which is never laid aside amongst belligerent Rajpoots, obtained Raja Maun access to the castle, and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognised the emperor, and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hand and placed Akber on the 'cushion' of the governor of the castle. Akber's presence of mind did not forsake him, and he said, "Well, Rao Soorjun, what is to be done?" which was replied to by Raja Maun, "Leave the Rana, give up Rinthumbor, and become the servant of the king, with high honours and office." The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent; the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the king.³

A treaty was drawn up upon the spot, and mediated by the prince of Ambér, which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling—

¹ His fame is immortalised by a descendant of the bard Chund, in the works already mentioned, as bearing his name, the *Hamir-rdsá* and *Hamir-cavyá*.

² The Raja Maun of Ambér is styled, in the poetic chronicle of the Haras, "the shade of the *Kali Yuga*": a powerful figure, to denote that his baneful influence and example, in allying himself by matrimonial ties with the imperialists, denationalised the Rajpoot character. In refusing to follow this example, we have presented a picture of patriotism in the life of Rana Pertáp of Méwar. Rao Soorjun avoided by convention what the Chectore prince did by arms.

³ We may here remark that the succeeding portion of the annals of Boondí is a free translation of an historical sketch drawn up for me by the Raja of Boondí from his own records, occasionally augmented from the bardic chronicle.

1. That the chiefs of Boondí should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajpoot, of sending a *dola*¹ to the royal harem.
2. Exemption from the *jezeya*, or poll-tax.
3. That the chiefs of Boondí should not be compelled to cross the Attoc.
4. That the vassals of Boondí should be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relatives "to hold a stall in the Meena Bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of Noroza.²
5. That they should have the privilege of entering the *Dewan-aum*, or 'hall of audience,' completely armed.
6. That their sacred edifices should be respected.
7. That they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader.
8. That their horses should not be branded with the imperial *dag'h*.³
9. That they should be allowed to beat their *nákarrás*, or 'kettle-drums,' in the streets of the capital as far as the *lal durwaza* or 'red-gate'; and that they should not be commanded to make the 'prostration'⁴ on entering the Presence.
10. That Boondí should be to the Haras what Dehli was to the king, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.

In addition to these articles, which the king swore to maintain, he assigned the Rao a residence at the sacred city of Kasi, possessing that privilege so dear to the Rajpoot, the right of sanctuary, which is maintained to this day. With such a bribe, and the full acceptance of his terms, we cannot wonder that Rao Soorjun flung from him the remnant of allegiance he owed to Méwar, now humbled by the loss of her capital, or that he should agree to follow the victorious car of the Mogul. But this dereliction of duty was effaced by the rigid virtue of the brave Sawunt Hara, who, as already stated, had conjointly with the Kotario Chohan⁵ obtained Rinthumbor. He put on the saffron robes, and with his small but virtuous clan determined, in spite of his sovereign's example, that Akber should only gain possession over their lifeless bodies.

Previous to this explosion of useless fidelity, he set up a pillar with a solemn anathema engraved thereon, on "whatever Hara of gentle blood should ascend the castle of Rinthumbor, or who should quit it alive." Sawunt and his kin made the sacrifice to honour; "they gave up their life's blood to maintain their fidelity to the Rana," albeit himself without a capital; and from that day, no Hara ever passes Rinthumbor without averting his head from an object which caused disgrace to the tribe.

¹ *Dola* is the term for a princess affianced to the king.

² An ancient institution of the Timoorean kings, derived from their Tartar ancestry. For a description of this festival, see vol i. p. 274, and Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberri*.

³ This brand (*dag'h*) was a flower on the forehead.

⁴ Similar to the *ko-tow* of China. Had our ambassador possessed the wit of Rao Soortan of Sarohi, who, when compelled to pay homage to the king, determined at whatever hazard not to submit to this degradation, he might have succeeded in his mission to the "son of heaven." For the relation of this anecdote, see p. 43, *Annals of Marwar*.

⁵ This conjoint act of attaining the castle of Rinthumbor is confirmed in the annals of the chieftains of Kotario, of the same original stock as the Haras: though a *Poorbia* Chohan. I knew him very well, as also one of the same stock, of Baidla, another of the *sixteen Pundéts* of Méwar.

With this transaction all intercourse ceased with Méwar, and from this period the Hara bore the title of "*Rao Raja*" of Boondí.

Rao Soorjun was soon called into action, and sent as commander to reduce Gondwana, so named from being the "region of the Goands." He took their capital, Bárí, by assault, and to commemorate the achievement erected the gateway still called the Soorjunpól. The Goand leaders he carried captives to the emperor, and generously interceded for their restoration to liberty, and to a portion of their possessions. On effecting this service, the king added seven districts to his grant, including Bénaris and Chunar. This was in S. 1632, or A.D. 1576, the year in which Rana Pertáp of Méwar fought the battle of Huldighat against Sultan Selim.¹

Rao Soorjun resided at his government of Benares, and by his piety, wisdom, and generosity, benefited the empire and the Hindus at large, whose religion through him was respected. Owing to the prudence of his administration and the vigilance of his police, the most perfect security to person and property was established throughout the province. He beautified and ornamented the city, especially that quarter where he resided, and eighty-four edifices, for various public purposes, and twenty baths, were constructed under his auspices. He died there, and left three legitimate sons: 1. Rao Bhoj; 2. Dooda, nicknamed by Akber, Lukur Khan; 3. Raemull, who obtained the town and dependencies of Polaita, now one of the fiefs of Kotah and the residence of the *Raemulote Haras*.

About this period, Akber transferred the seat of government from Dehli to Agra, which he enlarged and called Akberabad. Having determined on the reduction of Guzzerat, he dispatched thither an immense army, which he followed with a select force mounted on camels. Of these, adopting the custom of the desert princes of India, he had formed a corps of five hundred, each having two fighting men in a pair of panniers. To this select force, composed chiefly of Rajpoots, were attached Rao Bhoj and Dooda his brother. Proceeding with the utmost celerity, Akber joined his army besieging Surat, before which many desperate encounters took place. In the final assault the Hara Rao slew the leader of the enemy; on which occasion the king commanded him to "name his reward." The Rao limited his request to leave to visit his estates annually during the periodical rains, which was granted.

The perpetual wars of Akber, for the conquest and consolidation of the universal empire of India, gave abundant opportunity to the Rajpoot leaders to exert their valour; and the Haras were ever at the post of danger and of honour. The siege and escalade of the famed castle of Ahmednuggur afforded the best occasion for the display of Hara intrepidity; again it shone forth, and again claimed distinction and reward. To mark his sense of the merits of the Boondí leader, the king commanded that a new bastion should be erected, where he led the assault, which he named the *Bhoj boorj*; and further presented him his own favourite elephant. In this desperate assault, Chand Bégum, the queen of Ahmednuggur, and an armed train of seven hundred females, were slain, gallantly fighting for their freedom.

Notwithstanding all these services, Rao Bhoj fell under the emperor's displeasure. On the death of the queen, Joda Baé, Akber commanded a court-mourning; and that all might testify a participation in their master's

¹ See vol. i. p. 271.

ment, which took place on Tuesday the full moon of Cartica, S. 1635 (A.D. 1579), both his sons were severely wounded. For these services Rao Ruttun was rewarded with the government of Boorhanpoor; and Madhú his second son received a grant of the city of Kotah and its dependencies, which he and his heirs were to hold direct of the crown. From this period, therefore, dates the partition of Haraut, when the emperor, in his desire to reward Madhú Sing, overlooked the greater services of his father. But in this Jehangir did not act without design; on the contrary, he dreaded the union of so much power in the hands of this brave race as pregnant with danger, and well knew that by dividing he could always rule both, the one through the other. Shah Jehan confirmed the grant to Madhú Sing, whose history will be resumed in its proper place, the Annals of Kotah.

Rao Ruttun, while he held the government of Boorhanpoor, founded a township which still bears his name, Ruttunpoor. He performed another important service, which, while it gratified the emperor, contributed greatly to the tranquillity of his ancient lord-paramount, the Rana of Méwar. A refractory noble of the court, Deriou Khan, was leading a life of riot and rapine in that country, when the Hara attacked, defeated, and carried him captive to the king. For this distinguished exploit, the king gave him honorary *nobuts*, or kettledrums; the grand yellow banner to be borne in state processions before his own person, and a red flag for his camp; which ensigns are still retained by his successors. Rao Ruttun obtained the suffrages not only of his Rajpoot brethren, but of the whole Hindu race, whose religion he preserved from innovation. The Hāras exultingly boast that no Mooslem dared pollute the quarters where they might be stationed with the blood of the sacred kine. After all his services, Ruttun was killed in an action near Boorhanpoor, leaving a name endeared by his valour and his virtues to the whole Hara race.

Rao Ruttun left four sons, Gopinath, who had Boondí; Madhú Sing, who had Kotah; Heriji, who had Googore;¹ Jugernāth, who had no issue; and Gopinath, the heir of Boondí, who died before his father. The manner of his death affords another trait of Rajpoot character, and merits a place amongst those anecdotes which form the romance of history. Gopinath carried on a secret intrigue with the wife of a Brahmin of the Buldea class, and in the dead of night used to escalate the house to obtain admittance. At length the Brahmin caught him, bound the hands and feet of his treacherous prince, and proceeding direct to the palace, told the Rao he had caught a thief in the act of stealing his honour, and asked what punishment was due to such offence. "Death," was the reply. He waited for no other, returned home, and with a hammer beat out the victim's brains, throwing the dead body into the public highway. The tidings flew to Rao Ruttun, that the heir of Boondí had been murdered, and his corpse ignominiously exposed; but when he learned the cause, and was reminded of the decree he had unwittingly passed, he submitted in silence.²

¹ There are about fifty families, his descendants, forming a community round Neemoda.

² This trait in the character of Rao Ruttun forcibly reminds us of a similar case which occurred at Ghizni, and is related by Ferishta in commemoration of the justice of Mahmud.

Gopinath left twelve sons, to whom Rao Ruttun assigned domains still forming the principal *kotris*, or fiefs, of Boondí :

1. Rao Chutter-sál, who succeeded to Boondí.
2. Indur Sing, who founded Indurgurh.¹
3. Béri Sál, who founded Bulwun and Filodi, and had Kurwar and Peepaldo.
4. Mokhim Sing, who had Anterdeh.
5. Maha Sing, who had Thanoh.²

It is useless to specify the names of the remainder, who left no issue.

Chutter-sál, who succeeded his grandfather, Rao Ruttun, was not only installed by Shah Jehan in his hereditary dominions, but declared governor of the imperial capital, a post which he held nearly throughout this reign. When Shah Jehan partitioned the empire into four vice-royalties, under his sons, Dara, Arungzéb, Shuja, and Morád, Rao Chutter-sál had a high command under Arungzéb, in the Dekhan. The Hara distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct in all the various sieges and actions, especially at the assaults of Doulatabad and Beedir ; the last was led by Chutter-sál in person, who carried the place, and put the garrison to the sword. In S. 1709 (A.D. 1653), Calberga fell after an obstinate defence, in which Chutter-sál again led the escalade. The last resort was the strong fort of Damounée, which terminated all resistance, and the Dekhan was tranquillised.

"At this period of the transactions in the south, a rumour was propagated of the emperor's (Shah Jehan) death ; and as during twenty days the prince (Arungzéb) held no court, and did not even give private audience, the report obtained general belief.³ Dara Shekho was the only one of the emperor's sons then at court, and the absent brothers determined to assert their several pretensions to the throne. While Shuja marched from

¹ These, the three great fiefs of Boondí,—Indurgurh, Bulwun, and Anterdeh,—are now all alienated from Boondí by the intrigues of Zalim Sing of Kotah. It was unfortunate for the Boondí Rao, when both these states were admitted to an alliance, that all these historical points were hid in darkness. It would be yet abstract and absolute justice that we should negotiate the transfer of the allegiance of these chieftains to their proper head of Boondí. It would be a matter of little difficulty, and the honour would be immense to Boondí and no hardship to Kotah, but a slight sacrifice of a power of protection to those who no longer require it. All of these chiefs were the founders of clans, called after them, Indursalote, Berisalote, Mokhimsingote ; the first can muster fifteen hundred Haras under arms. Jeipoor having imposed a tribute on these chieftains, Zalim Sing undertook, in the days of predatory warfare, to be reponsible for it : for which he received that homage and service due to Boondí, then unable to protect them. The simplest mode of doing justice would be to make these chiefs redeem their freedom from tribute to Jeipoor, by the payment of so many years' purchase, which would relieve them altogether from Zalim Sing, and at the same time be in accordance with our treaties, which prohibit such ties between the states.

² Thanoh, formerly called Jujawur, is the only fief of the twelve sons of Ruttun which now pays obedience to its proper head. The Mahraja Bikramajeet is the lineal descendant of Maha Sing, and if alive, the earth bears not a more honourable, brave, or simple-minded Rajpoot. He was the devoted servant of his young prince, and my very sincere and valued friend ; but we shall have occasion to mention the 'lion-killer' in the Personal Narrative.

³ The reader will observe, as to the phraseology of these important occurrences, that the language is that of the original : it is, in fact, almost a *verbatim* translation from the memoirs of these princes in the Boondí archives.

Bengal, Arungzéb prepared to quit the Dekhan, and cajoled Morád to join him with all his forces ; assuring him that he, a *derveish* from principle, had no worldly desires, for his only wish was to dwell in retirement, practising the austerities of a rigid follower of the prophet ; that Dara was an infidel, Shuja a free-thinker, himself an anchorite ; and that he, Morád, alone of the sons of Shah Jehan, was worthy to exercise dominion, to aid in which purpose he proffered his best energies.¹

"The emperor, learning the hostile intentions of Arungzéb, wrote privately to the Hara prince to repair to the Presence. On receiving the mandate, Chutter-sál revolved its import, but considering 'that, as a servant of the *gadí* (throne), his only duty was obedience,' he instantly commenced his preparations to quit the Dekhan. This reaching the ear of Arungzéb, he inquired the cause of his hasty departure, observing, that in a very short time he might accompany him to court. The Boondí prince replied, 'his first duty was to the reigning sovereign,' and handed him the *firman* or summons to the Presence. Arungzéb commanded that he should not be permitted to depart, and directed his encampment to be surrounded. But Chutter-sál, foreseeing this, had already sent on his baggage, and forming his vassals and those of other Rajpoot princes attached to the royal cause into one compact mass, they effected their retreat to the Nerbudda in the face of their pursuers, without their daring to attack them. By the aid of some Solankhi chieftains inhabiting the banks of this river, the Boondí Rao was enabled to pass this dangerous stream, then swollen by the periodical rains. Already baffled by the skill and intrepidity of Chutter-sál, Arungzéb was compelled to give up the pursuit, and the former reached Boondí in safety. Having made his domestic arrangements, he proceeded forthwith to the capital, to help the aged emperor, whose power, and even existence, were alike threatened by the ungrateful pretensions of his sons to snatch the sceptre from the hand which still held it."

If a reflection might be here interposed on the bloody wars which desolated India in consequence of the events of which the foregoing were the initial scenes, it would be to expose the moral retribution resulting from evil example. Were we to take but a partial view of the picture, we should depict the venerable Shah Jehan, arrived at the verge of the grave, into which the unnatural contest of his sons for empire wished to precipitate him, extending his arms for succour in vain to the nobles of his own faith and kin ; while the Rajpoot, faithful to his principle, 'allegiance to the throne,' staked both life and land to help him in his need. Such a picture would enlist all our sympathies on the side of the helpless king. But when we recall the past, and consider that Shah Jehan, as prince Khoorm, played the same part (setting aside the mask of hypocrisy), which Arungzéb now attempted ; that, to forward his guilty design, he murdered his brother Purvéz, who stood between him and the throne of his parent, against whom he levied war, our sympathies are checked, and we conclude that unlimited monarchy is a curse to itself and all who are subjected to it.

The battle of Futtehabad followed not long after this event, which,

¹ The Rajpoot prince, who drew up this character, seems to have well studied Arungzéb, and it is gratifying to find such concurrence with every authority. But could such a character be eventually mistaken ?

gained by Arungzéb, left the road to the throne free from obstruction. We are not informed of the reason why the prince of Boondí did not add his contingent to the force assembled to oppose Arungzéb under Jeswunt Sing of Marwar, unless it be found in that article of the treaty of Rao Soorjun, prohibiting his successors from serving under a leader of their own faith and nation. The younger branch of Kotah appears, on its separation from Boondí, to have felt itself exonerated from obedience to this decree; for four royal brothers of Kotah, with many of their clansmen, were stretched on this field in the cause of *swamdherma* and Shah Jehan. Before, however, Arungzéb could tear the sceptre from the enfeebled hands of his parent, he had to combat his elder brother Dara, who drew together at Dholpoor all those who yet regarded "the first duty of a Rajpoot." The Boondí prince, with his Haras clad in their saffron robes, the ensigns of death or victory, formed the vanguard of Dara on this day, the opening scene of his sorrows, which closed but with his life; for Dholpoor was as fatal to Dara the Mogul, as Arbela was to the Persian Darius. Custom rendered it indispensable that the princely leaders should be conspicuous to the host, and in conformity thereto Dara, mounted on his elephant, was in the brunt of the battle, in the heat of which, when valour and fidelity might have preserved the sceptre of Shah Jehan, Dara suddenly disappeared. A panic ensued, which was followed by confusion and flight. The noble Hara, on this disastrous event, turned to his vassals, and exclaimed, "*Accursed* be he who flies! Here, true to my salt, my feet are rooted to this field, nor will I quit it alive, but with victory." Cheering on his men, he mounted his elephant, but whilst encouraging them by his voice and example, a cannon-shot hitting his elephant, the animal turned and fled. Chutter-sál leaped from his back and called for his steed, exclaiming, "My elephant may turn his back on the enemy, but never shall his master." Mounting his horse, and forming his men into a dense mass (*gole*), he led them to the charge against prince Morád, whom he singled out, and had his lance balanced for the issue, when a ball pierced his forehead. The contest was nobly maintained by his youngest son, Bharut Sing, who accompanied his father in death, and with him the choicest of his clan. Mokim Sing, brother of the Rao, with two of his sons, and Oudi Sing, another nephew, sealed their fidelity with their lives. Thus in the two battles of Oojein and Dholpoor no less than twelve princes of the blood, together with the heads of every Hara clan, maintained their fealty (*swamdherma*) even to death. Where are we to look for such examples?

"Rao Chutter-sál had been personally engaged in fifty-two combats, and left a name renowned for courage and incorruptible fidelity." He enlarged the palace of Boondí by adding that portion which bears his name,—the Chutter Mahl,—and the temple of Keshooráé, at Patun, was constructed under his direction. It was in S. 1715 he was killed; he left four sons, Rao Bhao Sing, Bheem Sing, who got Googore, Bugwunt Sing, who obtained Mow, and Bharut Sing, who was killed at Dholpoor.

Arungzéb, on the attainment of sovereign power, transferred all the resentment he harboured against Chutter-sál to his son and successor, Rao Bhao. He gave a commission to Raja Atmaram, Gor, the prince of Sheepoor, to reduce "that turbulent and disaffected race, the Hara," and annex Boondí to the government of Rinthumbor, declaring that he

should visit Boondf shortly in person, on his way to the Dekhan, and hoped to congratulate him on his success. Raja Atmaram, with an army of twelve thousand men, entered Haravati and ravaged it with fire and sword. Having laid siege to Khatolli, a town of Indargurh, the chief fief of Boondf, the clans secretly assembled, engaged Atmaram at Goturda, defeated and put him to flight, capturing the imperial ensigns and all his baggage. Not satisfied with this, they retaliated by blockading Sheepoor, when the discomfited Raja continued his flight to court to relate this fresh instance of Hara audacity. The poor prince of the Gors was received with gibes and jests, and heartily repented of his inhuman inroads upon his neighbours in the day of their disgrace. The tyrant, affecting to be pleased with this instance of Hara courage, sent a firman to Rao Bhao of grace and free pardon, and commanding his presence at court. At first the Rao declined; but having repeated pledges of good intention, he complied and was honoured with the government of Arungabad under prince Moazzim. Here he evinced his independence by shielding Raja Kurrum of Bikanér from a plot against his life. He performed many gallant deeds with his Rajpoot brethren in arms, the brave Boondelas of Orcha and Duttéa. He erected many public edifices at Arungabad, where he acquired so much fame by his valour, his charities, and the sanctity¹ of his manners, that miraculous cures were (said to be) effected by him. He died at Arungabad in S. 1738 (A.D. 1682), and, being without issue, was succeeded by Anurad Sing, the grandson of his brother Bheem.²

Anurad's accession was confirmed by the emperor, who, in order to testify the esteem in which he held his predecessor, sent his own elephant, *Guj-gowr*, with the *khelat* of investiture. Anurad accompanied Arungzéb in his wars in the Dekhan, and on one occasion performed the important service of rescuing the ladies of the harem out of the enemy's hands. The emperor, in testimony of his gallantry, told him to name his reward; on which he requested he might be allowed to command the vanguard instead of the rear-guard of the army. Subsequently, he was distinguished in the siege and storm of Beejapoor.

An unfortunate quarrel with Doorjun Sing, the chief vassal of Boondf, involved the Rao in trouble. Making use of some improper expression, the Rao resentfully replied, "I know what to expect from you;" which determined Doorjun to throw his allegiance to the dogs. He quitted the army, and arriving at his estates, armed his kinsmen, and, by a *coup-de-main*, possessed himself of Boondf. On learning this, the emperor detached Anurad with a force which expelled the refractory Doorjun, whose estates were sequestered. Previous to his expulsion, Doorjun drew the *teeka* of succession on the forehead of his brother of Bulwun. Having settled the affairs of Boondf, the Rao was employed, in conjunction with Raja Bishen Sing of Ambér, to settle the northern countries of the empire, governed by Shah Alum, as lieutenant of the king, and whose headquarters were at Lahore, in the execution of which service he died.

Anurad left two sons, Boodh Sing and Jod Sing. Boodh Sing succeeded

¹ It is a fact worthy of notice, that the most intrepid of the Rajpoot princely cavaliers are of a very devout frame of mind.

² Bheem Sing, who had the fief of Googore bestowed on him, had a son, Kishen Sing, who succeeded him, and was put to death by Arungzéb. Anurad was the son of Kishen.

to the honours and employments of his father. Soon after, Arungzéb, who had fixed his residence at Arungabad, fell ill, and finding his end approach, the nobles and officers of state, in apprehension of the event, requested him to name a successor. The dying emperor replied, that the succession was in the hands of God, with whose will and under whose decree he was desirous that his son Buhadoor Shah Alum should succeed; but that he was apprehensive that prince Azim would endeavour by force of arms to seat himself on the throne.¹ As the king said, so it happened; Azim Shah, being supported in his pretensions by the army of the Dekhan, prepared to dispute the empire with his elder brother, to whom he sent a formal defiance to decide their claims to empire on the plains of Dholpoor. Buhadoor Shah convened all the chieftains who favoured his cause, and explained his position. Amongst them was Rao Boodh, now entering on manhood, and he was at that moment in deep affliction for the untimely loss of his brother, Jod Sing.² When the king desired him to repair to Boondí to perform the offices of mourning, and console his relations and kindred, Boodh Sing replied, "It is not to Boondí my duty calls me, but to attend my sovereign in the field—to that of Dholpoor, renowned for many battles and consecrated by the memory of the heroes who have fallen in the performance of their duty:" adding "that there his heroic ancestor Chutter-sál fell, whose fame he desired to emulate, and by the blessing of heaven, his arms should be crowned with victory to the empire."

Shah Alum advanced from Lahore, and Azim, with his son Bedar Bukt, from the Dekhan; and both armies met on the plains of Jajow, near Dholpoor. A more desperate conflict was never recorded in the many bloody pages of the history of India. Had it been a common contest for supremacy, to be decided by the Mooslem supporters of the rivals, it would have ended like similar ones,—a furious onset, terminated by a treacherous desertion. But here were assembled the brave bands of Rajpootana, house opposed to house, and clan against clan. The princes of Duttea and Kotah, who had long served with prince Azim, and were attached to him by favours, forgot the injunctions of Arungzéb, and supported that prince's pretensions against the lawful heir. A powerful friendship united the chiefs of Boondí and Duttea, whose lives exhibited one scene of glorious triumph in all the wars of the Dekhan. In opposing the cause of Shah Alum, Ram Sing of Kotah was actuated by his ambition to become the head of the Haras, and in anticipation of success had actually been invested with the honours of Boondí. With such stimulants on each side did the rival Haras meet face to face on the plains of Jajow, to decide at the same time the pretensions to empire, and what affected them more, those of their respective heads to superiority. Previous to the battle, Ram Sing sent a perfidious message to Rao Boodh, inviting him to desert the cause he espoused, and come over to Azim; to which he indignantly replied: "That the field which his ancestor had illustrated by his death, was not that whereon he would disgrace his memory by the desertion of his prince."

Boodh Sing was assigned a distinguished post, and by his conduct and courage mainly contributed to the victory which placed Buhadoor

¹ It is useless to repeat that this is a literal translation from the records and journals of the Hara princes, who served the emperors.

² This catastrophe will be related in the Personal Narrative.

Shah without a rival on the throne. The Rajpoots on either side sustained the chief shock of the battle, and the Hara prince of Kotah, and the noble Boondéla, Dulput of Duttea, were both killed by cannon-shot, sacrificed to the cause they espoused ; while the pretensions of Azim and his son Bedar Bukt were extinguished with their lives.

For the signal services rendered on this important day, Boodh Sing was honoured with the title of Rao Raja, and was admitted to the intimate friendship of the emperor, which he continued to enjoy until his death, when fresh contentions arose, in which the grandsons of Arungzéb all perished. Feroksér succeeded to the empire, under whom the Syeds of Barra held supreme power, and ruined the empire by their exactions and tyranny. When they determined to depose the king, the Hara prince, faithful to his pledge, determined to release him, and in the attempt a bloody conflict ensued in the (*chowk*) square, in which his uncle Jaet Sing, and many of his clansmen, were slain.

The rivalry which commenced between the houses of Kotah and Boondf, on the plains of Jajow, in which Ram Sing was slain, was maintained by his son and successor, Raja Bheem, who supported the party of the Syeds. In the prosecution of his views and revenge, Raja Bheem so far lost sight of the national character of the Rajpoot, as to compass his end by treachery, and beset his foe unawares while exercising his horse in the *Midán*, outside the walls of the capital. His few retainers formed a circle round their chief, and gallantly defended him, though with great loss, until they reached a place of safety. Unable to aid the king, and beset by treachery, Rao Boodh was compelled to seek his own safety in flight.¹ Feroksér was shortly after murdered, and the empire fell into complete disorder ; when the nobles and Rajas, feeling their insecurity under the bloody and rapacious domination of the Syeds, repaired to their several possessions.²

At this period, Raja Jey Sing of Ambér thought of dispossessing Boodh Sing of Boondf. Rao Boodh Sing was at this time his guest, having accompanied him from court to Ambér. The cause of the quarrel is thus related : The Hara prince was married to a sister of Jey Sing ; she had been betrothed to the emperor Buhadoor Shah, who, as one of the marks of his favour for the victory of Dholpoor, resigned his pretensions to the fair in favour of Rao Boodh. Unfortunately, she bore him no issue, and viewed with jealousy his two infant sons by another Rani, the daughter of Kálá-Mégh of Beygoo, one of the sixteen chiefs of Méwar. During her lord's absence, she feigned pregnancy, and having procured an infant, presented it as his lawful child. Rao Boodh was made acquainted with the equivocal conduct of his queen, to the danger of his proper offspring, and took an opportunity to reveal her conduct to her brother. The lady, who was present, was instantly interrogated by her brother ; but exasperated either at the suspicion of her honour, or the discovery of her fraud, she snatched her brother's dagger from his girdle, and rating him

¹ Vide vol i. p. 323, *et passim*, in which the Boondf Annals are corroborated by the Annals of Méwar, and by an autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing of Ambér, dated the 10th Falgoon, S. 1775 (A.D. 1719).

² These subjects being already discussed in vol. i. would have had no place here, were it not necessary to show how accurately the Boondf princes recorded events, and to rescue them from the charge of having no historical documents.

as "the son of a tailor,"¹ would have slain him on the spot, had he not fled from her fury.

To revenge the insult thus put upon him, the Raja of Ambér determined to expel Rao Boodh from Boondí, and offered the *gadí* to the chief of its feudatories, the lord of Indurgurh; but Deo Sing had the virtue to refuse the offer. He then had recourse to the chieftain of Kurwur, who could not resist the temptation. This chief, Salim Sing, was guilty of a double breach of trust; for he held the confidential office of governor of Tarragurh, the citadel commanding both the city and palace.

This family dispute was, however, merely the underplot of a deeply-cherished political scheme of the prince of Ambér, for the maintenance of his supremacy over the minor Rajas, to which his office of viceroy of Malwa, Ajmér, and Agra gave full scope, and he skilfully availed himself of the results of the civil wars of the Moguls. In the issue of Feroksér's dethronement he saw the fruition of his schemes, and after a show of defending him, retired to his dominions to prosecute his views.

Ambér was yet circumscribed in territory, and the consequence of its princes arose out of their position as satraps of the empire. He therefore determined to seize upon all the districts on his frontiers within his grasp, and moreover to compel the services of the chieftains who served under his banner as lieutenants of the king.

At this period, there were many allodial chieftains within the bounds of Ambér; as the Puchwana Chohans about Lalsont, Goorah, Neemrana, who owed neither service nor tribute to Jeipoor, but led their quotas as distinct dignitaries of the empire under the flag of Ambér. Even their own stock, the confederated Shekhawuts, deemed themselves under no such obligation. The Birgoojurs of Rajore, the Jadoons of Biana, and many others, the vassalage of older days, were in the same predicament. These, being in the decline of the empire unable to protect themselves, the more readily agreed to hold their ancient allodial estates as fiefs of Ambér, and to serve with the stipulated quota. But when Jey Sing's views led him to hope he could in like manner bring the Haras to acknowledge his supremacy, he evinced both ignorance and presumption. He therefore determined to dethrone Boodh Sing, and to make a Raja of his own choice hold of him in chief.

The Hara, who was then reposing on the rites of hospitality and family ties at Ambér, gave Jey Sing a good opportunity to develop his views, which were first manifested to the Boondí prince by an obscure offer that he would make Ambér his abode, and accept five hundred rupees daily for his train. His uncle, the brother of Jaet, who devoted himself to save his master at Agra, penetrated the infamous intentions of Jey Sing. He wrote to Boondí, and commanded that the Beygoo Raní should depart with her children to her father's; and having given time for this, he by stealth formed his clansmen outside the walls of Ambér, and having warned his prince of his danger, they quitted the treacherous abode. Raja Boodh,

¹ This lady was sister to Chumunji, elder brother to Jey Sing, and heir-apparent to the *gadí* of Ambér, who was put to death by Jey Sing. To this murder the Rahtore bard alludes in the couplet given in their Annals, see p. 92. "*Chumunji*" is the title of the heirs-apparent of Ambér. I know not whether Chumunji, which is merely a term of endearment, may not be Beejy Sing; whose captivity we have related. See p. 293.

at the head of three hundred Haras, feared nothing. He made direct for his capital, but they were overtaken at Pancholas, on the mutual frontier, by the select army under the five principal chieftains of Ambér. The little band was enclosed, when a desperate encounter ensued, Rajpoot to Rajpoot. Every one of the five leaders of Ambér was slain, with a multitude of their vassals; and the cenotaphs of the lords of Eesurda, Sirwar, and Bhowar still afford evidence of Hara revenge. The uncle of Boondí was slain, and the valiant band was so thinned, that it was deemed unwise to go to Boondí, and by the intricacies of the Plateau they reached Beygoo in safety. This dear-bought success enabled Jey Sing to execute his plan, and Duleel Sing, of Kurwur, espoused the daughter of Ambér, and was invested with the title of Rao Raja of Boondí.

Taking advantage of the distress of the elder branch of his house, Raja Bheem of Kotah, now strictly allied with Ajít of Marwar and the Syeds, prosecuted the old feud for superiority, making the Chumbul the boundary, and seizing upon all the fiscal lands of Boondí east of this stream (excepting the Kotris), which he attached to Kotah.

Thus beset by enemies on all sides, Boodh Sing, after many fruitless attempts to recover his patrimony, in which much Hara blood was uselessly shed, died in exile at Beygoo, leaving two sons, Oméda Sing and Deep Sing.

The sons of Rao Boodh were soon driven even from the shelter of the maternal abode; for, at the instigation of their enemy of Ambér, the Rana sequestered Beygoo. Pursued by this unmanly vengeance, the brave youths collected a small band, and took refuge in the wilds of Puchail, whence they addressed Doorjun Sál, who had succeeded Raja Bheem at Kotah. This prince had a heart to commiserate their misfortunes, and the magnanimity not only to relieve them, but to aid them in the recovery of their patrimony.

CHAPTER IV

Rao Oméda defeats the troops of Ambér—Conflict at Dublana—Oméda defeated and obliged to fly—Death of Hunja, his steed—Takes refuge amidst the ruins of the Chumbul—Redeems his capital—Is again expelled from it—Interview with the widow of his father; she solicits aid from Holcar to reinstate Oméda—The Ambér prince forced to acknowledge the claims of Oméda—He recovers Boondí—Suicide of the Ambér prince—First alienation of land to the Mahrattas—Madhú Sing of Ambér asserts supremacy over Haroutí—Origin of tributary demands thereon—Zalim Sing—Mahratta encroachments—Oméda's revenge on the chief of Indurgurh; its cause and consequences—Oméda abdicates—Ceremony of *Yágráj*, or abdication—Installation of Ajít—Oméda becomes a pilgrim; his wanderings; cause of their interruption—Ajít assassinates the Rana of Méwar—Memorable Sati imprecation—Awful death of Ajít—Fulfilment of ancient prophecy—Rao Bishen Sing succeeds—Oméda's distrust of his grandson; their reconciliation—Oméda's death—British army retreats through Haroutí, aided by Boondí—Alliance with the English—Benefits conferred on Boondí—Bishen Sing dies of the cholera morbus; forbids the rite of *sati*—His character; constitutes the author guardian of his son, the Rao Raja Ram Sing.

OMÉDA was but thirteen years of age on the death of his house's foe, the Raja of Ambér, in S. 1800 (A.D. 1744). As soon as the event was known

to him, putting himself at the head of his clansmen, he attacked and carried Patun and Gáinolli. "When it was heard that the son of Boodh Sing was awake, the ancient Haras flocked to his standard," and Doorjun Sál of Kotah, rejoicing to see the real Hara blood thus displayed, nobly sent his aid.

Esuri Sing, who was now lord of Ambér, pursuing his father's policy, determined that Kotah should bend to his supremacy as well as the elder branch of Boondí. The defiance of his power avowed in the support of young Oméda brought his views into action, and Kotah was invested. But the result does not belong to this part of our history. On the retreat from Kotah, Esuri sent a body of Nanukpuntís to attack Oméda in his retreat at Bood (old) Lohari, amongst the Meenas, the aboriginal lords of these mountain-wilds, who had often served the cause of the Haras, notwithstanding they had deprived them of their birthright. The youthful valour and distress of young Oméda so gained their hearts, that five thousand bowmen assembled and desired to be led against his enemies. With these auxiliaries, he anticipated his foes at Beechorie, and while the nimble mountaineers plundered the camp, Oméda charged the Jeipoor army sword in hand, and slaughtered them without mercy, taking their kettledrums and standards. On the news of this defeat, another army of eighteen thousand men, under Narayn-das Khetri, was sent against Oméda. But the affair of Beechorie confirmed the dispositions of the Haras : from all quarters they flocked to the standard of the young prince, who determined to risk everything in a general engagement. The foe had reached Dublana. On the eve of attack, young Oméda went to propitiate "the lady of Sitoon," the tutelary divinity of his race ; and as he knelt before the altar of *Asápúrná* (the fulfiller of hope), his eyes falling upon the turrets of Boondí, then held by a traitor, he swore to conquer or die.

Inspired with like sentiments, his brave clansmen formed around the orange flag, the gift of Jehangír to Rao Ruttun ; and as they cleared the pass leading to Dublana, the foe was discovered marshalled to receive them. In one of those compact masses, termed *gole*, with serried lances advanced, Oméda led his Haras to the charge. Its physical and moral impression was irresistible ; and a vista was cut through the dense host opposed to them. Again they formed ; and again, in spite of the showers of cannon-shot, the sword renewed its blows ; but every charge was fatal to the bravest of Oméda's men. In the first onset fell his maternal uncle, Pirthi Sing, Solankhi, with the Mahraja Murjad Sing of Motra, a valiant Hara, who fell just as he launched his *chakra* (discus) at the head of the Khetri commander of Ambér. Prág Sing, chief of Sorun, a branch of the Thana fief, was also slain, with many of inferior note. The steed of Oméda was struck by a cannon-ball, and the intestines protruded from the wound. The intrepidity of the youthful hero, nobly seconded by his kin and clan, was unavailing ; and the chieftains, fearing he would throw away a life the preservation of which they all desired, entreated he would abandon the contest ; observing, "that if he survived, Boondí must be theirs ; but if he was slain, there was an end of all their hopes."

With grief he submitted ; and as they gained the Sowalli Pass, which leads to Indurgurh, he dismounted to breathe his faithful steed ; and as he loosened the girths, it expired. Oméda sat down and wept. Hunja was worthy of such a mark of his esteem : he was a steed of Irák, the gift

of the king to his father, whom he had borne in many an encounter. Nor was this natural ebullition of the young Hara a transient feeling : Hunja's memory was held in veneration, and the first act of Oméda, when he recovered his throne, was to erect a statue to the steed who bore him so nobly on the day of Dublana. It stands in the square (*chouk*) of the city, and receives the reverence of each Hara, who links his history with one of the brightest of their achievements, though obscured by momentary defeat.¹

Oméda gained Indurgurh, which was close at hand, on foot ; but this traitor to the name of Hara, who had acknowledged the supremacy of Ambér, not only refused his prince a horse in his adversity, but warned him off the domain, asking "if he meant to be the ruin of Indurgurh as well as Boondí ?" Disdaining to drink water within its bounds, the young prince, stung by this perfidious mark of inhospitality, took the direction of Kurwain. Its chief made amends for the other's churlishness : he advanced to meet him, offered such aid as he had to give, and presented him with a horse. Dismissing his faithful kinsmen to their homes, and begging their swords when fortune might be kinder, he regained his old retreat, the ruined palace of Rampoorá, amongst the ravines of the Chumbul.

Doorjun-Sál of Kotah, who had so bravely defended his capital against the pretensions to supremacy of Esuri Sing and his auxiliary, Appa Sindia, felt more interest than ever in the cause of Oméda. The Kotah prince's councils were governed and his armies led by a *Bhât* (bard), who, it may be inferred, was professionally inspired by the heroism of the young Hara to lend his sword as well as his muse towards reinstating him in the halls of his fathers. Accordingly, all the strength of Kotah, led by the *Bhât*, was added to the kinsmen and friends of Oméda ; and an attempt on Boondí was resolved. The city, whose walls were in a state of dilapidation from this continual warfare, was taken without difficulty ; and the assault of the citadel of Tarragurh had commenced, when the heroic *Bhât* received a fatal shot from a treacherous hand in his own party. His death was concealed, and a cloth thrown over his body. The assailants pressed on ; the usurper, alarmed, took to flight ; the 'lion's hope'² was fulfilled, and Oméda was seated on the throne of his fathers.

Dulcel fled to his suzerain at Ambér, whose disposable forces, under the famous Khétrí Kesoodás, were immediately put in motion to re-expel the Hara. Boondí was invested, and having had no time given to prepare for defence, Oméda was compelled to abandon the walls so nobly won, and "the flag of Dhoondar waved over the *khangras* (battlements) of Déwá-Bango." And let the redeeming virtue of the usurper be recorded ; who, when his suzerain of Ambér desired to reinstate him on the *gadí*, refused "to bring a second time the stain of treason on his head, by which he had been disgraced in the opinion of mankind."

Oméda, once more a wanderer, alternately courting the aid of Méwar and Marwar, never suspended his hostility to the usurper of his rights, but carried his incursions, without intermission, into his paternal domains. One of these led him to the village of Binodia : hither the Cuchwaha

¹ I have made my salaam to the representative of Hunja, and should have graced his neck with a chaplet on every military festival, had I dwelt among the Haras.

² *Oméda*, 'hope' ; *Sing*'s, 'a lion.'

Raní, the widowed queen of his father, and the cause of all their miseries, had retired, disgusted with herself and the world, and lamenting, when too late, the ruin she had brought upon her husband, herself, and the family she had entered. Oméda paid her a visit, and the interview added fresh pangs to her self-reproach. His sufferings, his heroism, brightened by adversity, originating with her nefarious desire to stifle his claims of primogeniture by a spurious adoption, awakened sentiments of remorse, of sympathy, and sorrow. Determined to make some amends, she adopted the resolution of going to the Dekhan, to solicit aid for the son of Boodh Sing. When she arrived on the banks of the Nerbudda a pillar was pointed out to her on which was inscribed a prohibition to any of her race to cross this stream, which like the Indus was also styled *atoc*, or 'forbidden.' Like a true Rajpootní, she broke the tablet in pieces, and threw it into the stream, observing with a jesuitical casuistry, that there was no longer any impediment when no ordinance existed. Having passed the Rubicon, she proceeded forthwith to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holcar. The sister of Jey Sing, the most potent Hindu prince of India, became a suppliant to this *goatherd* leader of a horde of plunderers, nay, adopted him as her brother to effect the redemption of Boondí for the exiled Oméda.

Mulhar, without the accident of noble birth, possessed the sentiments which belong to it, and he promised all she asked. How far his compliance might be promoted by another call for his lance from the Rana of Méwar, in virtue of the marriage-settlement which promised the succession of Ambér to a princess of his house, the Boondí records do not tell: they refer only to the prospects of its own prince. But we may, without any reflection on the gallantry of Holcar, express a doubt how far he would have lent the aid of his horde to this sole object, had he not had in view the splendid bribe of sixty-four lakhs from the Rana, to be paid when Esuri Sing should be removed, for his nephew Madhú Sing.¹

Be this as it may, the Boondí chronicle states that the lady, instead of the temporary expedient of delivering Boondí, conducted the march of the Mahrattas direct on Jeipoor. Circumstances favoured her designs. The character of Esuri Sing had raised up enemies about his person, who seized the occasion to forward at once the views of Boondí and Méwar, whose princes had secretly gained them over to their views.

The Ambér prince no sooner heard of the approach of the Mahrattas to his capital than he quitted it to offer them battle. But their strength had been misrepresented, nor was it till he reached the castle of Bhagroo that he was undeceived and surrounded. When too late, he saw that "treason had done its worst," and that the confidence he had placed in the successor of a minister whom he had murdered, met its natural reward. The bard has transmitted in a sloca the cause of his overthrow:

*"Jub-í, chúri Eswarí
Ráj carna cá ás
Muntri mootá mária
Khétrí Kesoo-das."*

"Esuri forfeited all hopes of regality, when he slew that great minister Kesoodás."

¹ See Annals of Méwar, vol. i. p. 338.

The sons of this minister, named Hursaé and Gursaé, betrayed their prince to the "Southron," by a false return of their numbers, and led him to the attack with means totally inadequate. Resistance to a vast numerical superiority would have been madness: he retreated to the castle of this fief of Ambér, where, after a siege of ten days, he was forced not only to sign a deed for the surrender of Boondí, and the renunciation of all claims to it for himself and his descendants, but to put, in full acknowledgment of his rights, the *ttka* on the forehead of Oméda. With this deed, and accompanied by the contingent of Kotah, they proceeded to Boondí; the traitor was expelled; and while rejoicings were making to celebrate the installation of Oméda, the funereal pyre was lighted at Ambér, to consume the mortal remains of his foe. Raja Esuri could not survive his disgrace, and terminated his existence and hostility by poison, thereby facilitating the designs both of Boondí and Méwar.

Thus in S. 1805 (A.D. 1749) Oméda regained his patrimony, after fourteen years of exile, during which a traitor had pressed the royal "cushion" of Boondí. But this contest deprived it of many of its ornaments, and, combined with other causes, at length reduced it almost to its intrinsic worth, "a heap of cotton." Mulhar Rao, the founder of the Holcar state, in virtue of his adoption as the brother of the widow-queen of Boondí Sing, had the title of *mamoo*, or uncle, to young Oméda. But true to the maxims of his race, he did not take his buckler to protect the oppressed, at the impulse of those chivalrous notions so familiar to the Rajpoot, but deemed a portion of the Boondí territory a better incentive, and a more unequivocal proof of gratitude, than the titles of brother and uncle. Accordingly, he demanded, and obtained by regular deed of surrender, the town and district of Patun on the left bank of the Chumbul.¹

The sole equivalent (if such it could be termed) for these fourteen years of usurpation, were the fortifications covering the palace and town, now called *Tarragurh* (the 'Star-fort'), built by Duleel Sing. Madhú Sing, who succeeded to the *gadí* of Jeipoor, followed up the designs commenced by Jey Sing, and which had cost his successor his life, to render the smaller states of Central India dependent on Ambér. For this Kotah had been besieged, and Oméda expelled, and as such policy could not be effected by their unassisted means, it only tended to the benefit of the auxiliaries, who soon became principals, to the prejudice and detriment of all. Madhú Sing, having obtained the castle of Rinthumbor, a pretext was afforded for these pretensions to supremacy. From the time of its surrender by Rao Soorjun to Akber, the importance of this castle was established by its becoming the first *sircar*, or 'department,' in the province of Ajmér, consisting of no less than "eighty-three mohals," or extensive fiefs, in which were comprehended not only Boondí and Kotah, and all their dependencies, but the entire state of Scopoor, and all the petty fiefs south of the Bangunga, the aggregate of which now constitutes

¹ As in those days when Mahratta spoliation commenced, a joint-stock purse was made for all such acquisitions, so Patun was divided into shares, of which the Peshwa had one, and Sindia another; but the Peshwa's share remained nominal, and the revenue was carried to account by Holcar for the services of the Poona state. In the general pacification of A.D. 1817, this long lost and much cherished district was once more incorporated with Boondí, to the unspeakable gratitude and joy of its prince and people. In effecting this for the grandson of Oméda, the author secured for himself a gratification scarcely less than his.

the state of Ambér. In fact, with the exception of Mahmoodabad in Bengal, Rinthumbor was the most extensive *sircar* of the empire. In the decrepitude of the empire, this castle was maintained by a veteran commander as long as funds and provisions lasted; but these failing, in order to secure it from falling into the hands of the Mahrattas, and thus being lost for ever to the throne, he sought out a Rajpoot prince, to whom he might entrust it. He applied to Boondí; but the Hara, dreading to compromise his fealty if unable to maintain it, refused the boon; and having no alternative, he resigned it to the prince of Ambér as a trust which he could no longer defend.

Cut off this circumstance alone originated the claims of Jeipoor to tribute from the Kotris, or fiefs in Haroutí; claims without a shadow of justice; but the maintenance of which, for the sake of the display of supremacy and paltry annual relief, has nourished half a century of irritation, which it is high time should cease.¹

It was the assertion of this supremacy over Kotah as well as Boondí which first brought into notice the most celebrated Rajpoot of modern times, Zalim Sing of Kotah. Rao Doorjun Sal, who then ruled that state, had too much of the Hara blood to endure such pretensions as the casual possession of Rinthumbor conferred upon his brother prince of Ambér, who considered that, as the late lieutenant of the king, he had a right to transfer his powers to himself. The battle of Butwarro, in S. 1817 (A.D. 1761), for ever extinguished these pretensions, on which occasion Zalim Sing, then scarcely of age, mainly contributed to secure the independence of the state he was ultimately destined to govern. But this exploit belongs to the annals of Kotah, and would not have been here alluded to, except to remark, that had the Boondí army joined Kotah in this common cause, they would have redeemed its fiefs from the tribute they are still compelled to pay to Jeipoor.

Oméda's active mind was engrossed with the restoration of the prosperity which the unexampled vicissitudes of the last fifteen years had undermined; but he felt his spirit cramped and his energies contracted by the dominant influence and avarice of the insatiable Mahrattas, through whose means he recovered his capital; still there was as yet no fixed principle of government recognised, and the Rajpoots, who witnessed their periodical visitations like flights of locusts over their plains, hoped that this scourge would be equally transitory. Under this great and pernicious error, all the Rajpoot states continued to mix these interlopers

¹ The universal arbitrator, Zalim Sing of Kotah, having undertaken to satisfy them, and save them from the annual visitations of the Jeipoor troops, withdrew the proper allegiance of Indurgurh, Bulwun, and Anterdeh to himself. The British government, in ignorance of these historical facts, and not desirous to disturb the existing state of things, were averse to hear the Boondí claims for the restoration of her proper authority over these her chief vassals. With all his gratitude for the restoration of his political existence, the brave and good Bishen Sing could not suppress a sigh when the author said, that Lord Hastings refused to go into the question of the *Kotris*, who had thus transferred their allegiance to Zalim Sing of Kotah. In their usual metaphorical style, he said, with great emphasis and sorrow, "My wings remain broken." It would be a matter of no difficulty to negotiate the claims of Jeipoor, and cause the regent of Kotah to forgo his interposition, which would be attended with no loss of any kind to him, but would afford unspeakable benefit and pride to Boondí, which has well deserved the boon at our hands.

in their national disputes, which none had more cause to repent than the Haras of Boondí. But the hold which the Mahrattas retained upon the lands of "Dewa Bango" would never have acquired such tenacity, had the bold arm and sage mind of Oméda continued to guide the vessel of the state throughout the lengthened period of his natural existence: his premature political decease adds another example to the truth, that patriarchal, and indeed all governments, are imperfect where the laws are not supreme.

An act of revenge stained the reputation of Oméda, naturally virtuous, and but for which deed we should have to paint him as one of the bravest, wisest, and most faultless characters which Rajpoot history has recorded. Eight years had elapsed since the recovery of his dominions, and we have a right to infer that his wrongs and their authors had been forgotten, or rather forgiven, for human nature can scarcely forget so treacherous an act as that of his vassal of Indurgurh, on the defeat of Dublana. As so long a time had passed since the restoration without the penalty of his treason being exacted, it might have been concluded that the natural generosity of this high-minded prince had co-operated with a wise policy, in passing over the wrong without forgoing his right to avenge it. The degenerate Rajpoot, who could at such a moment witness the necessities of his prince and refuse to relieve them, could never reflect on that hour without self-aborrence; but his spirit was too base to offer reparation by a future life of duty; he cursed the magnanimity of the man he had injured; hated him for his very forbearance, and aggravated the part he had acted by fresh injuries, and on a point too delicate to admit of being overlooked. Oméda had "sent the coco-nut," the symbol of matrimonial alliance, to Madhú Sing, in the name of his sister. It was received in a full assembly of all the nobles of the court, and with the respect due to one of the most illustrious races of Rajpootana. Deo Sing of Indurgurh was at that time on a visit at Jeipoor, and the compliment was paid him by the Raja of asking "what fame said of the daughter of Boodh Sing?" It is not impossible that he might have sought this opportunity of further betraying his prince; for his reply was an insulting innuendo, leading to doubts as to the purity of her blood. That it was grossly false, was soon proved by the solicitation of her hand by Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar. "The coco-nut was returned to Boondi,"—an insult never to be forgiven by a Rajpoot.

In S. 1813 (A.D. 1757), Oméda went to pay his devotions at the shrine of Beejasení Máta ('the mother of victory'), near Kurwur. Being in the vicinity of Indurgurh, he invited its chief to join the assembled vassals with their families; and though dissuaded, Deo Sing obeyed, accompanied by his son and grandson. All were cut off at one fell swoop, and the line of the traitor was extinct: as if the air of heaven should not be contaminated by the smoke of their ashes, Oméda commanded that the bodies of the calumnious traitor and his issue should be thrown into the lake. His fief of Indurgurh was given to his brother, between whom and the present incumbent four generations have passed away.

Fifteen years elapsed, during which the continual scenes of disorder around him furnished ample occupation for his thoughts. Yet, in the midst of all, would intrude the remembrance of this single act, in which he had usurped the powers of Him, to whom alone it belongs to execute vengeance. Though no voice was lifted up against the deed, though he

had a moral conviction that a traitor's death was the due of Deo Sing, his soul, generous as it was brave, revolted at the crime, however sanctified by custom,¹ which confounds the innocent with the guilty. To appease his conscience, he determined to abdicate the throne, and pass the rest of his days in penitential rites, and traversing, in the pilgrim's garb the vast regions of India, to visit the sacred shrines of his faith.

In S. 1827 (A.D. 1771), the imposing ceremony of "joograj," which terminated the political existence of Oméda, was performed. An image of the prince was made, and a pyre was erected, on which it was consumed. The hair and whiskers of Ajít, his successor, were taken off, and offered to the *manes*; lamentation and wailing were heard in the *rimwás*,² and the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' were passed as if Oméda had really deceased; on the expiration of which, the installation of his successor took place, when Ajít Sing was proclaimed prince of the Haras of Boondí.

The abdicated Oméda, with the title of *Sriji* (by which alone he was henceforth known), retired to that holy spot in the valley sanctified by the miraculous cure of the first "lord of the Pat'har,"³ and which was named after one of the fountains of the Ganges, Kédárnáth. To this spot, hallowed by a multitude of associations, the warlike pilgrim brought

"The fruit and flower of many a province,"

and had the gratification to find these exotics, whether the hardy offspring of the snow-clad Himalaya, or the verge of ocean in the tropic, fructify and flourish amidst the rocks of his native abode. It is curious even to him who is ignorant of the moral viscissitudes which produced it, to see the pine of Thibet, the cane of Malacca, and other exotics, planted by the hand of the princely ascetic, flourishing around his hermitage, in spite of the intense heats of this rock-bound abode.

When Oméda resigned the sceptre of the Haras, it was from the conviction that a life of meditation alone could yield the consolation, and obtain the forgiveness which he found necessary to his repose. But in assuming the pilgrim's staff, he did not lay aside any feeling becoming his rank or his birth. There was no pusillanimous prostration of intellect; no puling weakness of bigoted sentiment, but the same lofty mind which redeemed his birthright, accompanied him wherever he bent his steps to seek knowledge in the society of devout and holy men. He had read in the annals of his own and of other states, that "the trappings of royalty were snares to perdition, and that happy was the man who in time threw them aside and made his peace with heaven." But in obeying, at once, the dictates of conscience and of custom, he felt his mind too much alive to the wonders of creation, to bury himself in the fane of Kanya, or the sacred baths on the Ganges; and he determined to see all those holy places commemorated in the ancient epics of his nation, and the never-ending theme of the wandering devotee. In this determination he was, perhaps, somewhat influenced by that love of adventure in which he had been

¹ The laws of revenge are dreadfully absolute: had the sons of Deo Sing survived, the feud upon their liege lord would have been entailed with their estate. It is a nice point for a subject to balance between fidelity to his prince, and a father's feud, *baup ca bér*.

² The queens' apartments.

³ See p. 370.

nurtured, and it was a balm to his mind when he found that arms and religion were not only compatible, but that his pious resolution to force a way through the difficulties which beset the pilgrim's path, enhanced the merit of his devotion. Accordingly, the royal ascetic went forth on his pilgrimage, not habited in the hermit's garb, but armed at all points. Even in this there was penance, not ostentation, and he carried or buckled on his person one of every species of offensive or defensive weapons then in use : a load which would oppress any two Rajpoots in these degenerate times. He wore a quilted tunic, which would resist a sabre-cut ; besides a matchlock, a lance, a sword, a dagger, and their appurtenances of knives, pouches, and priming-horn, he had a battle-axe, a javelin, a tomahawk, a discus, bow and quiver of arrows ; and it is affirmed that such was his muscular power, even when threescore and ten years had blanched his beard in wandering to and fro thus accoutred, that he could place the whole of this panoply within his shield, and with one arm not only raise it, but hold it for some seconds extended.

With a small escort of his gallant clansmen, during a long series of years he traversed every region, from the glacial fountains of the Ganges to the southern promontory of Ramaiser ; and from the hot-wells of Seeta in Arracan, and the Moloch of Orissa, to the shrine of the Hindu Apollo at " the world's end." Within these limits of Hinduism, Oméda saw every place of holy resort, of curiosity, or of learning ; and whenever he revisited his paternal domains, his return was greeted not only by his own tribe, but by every prince and Rajpoot of Rajwarra, who deemed his abode hallowed if the princely pilgrim halted there on his route. He was regarded as an oracle, while the treasures of knowledge which his observation had accumulated, caused his conversation to be courted and every word to be recorded. The admiration paid to him while living cannot be better ascertained than by the reverence manifested by every Hara to his memory. To them his word was a law, and every relic of him continues to be held in veneration. Almost his last journey was to the extremity of his nation, the temples at the Delta of the Indus, and the shrine of the Hindu Cybele, the terrific Agni-devl of Hingláz, on the shores of Mekran, even beyond the Rubicon of the Hindús. As he returned by Dwarica he was beset by a band of Kábás, a plundering race infesting these regions. But the veteran, uniting the arm of flesh to that of faith, valiantly defended himself, and gained a complete victory, making prisoner their leader, who, as the price of his ransom, took an oath never again to molest the pilgrims to Dwarica.

The warlike pilgrimage of Oméda had been interrupted by a tragical occurrence, which occasioned the death of his son, and compelled him to abide for a time at the seat of government to superintend the education of his grandchild. This eventful catastrophe, interwoven in the border history of Méwar and Haroutí, is well worthy of narration, as illustrative of manners and belief, and fulfilled a prophecy pronounced centuries before by the dying *Saff* of Bumáóda, that " the Rao and the Rana should never meet at the *Ahairca* (or spring hunt) without death ensuing." What we are about to relate was the fourth repetition of this sport with the like fatal result.

The hamlet of Bilaita, which produced but a few good mangoes, and for its population a few Meenas, was the ostensible cause of dispute. The

chief of Boondí, either deeming it within his territory, or desiring to consider it so, threw up a fortification, in which he placed a garrison to overawe the freebooters, who were instigated by the discontented chiefs of Méwar to represent this as an infringement of their prince's rights. Accordingly, the Rana marched with all his chieftains, and a mercenary band of Sindies, to the disputed point, whence he invited the Boondí prince, Ajít, to his camp. He came, and the Rana was so pleased with his manners and conduct, that Bilaita and its mango grove were totally forgotten. Spring was at hand ; the joyous month of Phalgun, when it was necessary to open the year with a sacrifice of the boar to Gouri (see vol. i. p. 454). The young Hara, in return for the courtesies of the Rana, invited him to open the *Ahairee*, within the *rumnas* or preserves of Boondí. The invitation was accepted ; the prince of the Seesodias, according to usage, distributed the green turbans and scarfs, and on the appointed day, with a brilliant cavalcade, repaired to the heights of Nandta.

The abdicated Rao, who had lately returned from Budrinath, no sooner heard of the projected hunt, than he dispatched a special messenger to remind his son of the anathema of the *Satí*. The impetuous Ajít replied that it was impossible to recall his invitation on such pusillanimous grounds. The morning came, and the Rana, filled with sentiments of friendship for the young Rao, rode with him to the field. But the preceding evening, the minister of Méwar had waited on the Rao, and in language the most insulting told him to surrender Bilaita, or he would send a body of Sindies to place him in restraint, and he was vile enough to insinuate that he was merely the organ of his prince's commands. This rankled in the mind of the Rao throughout the day ; and when the sport was over, and he had the Rana's leave to depart, a sudden idea passed across his mind of the intended degradation, and an incipient resolution to anticipate this disgrace induced him to return. The Rana, unconscious of any offence, received his young friend with a smile, repeated his permission to retire, and observed that they should soon meet again. Irresolute, and overcome by this affable behaviour, his half-formed intent was abandoned, and again he bowed and withdrew. But scarcely had he gone a few paces when, as if ashamed of himself, he summoned up the powers of revenge, and rushed, spear in hand, upon his victim. With such unerring force did he ply it, that the head of the lance, after passing through the Rana, was transfixed in the neck of his steed. The wounded prince had merely time to exclaim, as he regarded the assassin on whom he had lavished his friendship, " Oh, Hara ! what have you done ? " when the Indurgurh chief finished the treachery with his sword. The Hara Rao, as if glorying in the act, carried off the *chuthur-chángí*, ' the golden sun in the sable disk,' the regal insignia of Méwar, which he lodged in the palace of Boondí. The abdicated Oméda, whose gratified revenge had led to a life of repentance, was horror-struck at this fresh atrocity in his house : he cried, " Shame on the deed ! " nor would he henceforth look on the face of his son.

A highly dramatic effect is thrown around the last worldly honours paid to the murdered king of Méwar ; and although his fate has been elsewhere described, it may be proper to record it from the chronicle of his foeman.

The Rana and the Boondí prince had married two sisters, daughters of the prince of Kishengurh, so that there were ties of connection to induce

the Rana to reject all suspicion of danger, though he had been warned by his wife to beware of his brother-in-law. The ancient feud had been balanced in the mutual death of the last two princes, and no motive for enmity existed. On the day previous to this disastrous event, the Méwar minister had given a feast, of which the princes and their nobles had partaken, when all was harmony and friendship ; but the sequel to the deed strongly corroborates the opinion that it was instigated by the nobles of Méwar, in hatred of their tyrannical prince ; and other hints were not wanting in addition to the indignant threats of the minister to kindle the feeling of revenge. At the moment the blow was struck, a simple mate-bearer alone had the fidelity to defend his master ; not a chief was at hand either to intercept the stroke, or pursue the assassin ; on the contrary, no sooner was the deed consummated, then the whole chivalry of Méwar, as if panic-struck and attacked by a host, took to flight, abandoning their camp and the dead body of their master.

A single concubine remained to perform the last rites to her lord. She commanded a costly pyre to be raised, and prepared to become his companion to a world unknown. With the murdered corpse in her arms, she reared her form from the pile, and as the torch was applied, she pronounced a curse on his murderer, invoking the tree under whose shade it was raised to attest the prophecy, " that, if a selfish treachery alone prompted the deed, within two months the assassin might be an example to mankind ; but if it sprung from a noble revenge of any ancient feud, she absolved him from the curse : a branch of the tree fell in token of assent, and the ashes of the Rana and the *Sati* whitened the plain of Bilaita."

Within the two months, the prophetic anathema was fulfilled ; the Rao of the Haras was a corpse, exhibiting an awful example of divine vengeance : " the flesh dropped from his bones, and he expired, an object of loathing and of misery." Hitherto these feuds had been balanced by the *lex talionis*, or its substitutes, but this last remains unappeased, strengthening the belief that it was prompted from Méwar.

Bishen Sing, the sole offspring of Ajít, and who succeeded to the *gadi*, was then an infant, and it became a matter of necessity that Sri-ji should watch his interests. Having arranged the affairs of the infant Rao, and placed an intelligent *Dhabhaé* (foster-brother) at the head of the government, he recommenced his peregrinations, being often absent four years at a time, until within a few years of his death, when the feebleness of age confined him to his hermitage of Kedarnath.

It affords an additional instance of Rajpoot instability of character, or rather of the imperfection of their government, that, in his old age, when a life of austerity had confirmed a renunciation which reflection had prompted, the venerable warrior became an object of distrust to his grandchild. Miscreants, who dreaded to see wisdom near the throne, had the audacity to add insult to a prohibition of Sri-ji's return to Boondí, commanding him " to eat sweetmeats and tell his beads at Benares." The messenger, who found him advanced as far as Nya-sheher, delivered the mandate, adding that his ashes should not mingle with his fathers'. But such was the estimation in which he was held, and the sanctity he had acquired from these pilgrimages, that the sentence was no sooner known than the neighbouring princes became suitors for his society. The heroism of his youth, the dignified piety of his age, inspired the kindred mind of Pertap Sing

flight, that a safe passage was not only cheerfully granted, but aided to the utmost of the Raja's means, and with an almost culpable disregard of his own welfare and interests. It was, indeed, visited with retribution, which we little knew, or, in the pusillanimous policy of that day, little heeded. Suffice it to say, that, in 1817, when we called upon the Rajpoots to arm and coalesce with us in the putting down of rapine, Boondí was one of the foremost to join the alliance. Well she might be; for the Mahratta flag waved in unison with her own within the walls of the capital, while the revenues collected scarcely afforded the means of personal protection to its prince. Much of this was owing to our abandonment of the Rao in 1804. Throughout the contest of 1817, Boondí had no will but ours; its prince and dependents were in arms ready to execute our behest; and when victory crowned our efforts in every quarter, on the subsequent pacification, the Rao Raja Bishen Sing was not forgotten. The districts held by Holcar, some of which had been alienated for half a century, and which had become ours by right of conquest, were restored to Boondí without a qualification; while, at the same time, we negotiated the surrender to him of the districts held by Sindia, on his paying, through us, an annual sum calculated on the average of the last ten years' depreciated revenue. The intense gratitude felt by the Raja was expressed in a few forcible words: "I am not a man of protestation; but my head is yours whenever you require it." This was not an unmeaning phrase of compliment; he would have sacrificed his life, and that of every Hara who "ate his salt," had we made experiment of his fidelity. Still, immense as were the benefits showered upon Boondí, and with which her prince was deeply penetrated, there was a drawback. The old Machiavel of Kotah had been before him in signing himself "*fidôé Sirkar Ingréz*" (the slave of the English government), and had contrived to get Indurgurh, Bulwun, Anterdeh, and Khatolli, the chief feudatories of Boondí, under his protection.

The frank and brave Rao Raja could not help deeply regretting an arrangement, which, as he emphatically said, was "clipping his wings." The disposition is a bad one, and both justice and political expediency enjoin a revision of it, and the bringing about a compromise which would restore the integrity of the most interesting and deserving little state in India.¹ Well has it repaid the anxious care we manifested for its interests; for while every other principality has, by some means or other, caused uneasiness or trouble to the protecting power, Boondí has silently advanced to comparative prosperity, happy in her independence, and interfering with no one. The Rao Raja survived the restoration of his independence only four short years, when he was carried off by that scourge the *cholera morbus*. In his extremity, writhing under a disease which unmans the strongest frame and mind, he was cool and composed. He interdicted his

¹ The author had the distinguished happiness of concluding the treaty with Boondí in February 1818. His previous knowledge of her deserts was not disadvantageous to her interests, and he assumed the responsibility of concluding it upon the *general principles* which were to regulate our future policy as determined in the commencement of the war; and setting aside the views which trenched upon these in our subsequent negotiations. These general principles laid it down as a *sine qua non* that the Mahrattas should not have a foot of land in Rajpootana west of the Chumbul; and he closed the door to recantation by sealing the reunion in perpetuity to Boondí, of Patun and all land so situated.

wives from following him to the pyre, and bequeathing his son and successor to the guardianship of the representative of the British government, breathed his last in the prime of life.

The character of Bishen Sing may be summed up in a few words. He was an honest man, and every inch a Rajpoot. Under an unpolished exterior, he concealed an excellent heart and an energetic soul; he was by no means deficient in understanding, and possessed a thorough knowledge of his own interests. When the Mahrattas gradually curtailed his revenues, and circumscribed his power and comforts, he seemed to delight in showing how easily he could dispense with unessential enjoyments; and found in the pleasures of the chase the only stimulus befitting a Rajpoot. He would *bivouac* for days in the lion's lair, nor quit the scene until he had circumvented the forest king, the only prey he deemed worthy of his skill. He had slain upwards of one hundred lions with his own hand, besides many tigers, and boars innumerable had been victims to his lance. In this noble pastime, not exempt from danger, and pleasurable in proportion to the toil, he had a limb broken, which crippled him for life, and shortened his stature, previously below the common standard. But when he mounted his steed and waved his lance over his head, there was a masculine vigour and dignity which at once evinced that Bishen Sing, had we called upon him, would have wielded his weapon as worthily in our cause as did his glorious ancestors for Jehangir or Shah Allum. He was somewhat despotic in his own little empire, knowing that fear is a necessary incentive to respect in the governed, more especially amongst the civil servants of his government; and, if the *Court Journal* of Boondí may be credited, his audiences with his chancellor of the exchequer, who was his premier, must have been amusing to those in the antechamber. The Raja had a reserved fund, to which the minister was required to add a hundred rupees daily; and whatever plea he might advance for the neglect of other duties, on this point none would be listened to, or the appeal to *Indrajeet* was threatened. "The conqueror of Indra" was no superior divinity, but a shoe of superhuman size suspended from a peg, where a more classic prince would have exhibited his rod of empire. But he reserved this for his barons, and the shoe, thus misnamed, was the humiliating corrective for an offending minister.

At Boondí, as at all these patriarchal principalities, the chief agents of power are few. They are four in number, namely—1, The *Déwán*, or *Moosaheb*; 2, The *Foujdar*, or *Killedar*; 3, The *Buckshee*; 4, The *Rassala*, or Comptroller of Accounts.

This little state became so connected with the imperial court, that, like Jeipoor, the princes adopted several of its customs. The *Purdhan*, or premier, was entitled *Déwán* and *Moosaheb*; and he had the entire management of the territory and finances. The *Foujdar* or *Killedar* is the governor of the castle, the *Maire de Palais*, who at Boondí is never a Rajpoot, but some *Dhābhāé* or foster-brother, identified with the family, who likewise heads the feudal quotas or the mercenaries, and has lands assigned for their support. The *Buckshee* controls generally all accounts; the *Rassala* those of the household expenditure. The late prince's management of his revenue was extraordinary. Instead of the surplus being lodged in the treasury, it centred in a mercantile concern conducted by the prime minister, in the profits of which the Raja shared. But while he exhibited

but fifteen per cent. gain in the balance-sheet, it was stated at thirty. From this profit the troops and dependents of the court were paid, chiefly in goods and grain, and at such a rate as he chose to fix.¹ Their necessities, and their prince being joint partner in the firm, made complaint useless ; but the system entailed upon the premier universal execration

Bishen Sing left two legitimate sons ; the Rao Raja Ram Sing, then eleven years of age, who was installed in August 1821 ; and the Mahraja Gopal Sing, a few months younger. Both were most promising youths, especially the Raja. He inherited his father's passion for the chase, and even at this tender age received from the nobles² their nuzzurs and congratulations on the first wild game he slew. Hitherto his pigmy sword had been proved only on kids or lambs. His mother, the queen-regent, is a princess of Kishengurh, amiable, able, and devoted to her son. It is ardently hoped that this most interesting state and family will rise to their ancient prosperity, under the generous auspices of the government which rescued it from ruin. In return, we may reckon on a devotion to which our power is yet a stranger—strong hands and grateful hearts, which will court death in our behalf with the same indomitable spirit that has been exemplified in days gone by. Our wishes are for the prosperity of the Haras !

¹ The truck system, called *purna*, is well known in Rajpootana.

² And from the author with the rest, whose nephew he was by courtesy and adoption.

KOTAH

CHAPTER V

Separation of Kotah from Boondí—The Kotah Bhils—Madhú Sing, first prince of Kotah—Its division into fiefs—The Madhani—Raja Mokund—Instance of devotion—He is slain with four brothers—Juggut Sing—Paim Sing—Is deposed—Kishore Sing—Is slain at Arcát—Law of primogeniture set aside—Ram Sing—Is slain at Jajow—Bheem Sing—Chuker-Sén, king of the Bhils—His power is annihilated by Raja Bheem—Omut tribe—Origin of the claims of Kotah thereon—Raja Bheem attacks the Nizam-ool-Moolk, and is slain—Character of Raja Bheem—His enmity to Boondí—Anecdote—Title of Maha-Rao bestowed on Raja Bheem—Rao Arjoon—Civil contest for succession—Siam Sing slain—Maharao Doorjun Sal—First irruption of the Mahrattas—League against Kotah, which is besieged—Defended by Himmut Sing Jhala—Zalim Sing born—Siege raised—Kotah becomes tributary to the Mahrattas—Death of Doorjun Sal—His character—His hunting expeditions—His queens—Bravery of the Jhala chief—Order of succession restored—Maharao Ajít—Rao Chutter Sál—Madhú Sing of Ambér claims supremacy over the Hara princes, and invades Haroutí—Battle of Butwarro—Zalim Sing Jhala—The Haras gain a victory—Flight of the Ambér army, and capture of the "five-coloured banner"—Tributary claims on Kotah renounced—Death of Chutter Sál.

THE early history of the Haras of Kotah belongs to Boondí, of which they were a junior branch. The separation took place when Shah Jehan was emperor of India; who bestowed Kotah and its dependencies on Madhú Sing, the second son of Rao Ruttun, for his distinguished gallantry in the battle of Boorhanpore.

Madhú Sing was born in S. 1621 (A.D. 1565). At the early age of fourteen, he displayed that daring intrepidity which gave him the title of Raja, and Kotah with its three hundred and sixty townships (then the chief fief of Boondí, and yielding two lakhs of rent), independent of his father.

It has already been related, that the conquest of this tract was made from the Koteah Bhils of the *Oojla*, the 'unmixed,' or aboriginal race. From these the Rajpoot will eat, and all classes will 'drink water' at their hands. Kotah was at that time but a series of hamlets, the abode of the Bhil chief, styled Raja, being the ancient fortress of Ekailgurh, five coss south of Kotah. But when Madhú Sing was enfeoffed by the king, Kotah had already attained extensive limits. To the south it was bounded by Gagrown and Ghatolli, then held by the Kheechies; on the east, by Mangrole and Nahr gurh, the first belonging to the Gor, the last to a Rahtore Rajpoot, who had apostatised to save his land, and was now a Nawab; to the north, it extended as far as Sooltanpore, on the Chumbul, across which was the small domain of Nandta. In this space were contained three hundred and sixty townships, and a rich soil fertilised by numerous large streams.

The favour and power Madhú Sing enjoyed, enabled him to increase the domain he held direct of the crown, and his authority at his death extended to the barrier between Malwa and Haroutí. Madhú Sing died in S. 1687, leaving five sons, whose appanages became the chief fiefs of Kotah. To the holders and their descendants, in order to mark the separa-

tion between them and the elder Haras of Boondí, the patronymic of the founder was applied, and the epithet *Madhāni* is sufficiently distinctive whenever two Haras, bearing the same name, appear together. These were—

1. Mokund Sing, who had Kotah.
2. Mohun Sing, who had Polaito.
3. Joojarh Sing, who had Kotra, and subsequently Ramgurh, Relawun.
4. Kuniram, who had Koélah.¹
5. Kishore Sing, who obtained Sangode.

Raja Mokund Sing succeeded. To this prince the chief pass in the barrier dividing Malwa from Haroutí owes its name of *Mokundurra*, which gained an unfortunate celebrity on the defeat and flight of the British troops under Brigadier Monson, A.D. 1804. Mokund erected many places of strength and utility; and the palace and *petta* of Antah are both attributable to him.

Raja Mokund gave one of those brilliant instances of Rajpoot devotion to the principle of legitimate rule, so many of which illustrate his national history. When Arungzéb formed his parricidal design to dethrone his father Shah Jehan, nearly every Rajpoot rallied round the throne of the aged monarch; and the Rahtores and the Haras were most conspicuous. The sons of Madhú Sing, besides the usual ties of fidelity, forgot not that to Shah Jehan they owed their independence, and they determined to defend him to the death. In S. 1714, in the field near Oojein, afterwards named by the victor *Futtehabad*, the five brothers led their vassals, clad in the saffron-stained garment, with the bridal *mor* (coronet) on their head, denoting death or victory. The imprudent intrepidity of the Rahtore commander denied them the latter, but a glorious death no power could prevent, and all the five brothers fell in one field. The youngest, Kishore Sing, was afterwards dragged from amidst the slain, and, though pierced with wounds, recovered. He was afterwards one of the most conspicuous of the intrepid Rajpoots serving in the Dekhan, and often attracted notice, especially in the capture of Beejapoor. But the imperial princes knew not how to appreciate or to manage such men, who, when united under one who could control them, were irresistible.

Juggut Sing, the son of Mokund, succeeded to the family estates, and to the *munsab* or dignity of a commander of two thousand, in the imperial army. He continued serving in the Dekhan until his death in S. 1726, leaving no issue.

Paim Sing, son of Kuniram of Koélah, succeeded; but was so invincibly stupid that the *panch* (council of chiefs) set him aside after six months' rule, and sent him back to Koélah, which is still held by his descendants.²

Kishore Sing, who so miraculously recovered from his wounds, was placed upon the *gadí*. When the throne was at length obtained by Arungzéb, Kishore was again serving in the south, and shedding his own

¹ He held also the districts of Deh and Goorah in grant direct of the empire.

² A descendant of his covered Monson's retreat even before this general reached the Mokundurra Pass, and fell defending the ford of the Amjar, disdaining to retreat. His simple cenotaph marks the spot where in the gallant old style this chief "spread his carpet" to meet the Dekhani host, while a British commander, at the head of a force capable of sweeping one end of India to the other, fled! The author will say more of this in his Personal Narrative, having visited the spot.

blood, with that of his kinsmen, in its subjugation. He greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Beejapoor, and was finally slain at the escalade of Arcâtgurh (Arcot), in S. 1742. He was a noble specimen of a Hara ; and, it is said, counted fifty wounds on his person. He left three sons, Bishen Sing, Ram Sing, and Hurnat Sing. The eldest, Bishen Sing, was deprived of his birthright for refusing to accompany his father to the south ; but had the appanage and royal palace of Antah conferred upon him. His issue was as follows : Pirthi Sing, chief of Antah, whose son, Ajít Sing, had three sons, Chuttersal, Goman Sing, and Raj Sing.

Ram Sing, who was with his father when he was killed, succeeded to all his dignities, and was inferior to none in the contests which fill the page of imperial history, and in opposing the rise of the Mahrattas. In the war of succession, he embraced the cause of Prince Azím, the viceroy in the Dekhan, against the elder, Mooazím, and was slain in the battle of Jajow, in S. 1764. In this memorable conflict, which decided the succession to the throne, the Kotah prince espoused the opposite cause to the head of his house of Boondí, and Hara met Hara in that desperate encounter, when a cannon-shot terminated the life of Ram Sing in the very zenith of his career.

Bheem Sing succeeded ; and with him Kotah no longer remained a *raj* of the third order. On the death of Buhadoor Shah, and the accession of Ferochsér, Raja Bheem espoused the cause of the Syeds, when his *munsab* was increased to ' five thousand,' a rank heretofore confined to princes of the blood and rajas of the first class. The elder branch of the Haras maintained its fealty to the throne against these usurping ministers, and thus the breach made at the battle of Jajow was widened by their taking opposite sides. The disgraceful attempt of Raja Bheem on the life of Rao Raja Boodh of Boondí has already been recorded. Having completely identified himself with the designs of the Syeds and Jey Sing of Ambér, he aided all the schemes of the latter to annihilate Boondí, an object the more easy of accomplishment since the unmerited and sudden misfortunes of Rao Boodh had deprived him of his reason. Raja Bheem obtained the royal *sunnud* or grant for all the lands on the Pat'har, from Kotah west, to the descent into Aheerwarra east ; which comprehended much land of the Kheechies as well as of Boondí. He thus obtained the celebrated castle of Gagrown, now the strongest in Haroutf, and rendered memorable by its defence against Alla-o-din ; likewise Mow Mydana, Shirgurh, Barah, Mangrole, and Barode, all to the eastward of the Chumbul, which was formally constituted the western boundary of the state. The aboriginal Bhils of *Oojla*, or ' pure ' descent, had recovered much of their ancient inheritance in the intricate tracts on the southern frontier of Haroutf. Of these, Munohur Thana, now the most southern garrison of Kotah, became their chief place, and here dwelt ' the king of the Bhils,' Raja Chukersén, whose person was attended by five hundred horse and eight hundred bowmen, and to whom all the various tribes of Bhils, from Méwar to the extremity of the plateau, owed obedience. This indigenous race, whose simple life secured their preservation amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune, from Raja Bhoj of Dhar to Raja Bheem of Kotah, were dispossessed and hunted down without mercy, and their possessions added to Kotah. On the occasion of the subjugation of Bhilwarra, the latter assigned tracts of land to the Omut chiefs of Nursingurh and Rajgurh

Patun, with townships in *thālī*,¹ in Kotah proper, and hence arose the claim of Kotah on these independent states for the tribute termed *tunka*.¹ At the same time, all the chieftains acknowledged the supremacy of Kotah, under articles of precisely the same nature as those which guaranteed the safety and independence of Rajwarra by Britain ; with this difference, that the Omuts could not be installed without the *khélat* of recognition of the princes of Kotah. Had Raja Bheem lived, he would further have extended the borders of Haroutī, which were already carried beyond the mountains. Onarsi, Dig, Perawa, and the lands of the Chunderawuts, were brought under subjection, but were lost with his death, which, like that of his predecessors, was an untimely sacrifice to duty towards the throne.

When the celebrated Khilij Khan, afterwards better known to history as Nizam-ool-Moolk, fled from the court to maintain himself by force of arms in his government of the Dekhan, Raja Jey Sing of Ambér, as the lieutenant of the king, commanded Bheem Sing of Kotah and Guj Sing of Nurwar to intercept him in his passage. The Nizam was the *Pugri buddul Bhaṭ*, or 'turban-exchanged brother,' of the Hara prince, and he sent him a friendly epistle, entreating him "not to credit the reports to his disadvantage, telling him that he had abstracted no treasures of the empire, and that Jey Sing was a meddling knave, who desired the destruction of both ; and urging him to heed him not, nor offer any molestation to his passage to the south." The brave Hara replied, that "He knew the line between friendship and duty ; he was commanded to intercept him, and had advanced for that purpose ; it was the king's order ; fight him he must, and next morning would attack him." The courtesy of the Rajpoot, who mingled no resentment with his hostility, but, like a true cavalier, gave due warning of his intention, was not thrown away upon the wily Mooslem. The Nizam took post amidst the broken ground of the Sinde, near the town of Koorwye Bhorasso. There was but one approach to his position without a circuitous march, which suited not the impatient Rajpoot ; and there his antagonist planted a battery, masked by some brushwood. At the *peela badul* (morning-dawn) Raja Bheem, having taken his *uml-pani*, or opium-water, mounted his elephant, and uniting his vassals to those of the Cuchwaha, the combined clans moved on to the attack, in one of those dense masses, with *couched lances*, whose shock is irresistible. They were within musket-shot of the Nizam ; had they reached him, Hyderabad would never have arisen on the ruins of Gowalcoond, the ancient Hara abode : but the battery opened, and in an instant the elephants with their riders, Raja Bheem and Raja Guj, were destroyed. Horse and foot became commingled, happy to emerge from the toils into which the blind confidence of their leaders had carried them ; and Khilij Khan pursued the career that destiny had marked out for him.

On this occasion the Haras sustained a double loss : their leader, and their titular divinity, *Brij-nath*, the god of Brij. This *palladium* of the Haras is a small golden image, which is borne on the saddle-bow of their

¹ This is one more of the numerous inexplicable claims which the British Government has had to decide upon, since it became the universal arbitrator. Neither party understanding their origin, the difficulty of a just decision must be obvious. This sets it at rest.

princely leader in every conflict. When the *gole* is formed and the lances are couched, the signal of onset is the shout of "*Jy Brij-Nâthji !*" "Victory to Brij-nâth !" and many a glorious victory and many a glorious death has he witnessed. After being long missing, the representative of the god was recovered and sent to Kotah, to the great joy of every Hara. It was in S. 1776 (A.D. 1720) that Bheem Sing perished, having ruled fifteen years, during which short period he established the affairs of his little dominion on a basis which has never been shaken.

The rivalry that commenced between the houses, when Hara encountered Hara on the plains of Dholpoor, and each princely leader sealed his fidelity to the cause he espoused with his blood, was brought to issue by Raja Bheem, whose attack upon Rao Boodh of Boondi, while defending the forlorn Ferochsér, has already been related, though without its consequences. These were fatal to the supremacy of the elder branch ; for, taking advantage of his position and the expulsion of Rao Boodh, in which he aided, Raja Bheem made an attempt upon Boondi, and despoiled that capital of all the insignia of sovereign rule, its *naharras*, or kettle-drums, with the celebrated *rin-sankh*, or war-shell, an heirloom descended from the heroes of antiquity. Even the military band, whose various discordant instruments are still in use, may be heard in *pseudo* concert from the guard-room over the chief gate of the citadel, at Kotah ; while the "orange flag," the gift of Jehangîr to Rao Ruttun, around which many a brave Hara has breathed his last, is now used by the junior house in all processions or battles.

To recover these ensigns of fallen dignity, many a stratagem has been tried. False keys of the city gates of Kotah and its citadel had been procured, and its guards won over by bribery to favour admission ; but an unceasing vigilance defeated the plan when on the brink of execution : since which the gates of Kotah are always closed at sunset, and never opened even to the prince. This custom has been attended with great inconvenience ; of which the following anecdote affords an instance. When Raja Doorjun after his defeat reached Kotah at midnight, with a few attendants, he called aloud to the sentinel for admittance ; but the orders of the latter were peremptory, and allowed of no discretion. The soldier desired the Raja to be gone ; upon which, expostulation being vain, he revealed himself as the prince. At this the soldier laughed ; but, tired of importunity, bade his sovereign "go to hell," levelled his match-lock, and refused to call the officer on guard. The prince retired, and passed the night in a temple close at hand. At daybreak the gates were opened, and the soldiers were laughing at their comrade's story of the night, when the Raja appeared. All were surprised, but most of all the sentinel, who, taking his sword and shield, placed them at his sovereign's feet, and in a manly but respectful attitude awaited his decision. The prince raised him, and praising his fidelity, bestowed the dress he then wore upon him, besides a gift of money.

The Hara chronicler states, that Raja Bheem's person was seamed with scars, and so fastidious was he, through the fear of incurring the imputation of vanity, that he never undressed in presence of his attendants. Nor was it till his death-wound at Koorwye that this singularity was explained, on one of his confidential servants expressing his surprise at the numerous scars ; which brought this characteristic reply : "He who is

born to govern Haras, and desires to preserve his land, must expect to get these: the proper post for a Rajpoot prince is ever at the head of his vassals."

Raja Bheem was the first prince of Kotah who had the dignity of *Punj-hazari*, or 'leader of five thousand,' conferred upon him. He was likewise the first of his dynasty who bore the title of *Maha-Rao*, or 'Great Prince'; a title confirmed though not conferred by the paramount sovereign, but by the head of their own princely tribes, the Rana of Méwar. Previous to Gopinath of Boondí, whose issue are the great feudal chiefs of Haroutí, their titular appellation was *Apji*, which has the same import as *herself* (or rather himself), applied to highland chiefs of Scotland; but when Indur Sal went to Oodipoor, he procured the title of *Maharaja* for himself and his brothers; since which *Apji* has been applied to the holders of the secondary fiefs, the Madhani of Kotah. Raja Bheem left three sons, Arjoon Sing, Siam Sing, and Doorjun Sal.

Maha-Rao Arjoon married the sister of Madhú Sing, ancestor of Zalim Sing Jhala; but died without issue, after four years' rule. On his death, there arose a civil war respecting the succession, in which the vassals were divided. Clan encountered clan in the field of Oodipoora, when the fate of Siam Sing was sealed in his blood. It is said, the survivor would willingly have given up dominion to have restored his brother to life; that he cursed his ambitious rashness, and wept bitterly over the dead body. By these contentions the rich districts of Rampoorá, Bhanpoora, and Kalapete, which the king had taken from the ancient family and bestowed on Raja Bheem, were lost to the Haras, and regained by their ancient possessors.

Doorjun Sal assumed 'the rod' in S. 1780 (A.D. 1724). His accession was acknowledged by Mahomed Shah, the last of the Timoorean kings who deserved the appellation, and at whose court the prince of Kotah received the *khelat* and obtained the boon of preventing the slaughter of kine in every part of the Jumna frequented by his nation. Doorjun Sal succeeded on the eve of an eventful period in the annals of his country. It was in his reign that the Mahrattas under Bajrao first invaded Hindustan. On this memorable occasion, they passed by the Taruj Pass, and skirting Haroutí on its eastern frontier, performed a service to Doorjun Sal, by attacking and presenting to him the castle of Nahrghurh, then held by a Mussulman chief. It was in S. 1795¹ (A.D. 1739) that the first connection between the Haras and the 'Southrons' took place; and this service of the Peshwa leader was a return for stores and ammunition necessary for his enterprise. But a few years only elapsed before this friendly act and the good understanding it induced were forgotten.

We have recorded, in the Annals of Boondí, the attempts of the princes of Ambér, who were armed with the power of the monarchy, to reduce the chiefs of Haroutí to the condition of vassals. This policy, originating with Jey Sing, was pursued by his successor, who drove the gallant Bood'h Sing into exile, to madness and death, though the means by which he effected it ultimately recoiled upon him, to his humiliation and destruction. Having, however, driven Bood'h Sing from Boondí, and imposed the condition of homage and tribute upon the creature of his installation, he

¹ In this year, when Bajirao invaded Hindostan, passing through Haroutí, Himmut Sing Jhala was *fouidar* of Kotah. In that year Seo Sing, and in the succeeding the celebrated Zalim Sing, was born.

desired to inflict his supremacy on Kotah. In this cause, in S. 1800, he invited the three great Mahratta leaders, with the Jats under Sooruj Mull, when, after a severe conflict at Kotree, the city was invested. During three months, every effort was made, but in vain ; and after cutting down the trees and destroying the gardens in the environs, they were compelled to decamp, the leader, Jey Appa Sindia, leaving one of his hands, which was carried off by a cannon-shot.

Doorjun Sal was nobly seconded by the courage and counsel of the *Foujdar*, or 'commandant of the garrison,' Himmut Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe. It was through Himmut Sing that the negotiations were carried on, which added Nahrgurh to Kotah ; and to him were confided those in which Kotah was compelled to follow the general denationalisation, and become subservient to the Mahrattas. Between these two events, S. 1795 and S. 1800, Zalim Sing was born, a name of such celebrity that his biography would embrace all that remains to be told of the history of the Haras.

When Esuri Sing was foiled, the brave Doorjun Sal lent his assistance to replace the exiled Oméda on the throne which his father had lost. But without Holcar's aid, this would have been vain ; and, in S. 1805 (A.D. 1749), the year of Oméda's restoration, Kotah was compelled to become tributary to the Mahrattas.

Doorjun Sal added several places to his dominions. He took P'hool-Burrode from the Kheechies, and attempted the fortress of Googore, which was bravely defended by Balbudur in person, who created a league against the Hara composed of the chiefs of Rampoor, Sheepoor, and Boondí. The standard of Kotah was preserved from falling into the hands of the Kheechies by the gallantry of Oméda Sing of Boondí. The battle between the rival clans, both of Chohan blood, was in S. 1810 ; and in three years more, Doorjan Sal departed this life. He was a valiant prince, and possessed all the qualities of which the Rajpoot is enamoured ; affability, generosity, and bravery. He was devoted to field-sports, especially the royal one of tiger-hunting ; and had *rummas* or preserves in every corner of his dominions (some of immense extent, with ditches and palisades, and sometimes circumvallations), in all of which he erected hunting-seats.

In these expeditions, which resembled preparations for war, he invariably carried the queens. These Amazonian ladies were taught the use of the matchlock, and being placed upon the terraced roofs of the hunting-seats, sent their shots at the forest-lord, when driven past their stand by the hunters. On one of these occasions the Jhala *Foujdar* was at the foot of the scaffolding ; the tiger, infuriated with the uproar, approached him open-mouthed ; but the prince had not yet given the word, and none dared to fire without his signal. The animal eyed his victim, and was on the point of springing, when the Jhala advanced his shield, sprung upon him, and with one blow of his sword laid him dead at his feet. The act was applauded by the prince and his court, and contributed not a little to the character he had already attained.

Doorjun Sal left no issue. He was married to a daughter of the Rana of Méwar. Being often disappointed, and at length despairing of an heir, about three years before his death, he told the Rani it was time to think of adopting an heir to fill the *gadí*, "for it was evident that the 'Almighty disapproved of the usurpation which changed the order of succession."

It will be remembered that Bishen Sing, son of Ram Sing, was set aside for refusing, in compliance with maternal fears, to accompany his father in the wars of the Dekhan. When dispossessed of his birthright, he was established in the fief of Antah on the Chumbul. At the death of Doorjun Sal, Ajít Sing, grandson of the disinherited prince, was lord of Antah, but he was in extreme old age. He had three sons, and the eldest, whose name of Chutter Sál revived ancient associations, was formally "placed in the lap of the Raní Méwari; the *asees* (blessing) was given; he was taught the names of his ancestors (being no longer regarded as the son of Ajít of Antah), Chutter Sing, son of Doorjun Sál, Bheemsingote, Ram Sing, Kishore Sing, etc., etc.," and so on, to the fountain-head, Dewa Bango, and thence to Manik Raé, of Ajmér. Though the adoption was proclaimed, and all looked to Chutter Sál as the future lord of the Haras of Kotah, yet on the death of Doorjun, the Jhala Foujdar took upon him to make an alteration in this important act, and he had power enough to effect it. The old chief of Antah was yet alive, and the Foujdar said, "It was contrary to nature that the son should rule and the father obey"; but doubtless other motives mingled with his piety, in which, besides self interest, may have been a consciousness of the dangers inseparable from a minority. The only difficulty was to obtain the consent of the chief himself, then "fourscore years and upwards," to abandon his peaceful castle on the Cali Sinde for the cares of government. But the Foujdar prevailed; old Ajít was crowned, and survived his exaltation two years and a half. Ajít left three sons, Chutter Sál, Goman Sing, and Raj Sing. Chutter Sál was proclaimed the Maha Rao of the Horas. The celebrated Himmut Sing Jhala died before his accession, and his office of *Foujdar* was conferred upon his nephew, Zalim Sing.

At this epoch, Madhú Sing, who had acceded to the throne of Ambér on the suicide of his predecessor, Esuri, instead of taking warning by example, prepared to put forth all his strength for the revival of those tributary claims upon the Haras, which had cost his brother his life. The contest was between Rajpoot and Rajpoot; the question at issue was supremacy on the one hand, and subserviency on the other, the sole plea for which was that the Kotah contingent had acted under the princes of Ambér, when lieutenants of the empire. But the Haras held in utter scorn the attempt to compel this service in their individual capacity, in which they only recognised them as equals.

It was in S. 1817 (A.D. 1761) that the prince of Ambér assembled all his clans to force the Haras to acknowledge themselves tributaries. The invasion of the Abdalli, which humbled the Mahrattas and put a stop to their pretensions to universal sovereignty, left the Rajpoots to themselves. Madhú Sing, in his march to Haroutí, assaulted Ooniara, and added it to his territory. Thence he proceeded to Lakhairi, which he took, driving out the crestfallen Southrons. Emboldened by this success, he crossed at the Pally Ghat, the point of confluence of the Par and the Chumbul. The Hara chieftain of Sooltanpore, whose duty was the defence of the ford, was taken by surprise; but, like a true Hara, he gathered his kinsmen outside his castle, and gave battle to the host. He made amends for his supineness, and bartered his life for his honour. It was remarked by the invaders, that, as he fell, his clenched hand grasped the earth which afforded merriment to some, but serious reflection to those who

knew the tribe, and who converted it into an omen "that even in death the Hara would cling to his land." The victors, flushed with this fresh success, proceeded through the heart of Kotah until they reached Butwarro, where they found five thousand Haras, *ék baup ca beta*, all 'children of one father,' drawn up to oppose them. The numerical odds were fearful against Kotah; but the latter were defending their altars and their honour. The battle commenced with a desperate charge of the whole Cuchwaha horse, far more numerous than the brave legion of Kotah; but, too confident of success, they had tired their horses ere they joined. It was met by a dense mass, with perfect coolness, and the Haras remained unbroken by the shock. Fresh numbers came up; the infantry joined the cavalry, and the battle became desperate and bloody. It was at this moment that Zalim Sing made his *début*. He was then twenty-one years of age, and had already, as the adopted son of Himmud Sing, "tied his turban on his head," and succeeded to his post of Foujdar. While the battle was raging, Zalim dismounted, and at the head of his quota, fought on foot, and at the most critical moment obtained the merit of the victory, by the first display of that sagacity for which he has been so remarkable throughout his life.

Mulhar Rao Holcar was encamped in their vicinity, with the remnant of his horde, but so crestfallen since the fatal day of Panniput,¹ that he feared to side with either. At this moment young Zalim, mounting his steed, galloped to the Mahratta, and implored him, if he would not fight, to move round and plunder the Jeipoor camp: a hint which needed no repetition.

The little impression yet made on the Kotah band only required the report that "the camp was assaulted," to convert the lukewarm courage of their antagonists into panic and flight: "the host of Jeipoor fled, while the sword of the Hara performed *teerut* (pilgrimage) in rivers of blood."

The chiefs of Machheri, of Esurdeh, Watko, Barrole, Atchrole, with all the *otes* and *awnts* of Ambér, turned their backs on five thousand Haras of Kotah; for the Boondí troops, though assembled, did not join, and lost the golden opportunity to free its *hotrees*, or fiefs, from the tribute. Many prisoners were taken, and the *five-coloured banner* of Ambér fell into the hands of the Haras, whose bard was not slow to turn the incident to account in the stanza, still repeated whenever he celebrates the victory of Butwarro, and in which the star (*tarra*) of Zalim prevailed:

" *Jung Butwarro jeet*
Tarrá Zalim Jhala
Ring ék rung churra
Rung Panch-rung ca."

"In the battle of Butwarro, the star of Zalim was triumphant. In that field of strife (*ringa*) but one colour (*ring*) covered that of the five-coloured (*panch-runga*) banner": meaning that the Ambér standard was dyed in blood.

The battle of Butwarro decided the question of tribute, nor has the Cuchwaha since this day dared to advance the question of supremacy, which, as lieutenant of the empire, he desired to transfer to himself. In

¹ It is singular enough, that Zalim Sing was born in the year of Nadir Shah's invasion, and made his political *entrée* in that of the Abdalli.

derision of this claim, ever since the day of Butwarro, when the Haras assemble at their *Champ de Mars* to celebrate the annual military festival, they make a mock castle of Ambér, which is demolished amidst shouts of applause.

Chutter Sál survived his elevation and this success but a few years ; and as he died without offspring, he was succeeded by his brother.

CHAPTER VI

Maha Rao Gomân Sing—Zalim Sing—His birth, ancestry, and progress to power—Office of *Foujdar* becomes hereditary in his family—His office and estate resumed by Gomân Sing—He abandons Kotah—Proceeds to Méwar—Performs services to the Rana, and receives the title of *Raj Rîna*, and estates—Serves against the Mahrattas—Is wounded and made prisoner—Returns to Kotah—Mahratta invasion—Storm of Bukâénie—Its glorious defence—Sacrifice of a clan—Garrison of Sukeit destroyed—Zalim Sing employed—His successful negotiation—Restoration to power—Rao Gomân constitutes Zalim guardian of his son Oméd Sing, who is proclaimed—The *Tika-dour*, or 'raid of accession'—Capture of Kailwarra—Difficulties of the Protector's situation—Cabal against his power—Destruction of the conspirators—Exile of the nobles—Sequestration of estates—Conspiracy of Athoon—Predatory bands—Athoon surrenders—Exile of the Hara nobles—Curtailement of the feudal interests—Conspiracy of Mosain—Plan for the destruction of the Regent and family—Mosain chief takes sanctuary in the temple—Is dragged forth and slain—Maharao's brothers implicated in the plot—Their incarceration and death—Numerous projects against the life of the regent—Female conspiracy—How defeated—The regent's precautions.

GOMÂN SING, in S. 1822 (A.D. 1766), ascended the *gadhî* of his ancestors. He was in the prime of manhood, full of vigour and intellect, and well calculated to contend with the tempests collecting from the south, ready to pour on the devoted lands of Rajpootana. But one short *lustrum* of rule was all that fate had ordained for him, when he was compelled to resign his rod of power into the hands of an infant. But ere we reach this period, we must retrace our steps, and introduce more prominently the individual whose biography is the future history of this state ; for Zalim Sing is Kotah, his name being not only indissolubly linked with hers in every page of her existence, but incorporated with that of every state of Rajpootana for more than half a century. He was the *primum mobile* of the region he inhabited, a sphere far too confined for his genius, which required a wider field for its display, and might have controlled the destinies of nations.

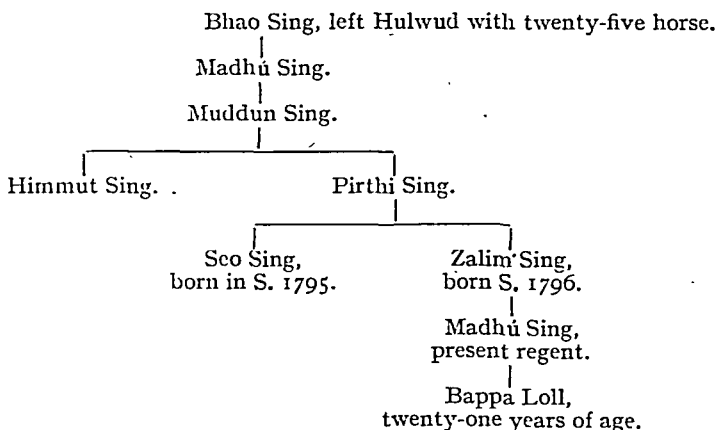
Zalim Sing is a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe. He was born in S. 1796 (A.D. 1740), an ever memorable epoch (as already observed) in the history of India, when the victorious Nadir Shah led his hordes into her fertile soil, and gave the finishing blow to the dynasty of Timour. But for this event, its existence might have been protracted, though its recovery was hopeless : the principle of decay had been generated by the policy of Arungzéb. Mahomed Shah was at this time emperor of India, and the valiant Doorjun Sál sat on the throne of Kotah. From this period (A.D. 1740) five princes have passed away and a sixth has been enthroned ;

and, albeit one of these reigns endured for half a century, Zalim Sing has outlived them all,¹ and though blind, his moral perceptions are as acute as on the day of Butwarro. What a chain of events does not this protracted life embrace ! An empire then dazzling in glory, and now mouldering in the dust. At its opening, the highest noble of Britain would have stood at a reverential distance from the throne of Timour, in the attitude of a suppliant, and now—

“None so poor
As do him reverence.”

To do anything like justice to the biography of one who for so long a period was a prominent actor in the scene, is utterly impossible ; this consideration, however, need not prevent our attempting a sketch of this consummate politician, who can scarcely find a parallel in the varied page of history.

The ancestors of Zalim Sing were petty chieftains of Hulwud, in the district of Jhalawar, a subdivision of the Saurashtra peninsula. Bhao Sing was a younger son of this family, who, with a few adherents, left the paternal roof to seek fortune amongst the numerous conflicting armies that ranged India during the contests for supremacy amongst the sons of Arungzéb. His son, Madhú Sing, came to Kotah when Raja Bheem was in the zenith of his power. Although he had only twenty-five horse in his train, it is a proof of the respectability of the Jhala, that the prince disdained not his alliance, and even married his son, Urjoon, to the young adventurer's sister. Not long after, the estate of Nandta was entailed upon him, with the confidential post of *Foujdar*, which includes not only the command of the troops, but that of the castle, the residence of the sovereign. This family connection gave an interest to his authority, and procured him the respectful title of *Mámáh*,² from the younger branches of the prince's family, an epithet which habit has continued to his successors, who are always addressed *Mámáh Saheb*, ‘Sir, Uncle !’ Muddun Sing succeeded his father in the office of *Foujdar*. He had two sons, Himmut Sing, and Pirthi Sing.



¹ This was written in A.D. 1821, when Maha Rao Kishore Sing succeeded.

² *Mámáh* is ‘maternal uncle’ ; *Kaka*, ‘paternal uncle.’

The office of *Foujdar* which, like all those of the east, had become hereditary, was advantageously filled by Himmud Sing, whose bravery and skill were conspicuous on many trying emergencies. He directed, or at least seconded, the defence of Kotah, when first assailed by the combined Mahratta and Jeipoor troops, and conducted the treaty which made her tributary to the former, till at length so identified was his influence with that of the Haras, that with their concurrence he restored the ancient line of succession. Though neither the prince, Doorjun Sal, nor his *Major Domo*, had much merit in this act, it was made available by Zalim Sing in support of his pretensions to power, and in proof of the ingratitude of his sovereign, "whose ancestors recovered their rights at the instigation of his own." But Zalim Sing had no occasion to go back to the virtues of his ancestors for an argument on which to base his own claims to authority. He could point to the field of Butwarro, where his bravery and skill mainly aided to vanquish the enemies of Kotah, and to crush for ever those arrogant pretensions to supremacy which the Jeipoor state strained every nerve to establish.

It was not long after the accession of Gomân Sing to the sceptre of the Haras, that the brave and handsome *Major Domo*, having dared to cross his master's path in love, lost his favour, and the office of *Foujdar*, which he had attained in his twenty-first year. It is probable he evinced little contrition for his offence, for the confiscation of Nandta soon followed. This estate, on the west bank of the Chumbul, still enjoyed as a fief in perpetuity by the Jhala family, was the original appanage of the Kotah state when a younger branch of Boondî. From hence may be inferred the consideration in which the Jhala ancestor of our subject was held, which conferred upon him the heirloom of the house. Both the office and the estate thereto attached, thus resumed, were bestowed upon the maternal uncle of the prince, Bhoput Sing, of the Bankrote tribe. By this step, the door of reconciliation being closed against the young Jhala, he determined to abandon the scene of his disgrace, and court fortune elsewhere. He was not long in determining the path he should pursue: Ambér was shut against him, and Marwar held out no field for his ambition. Méwar was at hand, and a chief of his own tribe and nation then ruled the councils of Rana Ursi, who had lately succeeded to power, but a power paralysed by faction and by a pretender to the throne. The Jhala chieftain of Dailwarra, one of the sixteen great barons of Méwar, had headed the party which placed his sovereign on the throne; and he felt no desire to part with the influence which this service gave him. He entertained foreign guards about the person of his prince, and distributed estates at pleasure among those who supported his measures; while from the crown domain, or from the estates of those who were hostile to his influence, he seized upon lands, which doubled his possessions. Such was the court of Rana Ursi, when the *ex-Major Domo* of Kotah came to seek a new master. His reputation at once secured him a reception, and his talents for *finesse*, already developed, made the Rana confide to him the subjection in which he was held by his own vassal-subject. It was then that Zalim, a youth and a stranger, showed that rare union of intrepidity and caution which has made him the wonder of the age. By a most daring plan, which cost the Dailwarra chief his life, in open day and surrounded by attendants, the Rana was released from this odious tutelage. For this service, the

title of *Raj Rinna*,¹ and the estate of Cheeturkhaira on the southern frontier were conferred upon Zalim, who was now a noble of the second rank in Méwar. The rebellion still continued, however, and the pretender and his faction sought the aid of the Mahrattas; but under the vigorous councils of Zalim, seconded by the spirit of the Rana, an army was collected which gave battle to the combined rebels and Mahrattas. The result of this day has already been related.² The Rana was discomfited and lost the flower of his nobles when victory was almost assured to them, and Zalim was left wounded and a prisoner in the field. He fell into the hands of Trimbuck Rao, the father of the celebrated Umbaji Inglija, and the friendship then formed materially governed the future actions of his life.

The loss of this battle left the Rana and Méwar at the mercy of the conqueror. Oodipoor was invested, and capitulated, after a noble defence, upon terms which perpetuated her thralldom. Zalim, too wise to cling to the fortunes of a falling house, instead of returning to Oodipoor, bent his steps to Kotah, in company with the Pundit, Lallaji Bellal, the faithful partaker of his future fortunes. Zalim foresaw the storm about to spread over Rajwarra, and deemed himself equal to guide and avert it from Kotah, while the political levity of Méwar gave him little hopes of success at that court.

Raja Gomán, however, had neither forgotten nor forgiven his competitor, and refused to receive him: but in no wise daunted, he trusted to his address, and thrust himself unbidden on the prince. The moment he chose proved favourable; and he was not only pardoned, but employed.

The Mahrattas had now reached the southern frontier, and invested the castle of Bukáénie, which was defended by four hundred Haras of the Sawunt clan,³ under its chief, Madhú Sing. The enemy had been foiled in repeated attempts to escalate, and it furnishes a good idea of the inadequate means of the 'Southrons' for the operations of a siege, when their besieging apparatus was confined to an elephant, whose head was the substitute for a *petard*, to burst open the gate. Repeated instances, however, prove that this noble animal is fully equal to the task, and would have succeeded on this occasion, had not the intrepidity of the Hara chieftain prompted one of those desperate exploits which fill the pages of their annals. Armed with his dagger, Madhú Sing leaped from the walls upon the back of the elephant, stabbed the rider, and with repeated blows felled the animal to the earth. That he should escape could not be expected; but his death and the noble deed kindled such enthusiasm, that his clan threw wide the gate, and rushing sword in hand amidst the multitude, perished to a man. But they died not unavenged: thirteen hundred of the bravest of the Mahrattas accompanied them to *Suraloca*, the warrior's heaven. The invaders continued their inroad, and invested Sukeit: but the prince sent his commands to the garrison to preserve their lives for Kotah, and not again sacrifice them, as the point of honour had been nobly maintained. Accordingly, at midnight, they evacuated the place; but whether from accident or treachery, the grass jungle which covered their retreat was set fire to, and cast so resplendent a light, that the brave garrison had to fight their way against desperate odds, and many were slain. Mulhar Holcar, who had been greatly disheartened at the loss

¹ Not *Rana*, which he puts upon his seal.

² See vol. i. p. 341.

³ The reader is requested to refer to p. 383, for evidence of the loyalty and heroism of Sawunt Hara, the founder of this clan.

sustained at Bukáénie, was revived at this success, and prepared to follow it up. Raja Gomán deemed it advisable to try negotiation, and the Bankrote Foujdar was sent with full powers to treat with the Mahratta commander ; but he failed and returned.

Such was the moment chosen by young Zalim to force himself into the presence of his offended prince. In all probability he mentioned the day at Butwarro, where by his courage, and still more by his tact, he released Kotah from the degradation of being subordinate to Ambér ; and that it was by his influence with the same Mulhar Holcar, who now threatened Kotah, he was enabled to succeed. He was invested with full powers ; the negotiation was renewed, and terminated successfully : for the sum of six lakhs of rupees the Mahratta leader withdrew his horde from the territory of Kotah. His prince's favour was regained, his estate restored, and the unsuccessful negotiator lost the office of Foujdar, into which young Zalim was reinducted. But scarcely had he recovered his rights, before Gomán Sing was taken grievously ill, and all hopes of his life were relinquished. To whom could the dying prince look at such a moment, as guardian of his infant son, but the person whose skill had twice saved the state from peril ? He accordingly proclaimed his will to his chiefs, and with all due solemnity placed Oméd Sing, then ten years of age, " in the lap " of Zalim Sing.

Oméd Sing was proclaimed in S. 1827 (A.D. 1771). On the day of inauguration, the ancient Rajpoot custom of the *Uka'dour* was revived, and the conquest of Kailwarra from the house of Núrwár marked with *éclat* the accession of the Maha-Rao of the Haras of Kotah, and gave early indication that the genius of the regent would not sleep in his office of protector. More than half a century of rule, amidst the most appalling vicissitudes, has amply confirmed the prognostication.

The retention of a power thus acquired, it may be concluded, could never be effected without severity, nor the vigorous authority, wielded throughout a period beyond the ordinary limits of morality, be sustained without something more potent than persuasion. Still, when we consider Zalim's perilous predicament, and the motives to perpetual reaction, his acts of severity are fewer than might have been expected, or than occur in the course of usurpation under similar circumstances. Mature reflection initiated all his measures, and the sagacity of their conception was only equalled by the rapidity of their execution. Whether the end in view was good or evil, nothing was ever half-done ; no spark was left to excite future conflagration. Even this excess of severity was an advantage ; it restrained the repetition of what, whether morally right or wrong, he was determined not to tolerate. To pass a correct judgment on these acts is most difficult. What in one case was a measure of barbarous severity, appears in another to have been one indispensable to the welfare of the state. But this is not the place to discuss the character or principles of the regent ; let us endeavour to unfold both in the exhibition of those acts which have carried him through the most tempestuous sea of political convulsion in the whole history of India. When nought but revolution and rapine stalked through the land, when state after state was crumbling into dust, or sinking into the abyss of ruin, he guided the vessel entrusted to his care safely through all dangers, adding yearly to her riches, until he placed her in security under the protection of Britain.

Scarcely had Zalim assumed the protectorate, when he was compelled to make trial of those Machiavellian powers which have never deserted him, in order to baffle the schemes devised to oppose him. The duties of *Foujdar*, to which he had hitherto been restricted, were entirely of a military nature ; though, as it involved the charge of the castle, in which the sovereign resided, it brought him in contact with his councils. This, however, afforded no plea for interference in the *déwānt*, or civil duties of the government, in which, ever since his own accession to power, he had a coadjutor in Rae Akiram, a man of splendid talents, and who had been Dewan or prime minister throughout the reign of Chutter-sál and the greater part of that of his successor. To his counsel is mainly ascribed the advantages gained by Kotah throughout these reigns ; yet did he fall a sacrifice to jealousies a short time before the death of his prince, Gomán Sing. It is not affirmed that they were the suggestions of young Zalim ; but Akiram's death left him fewer competitors to dispute the junction in his own person of the civil as well as military authority of the state. Still he had no slight opposition to overcome, in the very opening of his career. The party which opposed the pretensions of Zalim Sing to act as regent of the state, asserting that no such power had been bequeathed by the dying prince, consisted of his cousin, the Mahraja Suroop Sing, and the Bankrote chief, whose disgrace brought Zalim into power. There was, besides, the *Dhabhaé* Juskurn, foster-brother to the prince, a man of talent and credit, whose post, being immediately about his person, afforded opportunities for carrying their schemes into effect. Such was the powerful opposition arrayed against the protector in the very commencement of his career. The conspiracy was hardly formed, however, before it was extinguished by the murder of the Mahraja by the hands of the *Dhabhaé*, the banishment of the assassin, and the flight of the Bankrote. The rapidity with which this drama was enacted struck terror into all. The gaining over the foster-brother, the making him the instrument of punishment, and banishing him for the crime, acted like a spell, and appeared such a masterpiece of daring and subtilty combined, that no one though^{ten} himself secure. There had been no cause of discontent be^{een} the Mahraja and the *Dhabhaé*, to prompt revenge ; yet did J^hVulas, and with a glare of open day, rush upon him in the garden of the loudest in execrating blow of his scimitar end his days. The regent weized and confined, and soon the author of the crime, whom he instantly or well acted, this dissimulation after expelled from Haroutí. But however innocent or guilty, they lay to passed not with the world ; and, whar^{der} of the Mahraja. The *Dhabhaé* Zalim's charge the plot for the r^{poor} ; and in abandoning him to his fate died in exile and contempt at fault^y of the deed, showed at once his know- without provision, Zalim, if k^{kind}. Had he added another murder to the ledge and contempt of mar^{affected} indignation become the sole depository first, and in the fury of a^{ty} have increased the suspicion of the world ; but of his secret, he would c^{oose} on society to proclaim his participation in the in turning the culprit the reproach by destroying the credibility of one who crime, he neutralised^{der} assassin when he had it in his power to check its was a self-convict^{der} to unravel this tortuous policy, it is necessary to circulation. In or^{ibhaé} was seduced from the league by the persuasion of state that the Dh^{asinuated} that the Mahraja formed plans inimical to the the regent, who ;

safety of the young prince, and that his own elevation was the true object of his hostility to the person entrusted with the charge of the minor sovereign. Whatever truth there might be in this, which might be pleaded in justification of the foul crime, it was attended with the consequences he expected. Immediately after, the remaining member of the adverse *junta* withdrew, and at the same time many of the nobles abandoned their estates and their country. Zalim evinced his contempt of their means of resistance by granting them free egress from the kingdom, and determined to turn their retreat to account. They went to Jeipoor and to Jodpoor; but troubles prevailed everywhere; the princes could with difficulty keep the prowling Mahratta from their own doors, and possessed neither funds nor inclination to enter into foreign quarrels for objects which would only increase their already superabundant difficulties. The event turned out as Zalim anticipated; and the princes, to whom the refugees were suitors, had a legitimate excuse in the representations of the regent, who described them as rebels to their sovereign and parties to designs hostile to his rule. Some died abroad, and some, sick of wandering in a foreign land dependant on its bounty, solicited as a boon that "their ashes might be burned with their fathers'." In granting this request, Zalim evinced that reliance on himself, which is the leading feature of his character. He permitted their return, but received them as traitors who had abandoned their prince and their country, and it was announced to them, as an act of clemency, that they were permitted to live upon a part of their estates; which, as they had been voluntarily abandoned, were sequestered and belonged to the crown.

Such was Zalim Sing's triumph over the first faction formed against his assumption of the full powers of regent of Kotah. Not only did the aristocracy feel humiliated, but were subjugated by the rod of iron held over them; and no opportunity was ever thrown away of crushing this formidable body, which in these states too often exerts its pernicious influence to the ruin of society. The thoughtlessness of character so peculiar to Rajpoots, furnished abundant opportunities for the march of an exterminating policy, and, at the same time, afforded reasons which justified it.

The next combination was more formidable; it was headed by Deo Sing of Athoon, who enjoyed an estate of sixty thousand rupees rent. He strongly fortified his castle, and was joined by all the discontented nobles, determined to get rid of the authority which crushed them. The regent well knew the spirits he had to cope with, and that the power of the state was insufficient. By means of "the help of Moses" (such is the interpretation of *Moosa Mudut*, his auxiliary, on this occasion), this struggle against his authority also only served to confirm it; and their measures recoiled on the heads of the feudality. The condition of society since the dissolution of the imperial power was most adverse to the institutions of Rajwarra, the unsupported valour of whose nobles was no match for the mercenary force which their rulers could now always command from those bands, belonging to no government, but roaming whither they listed over this vast region, in search of pay or plunder. The "help of Moses" was the leader of one of these associations—a name well known in the history of that agitated period; and he not only led a well-appointed infantry brigade, but had an efficient park attached to it, which was brought to

play against Athoon. It held out several months, the garrison meanwhile making many sallies, which it required the constant vigilance of Moses to repress. At length, reduced to extremity, they demanded and obtained an honourable capitulation, being allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased. Such was the termination of this ill-organised insurrection, which involved almost all the feudal chiefs of Kotah in exile and ruin, and strengthened the regent, or as he would say, the state, by the escheat of the sequestered property. Deo Sing of Athoon, the head of this league, died in exile. After several years of lamentation in a foreign soil for the *junun bhom*, the 'land of their birth,' the son pleaded for pardon, though his heart denied all crime, and was fortunate enough to obtain his recall, and the estate of Bamolia, of fifteen thousand rupees rent. The inferior members of the opposition were treated with the same contemptuous clemency; they were admitted into Kotah, but deprived of the power of doing mischief. What stronger proof of the political courage of the regent can be adduced, than his shutting up such combustible materials within the social edifice, and even living amongst and with them, as if he deserved their friendship rather than their hatred.

In combating such associations, and thus cementing his power, time passed away. His marriage with one of the distant branches of the royal house of Méwar, by whom he had his son and successor Madhú Sing, gave Zalim an additional interest in the affairs of that disturbed state, of which he never lost sight amidst the troubles which more immediately concerned him. The motives which, in S. 1847 (A.D. 1791), made him consider for a time the interests of Kotah as secondary to those of Méwar, are related at length in the annals of that state; ¹ and the effect of this policy on the prosperity of Kotah, drained of its wealth in the prosecution of his views, will appear on considering the details of his system. Referring the reader therefore, to the Annals of Méwar, we shall pass from S. 1847 to S. 1856 (A.D. 1800), when another attempt was made by the chieftains to throw off the iron yoke of the protector.

Many attempts at assassination had been tried, but his vigilance baffled them all; though no bold enterprise was hazarded since the failure of that (in S. 1833) which ended in the death and exile of its contriver, the chieftain of Athoon, until the conspiracy of Mohsain, in S. 1856, just twenty years ago.² Bahadoor Sing, of Mohsain, a chieftain of ten thousand rupees' annual rent, was the head of this plot, which included every chief and family whose fortunes had been annihilated by the exterminating policy of the regent. It was conducted with admirable secrecy; if known at all, it was to Zalim alone, and not till on the eve of accomplishment. The proscription-list was long; the regent, his family, his friend and counsellor the Pundit Lallaji, were amongst the victims marked for sacrifice. The moment for execution was that of his proceeding to hold his court, in open day; and the mode was by a *coup de main* whose very audacity would guarantee success. It is said that he was actually in progress to *durbar*, when the danger was revealed. The *paega*, or 'select troop of horse' belonging to his friend and always at hand, was immediately called in and added to the guards about his person; thus the conspirators were assailed when they deemed the prey rushing into the snare they had laid. The surprise was complete; many were slain; some were taken, others fled.

¹ Vol. i. p. 353.

² This was written at Kotah, in S. 1876 (A.D. 1820).

Amongst the latter was the head of the conspiracy, Bahadoor Sing, who gained the Chumbul, and took refuge in the temple of the tutelary deity of the Haras at Patun. But he mistook the character of the regent when he supposed that either the sanctuary (*sirna*) of *Keshoraé*, or the respect due to the prince in whose dominions (Boond) it lay, could shield him from his fate. He was dragged forth, and expiated his crime or folly with his life.

According to the apologists of the regent, this act was one of just retribution since it was less to defend himself and his immediate interests than those of the prince whose power and existence were threatened by the insurrection, which had for its object his deposal and the elevation of one of his brothers. The members of the Maha-Rao's family at this period were his uncle Raj Sing, and his two brothers, Gordhun and Gopal Sing. Since the rebellion of Athoon, these princes had been under strict *surveillance*; but after this instance of reaction, in which their names were implicated as having aspired to supplant their brother, a more rigorous seclusion was adopted; and the rest of their days was passed in solitary confinement. Gordhun, the elder, died about ten years after his incarceration; the younger, Gopal, lived many years longer; but neither from that day quitted the walls of their prison, until death released them from this dreadful bondage. Kaka Raj Sing lived to extreme old age; but, as he took no part in these turmoils, he remained unmolested, having the range of the temples in the city, beyond which limits he had no wish to stray.

We may in this place introduce a slip from the genealogical tree of the forfeited branch of Bishen Sing, but which, in the person of his grandson Ajeet, regained its rights and the *gadi*. The fate of this family will serve as a specimen of the policy pursued by the regent towards the feudal interests of Kotah. It is appalling, when thus marshalled, to view the sacrifices which the maintenance of power will demand in these feudal states, where individual will is law.

The plots against the existence and authority of the Protector were of every description, and no less than eighteen are enumerated, which his never-slumbering vigilance detected and baffled. The means were force, open and concealed, poison, the dagger—until at length he became sick of precaution. "I could not always be on my guard," he would say. But the most dangerous of all was a female conspiracy, got up in the palace, and which discovers an amusing mixture of tragedy and farce, although his habitual wariness would not have saved him from being its victim, had he not been aided by the boldness of a female champion, from a regard for the personal attractions of the handsome regent. He was suddenly sent for by the queen-mother of one of the young princes, and while waiting in an ante-chamber, expecting every instant "*the voice behind the curtain*," he found himself encircled by a band of Amazonian Rajpootnis, armed with sword and dagger, from whom, acquainted as he was with the nerve, physical and moral, of his countrywomen, he saw no hope of salvation. Fortunately, they were determined not to be satisfied merely with his death; they put him upon his trial; and the train of interrogation into all the acts of his life was going on, when his preserving angel, in the shape of the chief attendant of the dowager queen, a woman of masculine strength and courage, rushed in, and with strong dissembled anger, drove him forth amidst a torrent of abuse for presuming to be found in such a predicament.

While bathing, and during the heat of the chase, his favourite pursuit, similar attempts have been made, but they always recoiled on the heads of his enemies. Yet, notwithstanding the multitude of these plots, which would have unsettled the reason of many, he never allowed a blind suspicion to add to the victims of his policy ; and although, for his personal security he was compelled to sleep in an iron cage, he never harboured unnecessary alarm, that parent of crime and blood in all usurpations. His lynx-like eye saw at once who was likely to invade his authority, and these knew their peril from the vigilance of a system which never relaxed. Entire self-reliance, a police such as perhaps no country in the world could equal, establishments well paid, services liberally rewarded, character and talent in each department of the state, himself keeping a strict watch over all, and trusting implicitly to none, with a daily personal supervision of all this complicated state-machinery—such was the system which surmounted every peril, and not only maintained, but increased the power and political reputation of Zalim Sing, amidst the storms of war, rapine, treason, and political convulsions of more than half a century's duration.

CHAPTER VII

Zalim regarded as a legislator—His political views on Méwar—Kotah sacrificed thereto—His tyranny—His superstition—Makes a tour of his dominions—Establishes a permanent camp—Trains an army—Adopts European arms and discipline—Revises the revenue system of Harouti—The *Patél* system described—Council of four—Extent of jurisdiction—The *Bohoras* described—Their utility in the old farming system of India—Patéls usurp their influence—Depression of the peasantry—Patéls circumvented, imprisoned, and fined—Patél system destroyed—Return to the old system—Moral estimation of the peasant of Rajpootana—Modes of realising the land revenue described—Advantages and disadvantages.

WE are now to examine the Protector in another point of view, as the legislator and manager of the state whose concerns he was thus determined to rule. For a series of years Kotah was but the wet-nurse to the child of his ambition, a design upon Méwar, which engulfed as in a vortex all that oppression could extort from the industry of the people confided to his charge. From this first acquaintance with the court of the Rana, in S. 1827 to the year 1856, he never relinquished the hope of extending the same measure of authority over that state which he exerted in his own. To the prosecution of this policy Harouti was sacrificed, and the cultivator lowered to the condition of a serf. In the year 1840, oppression was at its height ; the impoverished ryot, no longer able to pay the extra calls upon his industry, his cattle and the implements of his labour distrained, was reduced to despair. Many died from distress ; some fled, but where could they find refuge in the chaos around them ? The greater part were compelled to plough for hire, with the cattle and implements once their own, the very fields, their freehold, which had been torn from them. From this system of universal impoverishment, displayed at length in unthatched villages and untilled lands, the regent was compelled to become farmer-general of Kotah.

Fortunately for his subjects, and for his own reputation, his sense of

gratitude and friendship for the family of Ingliā—whose head, Balla Rao, was then a prisoner in Méwar—involved him, in the attempt to obtain his release, in personal conflict with the Rana, and he was compelled to abandon for ever that long-cherished object of his ambition. It was then he perceived he had sacrificed the welfare of all classes to a phantom, and his vigorous understanding suggested a remedy, which was instantly adopted.

Until the conspiracy of Mohsain in 1856, the regent had resided in the castle, acting the part of the *maire du palais* of the old French monarchy; but on his return from the release of Balla Rao, in S. 1860 (A.D. 1803-4), when the successes of the British arms disturbed the combination of the Mahrattas, and obliged them to send forth their disunited bands to seek by rapine what they had lost by our conquests, the regent perceived the impolicy of such permanent residence, and determined to come nearer to the point of danger. He had a double motive, each of itself sufficiently powerful to justify the change: the first was a revision of the revenue system; the other, to seek a more central position for a disposable camp, which he might move to any point threatened by these predatory bodies. Though these were doubtless the real incentives to the project, according to those who ought to have known the secret impulse of his mind, the change from the castle on the Chumbul to the tented field proceeded from no more potent cause than an ominous owl, telling his tale to the moon from the pinnacle of his mansion. A meeting of the astrologers, and those versed in prodigies, was convened, and it was decided that it would be tempting *honhar* (fate) to abide longer in that dwelling. If this were the true motive, Zalim Sing's mind only shared the grovelling superstition of the most illustrious and most courageous of his nation, to whom there was no presage more appalling than a *googoo* on the house-top. But, in all likelihood, this was a political owl conjured up for the occasion; one seen only in the mind's eye of the regent, and serving to cloak his plans.

The soothsayers having in due form desecrated the dwelling of the Protector, he commenced a perambulation and survey of the long-neglected territory, within which he determined henceforth to limit his ambition. He then saw, and perhaps felt for, the miseries his mistaken policy had occasioned; but the moral evil was consummated; he had ruined the fortunes of one-third of the agriculturists, and the rest were depressed and heart-broken. The deficiency in his revenues spoke a truth no longer to be misinterpreted; for his credit was so low in the mercantile world at this period, that his word and his bond were in equal disesteem. Hitherto he had shut his ears against complaint; but funds were necessary to forward his views, and all pleas of inability were met by confiscation. It was evident that this evil, if not checked, must ultimately denude the state of the means of defence, and the fertility of his genius presented various modes of remedy. He began by fixing upon a spot near the strong fortress of Gagrown, for a permanent camp, where he continued to reside, with merely a shed over his tent: and although the officers and men of rank had also thrown up sheds, he would admit of nothing more. All the despatches and newspapers were dated 'from the *Châont*,' or camp.

The situation selected was most judicious, being nearly equidistant from

the two principal entrances to Harouti from the south, and touching the most insubordinate part of the Bhil population; while he was close to the strong castles of Shirguri and Gagrown, which he strengthened with the utmost care, making the latter the *dépôt* of his treasures and his arsenal. He formed an army; adopted the European arms and discipline; appointed officers with the title of captain to his battalions, which had a regular nomenclature, and his 'royals' (*Raj Pullun*) have done as gallant service as any that ever bore the name. These were ready at a moment's warning to move to any point, against any foe. Moreover, by this change, he was extricated from many perplexities and delays which a residence in a capital necessarily engenders.

Up to this period of his life, having been immersed in the troubled sea of political intrigue, the Protector had no better knowledge of the systems of revenue and landed economy than other *Rangra* chieftains; and he followed the immemorial usage termed *lat'ho* and *buttaic*, or rent in kind by weight or measure, in proportion to the value of the soil or of the product. The regent soon found the disadvantages of this system, which afforded opportunity for oppression on the part of the collectors, and fraud on that of the tenant, both detrimental to the government, and serving only to enrich that vulture, the *Patél*. When this rapacious, yet indispensable medium between the peasant and ruler, leagued with the collectors—and there was no control to exaction beyond the conscience of this constituted attorney of each township, either for the assessment or collection—and when, as we have so often stated, the regent cared not for the means so that the supplies were abundant, nothing but ruin could ensue to the ryot.

Having made himself master of the complicated details of the *buttaic*, and sifted every act of chicanery by the most inquisitorial process, he convoked all the *Patéls* of the country, and took their depositions as to the extent of each *patéli*, their modes of collection, their credit, character, and individual means; and being thus enabled to form a rough computation of the size and revenues of each, he recommenced his tour, made a *chak-bundi*, or measurement of the lands of each township, and classified them, according to soil and fertility, as *peewal*, or irrigated; *gorma*, of good soil, but dependant on the heavens; and *mormi*, including pasturage and mountain-tracts. He then, having formed an average from the accounts of many years, instituted a fixed money-rent, and declared that the *buttaic* system, or that of payment in kind, was at an end. But even in this he showed severity; for he reduced the *jureeb*, or standard measure, by a third, and added a fourth to his averages. Doubtless he argued that the profit which the *Patéls* looked forward to would admit of this increase, and determined that his vigilance should be more than a match for their ingenuity.

Having thus adjusted the rents of the fisc, the dues of the *Patél* were fixed at one and a half *anas* per *beega* on all the lands constituting a *patéli*; and as his personal lands were on a favoured footing and paid a much smaller rate than the ryot's, he was led to understand that any exaction beyond what was authorised would subject him to confiscation. Thus the dues on collection would realise to the *Patél* from five to fifteen thousand rupees annually. The anxiety of these men to be reinstated in their trusts was evinced by the immense offers they made, of ten.

twenty, and even fifty thousand rupees. At one stroke he put ten lakhs, or £100,000 sterling, into his exhausted treasury, by the amount of *muzzernas*, or fines of relief on their reinduction into office. The ryot hoped for better days ; for notwithstanding the assessment was heavy, he saw the limit of exaction, and that the door was closed to all subordinate oppression. Besides the spur of hope, he had that of fear, to quicken his exertions ; for with the promulgation of the edict substituting money-rent for *buttaie*, the ryot was given to understand that ' no account of the seasons ' would alter or lessen the established dues of the state, and that uncultivated lands would be made over by the Patél to those who would cultivate them ; or if none would take them, they would be incorporated with the *khas* or personal farms of the regent. In all cases, the Patéls were declared responsible for deficiencies of revenue.

Hitherto this body of men had an incentive, if not a license, to plunder, being subject to an annual or triennial tax termed *patél-burwar*. This was annulled ; and it was added, that if they fulfilled their contract with the state without oppressing the subject, they should be protected and honoured. Thus these Patéls, the elected representatives of the village and the shields of the ryot, became the direct officers of the crown. It was the regent's interest to conciliate a body of men, on whose exertions the prosperity of the state mainly depended ; and they gladly and unanimously entered into his views. Golden bracelets and turbans, the signs of inauguration, were given, with a " grant of office," to each Patél, and they departed to their several trusts.

A few reflections obtrude themselves on the contemplation of such a picture. It will hardly fail to strike the reader, how perfect are the elements for the formation of a representative government in these regions ; for every state of Rajwarra is similarly constituted ; *ex uno disce omnes*. The Patéls would only require to be joined by the representatives of the commercial body, and these are already formed, of Rajpoot blood, deficient neither in nerve nor political sagacity, compared with any class on earth ; often composing the ministry, or heading the armies in battle. It is needless to push the parallel farther ; but if it is the desire of Britain to promote this system in the east to enthrone liberty on the ruins of bondage, and call forth the energies of a grand national *punchait*, the materials are ample without the risk of innovation beyond the mere extent of members. We should have the aristocratic *Thakoors* (the Rajpoot barons), the men of wealth, and the representatives of agriculture, to settle the limits and maintain the principles of their ancient patriarchal system. A code of criminal and civil law, perfectly adequate, could be compiled from their sacred books, their records on stone, or traditional customs, and sufficient might be deducted from the revenues of the state to maintain municipal forces, which could unite if public safety were endangered, while the equestrian order would furnish all state parade, and act as a movable army.

But to return to our subject. Out of this numerous body of Patéls, Zalim selected four of the most intelligent and experienced, of whom he formed a council attached to the Presence. At first their duties were confined to matters of revenue ; soon those of police were superadded, and at length no matter of internal regulation was transacted without their advice. In all cases of doubtful decision they were the court of

appeal from provincial panchaets, and even from those of the cities and the capital itself. Thus they performed the three-fold duties of a board of revenue, of justice, and of police, and perhaps throughout the world, there never was a police like that of Zalim Sing: there was not one *Fouché*, but four; and a net of *espionnage* was spread over the country, out of whose meshes nothing could escape.

Such was the Patél system of Kotah. A system so rigid had its alloy of evil; the veil of secrecy, so essential to commercial pursuits, was rudely drawn aside; every transaction was exposed to the regent, and no man felt safe from the inquisitorial visits of the spies of this council. A lucky speculation was immediately reported, and the regent hastened to share in the success of the speculator. Alarm and disgust were the consequence; the spirit of trade was damped; none were assured of the just returns of their industry; but there was no security elsewhere, and at Kotah only the protector dared to injure them.

The council of Venice was not more arbitrary than the Patél board of Kotah; even the ministers saw the sword suspended over their heads, while they were hated as much as feared by all but the individual who recognised their utility.

It would be imagined that with a council so vigilant the regent would feel perfectly secure. Not so: he had spies over them. In short, to use the phrase of one of his ministers—a man of acute perception and powerful understanding, when talking of the vigour of his mental vision—when his physical organs had failed, *pâni piâ, aur moot tolnâ*, which we will not translate.

The Patél, now the virtual master of the peasantry, was aware that fine and confiscation would follow the discovery of direct oppression of the ryots; but there were many indirect modes by which he could attain his object, and he took the most secure, the medium of their necessities. Hitherto, the impoverished husbandman had his wants supplied by the *Bohora*, the sanctioned usurer of each village; now, the privileged Patél usurped his functions, and bound him by a double chain to his purposes. But we must explain the functions of the *Bohora*, in order to show the extent of subordination in which the ryot was placed.

The *Bohora* of Rajpootana is the *Métayer* of the ancient system of France. He furnishes the cultivator with whatever he requires for his pursuits, whether cattle, implements, or seed; and supports him and his family throughout the season until the crop is ready for the sickle, when a settlement of accounts takes place. This is done in two ways; either by a cash payment, with stipulated interest according to the risk previously agreed upon; or, more commonly, by a specified share of the crop, in which the *Bohora* takes the risk of bad seasons with the husbandman. The utility of such a person under an oppressive government, where the ryot can store up nothing for the future, may readily be conceived; he is, in fact, indispensable. Mutual honesty is required; for extortion on the part of the *Bohora* would lose him his clients, and dishonesty on that of the peasant would deprive him of his only resource against the sequestration of his patrimony. Accordingly, this monied middleman enjoyed great consideration, being regarded as the patron of the husbandman. Every peasant had his particular *Bohora*, and not unfrequently from the adjacent village in preference to his own.

Such was the state of things when the old system of *latha bhuttaie* was commuted for *beegotti*, a specific money-rent apportioned to the area of the land. The Patél, now tied down to the simple duties of collection, could touch nothing but his dues, unless he leagued with or overturned the *Bohora*; and in either case there was risk from the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the regent. They, accordingly, adopted the middle course of alarming his cupidity, which the following expedient effected. When the crop was ripe, the peasant would demand permission to cut it. "Pay your rent first," was the reply. The *Bohora* was applied to: but his fears had been awakened by a caution not to lend money to one on whom the government had claims. There was no alternative but to mortgage to the harpy Patél a portion of the produce of his fields. This was the precise point at which he aimed; he took the crop at his own valuation, and gave his receipt that the dues of government were satisfied; demanding a certificate to the effect "that having no funds forthcoming when the rent was required, and being unable to raise it, the mortgager voluntarily assigned at a fair valuation, a share of the produce." In this manner did the Patéls hoard immense quantities of grain, and as Kotah became the granary of Rajpootana, they accumulated great wealth, while the peasant, never able to reckon on the fruits of his industry, was depressed and impoverished. The regent could not long be kept in ignorance of these extortions; but the treasury overflowed, and he did not sufficiently heed the miseries occasioned by a system which added fresh lands by sequestration to the home farms, now the object of his especial solicitude.

Matters proceeded thus until the year 1867 (A.D. 1811), when, like a clap of thunder, mandates of arrest were issued, and every Patél in Kota was placed in fetters, and his property under the seal of the state; the ill-gotten wealth, as usual, flowing into the exchequer of the Protector. Few escaped heavy fines; one only was enabled altogether to evade the vigilance of the police, and he had wisely remitted his wealth, to the amount of seven lakhs, or £70,000, to a foreign country; and from this individual case, a judgment may be formed of the prey these cormorants were compelled to disgorge.

It is to be inferred that the regent must have well weighed the present good against the evil he incurred, in destroying in one moment the credit and efficacy of such an engine of power as the *patélli* system he had established. The Council of Four maintained their post, notwithstanding the humiliated condition of their compeers; though their influence could not fail to be weakened by the discredit attached to the body. The system Zalim had so artfully introduced being thus entirely disorganised, he was induced to push still further the resources of his energetic mind, by the extension of his personal farms. In describing the formation and management of these, we shall better portray the character of the regent than by the most laboured summary: the acts will paint the man.

Before, however, we enter upon this singular part of his history, it is necessary to develop the ancient agricultural system of Harouti, to which he returned when the *patélli* was broken up. In the execution of this design, we must speak both of the soil and the occupants, whose moral estimation in the minds of their rulers must materially influence their legislative conduct.

The ryot of India, like the progenitor of all tillers of the earth, bears the brand of vengeance on his forehead; for as Cain was cursed by the Almighty, so were the cultivators of India by Ramachund, as a class whom no lenity could render honest or contented. When the hero of Ayodia left his kingdom for Lanka, he enjoined his minister to foster the ryots, that he might hear no complaints on his return. Aware of the fruitlessness of the attempt, yet determined to guard against all just cause of complaint, the minister reversed the *mauna*, or grain measure, taking the share of the crown from the smaller end, exactly one-half of what was sanctioned by immemorial usage. When Rama returned, the cultivators assembled in bodies at each stage of his journey, and complained of the innovations of the minister. "What had he done?" "Reversed the *mauna*." The monarch dismissed them with his curse, as "a race whom no favour could conciliate, and who belonged to no one"; a phrase which to this hour is proverbial, '*ryot kēssī cā nuhyn hyn*'; and the sentence is confirmed by the historians of Alexander, who tell us that they lived unmolested amidst all intestine wars; that "they only till the ground and pay tribute to the king," enjoying an amnesty from danger when the commonwealth suffered, which must tend to engender a love of soil more than patriotism. It would appear as if the Regent of Kotah had availed himself of the anathema of Rama in his estimation of the moral virtues of his subjects, who were Helots in condition if not in name.

We proceed to the modes of realising the dues of the state, in which the character and condition of the peasant will be further developed. There are four modes of levying the land-tax, three of which are common throughout Rajwarra; the fourth is more peculiar to Haroutf and Méwar. The first and most ancient is that of *buttaie*, or 'payment in kind,' practised before metallic currency was invented. The system of *buttaie* extends, however, only to corn; for sugar-cane, cotton, hemp, poppy, âl, kosoomba, ginger, turmeric, and other dyes and drugs, and all garden stuffs, pay a rent in money. This rent was arbitrary and variable, according to the necessities or justice of the ruler. In both countries five to ten rupees per beega are demanded for sugar-cane; three to five for cotton, poppy, hemp, and oil-plant; and two to four for the rest. But when heaven was bounteous, avarice and oppression rose in their demands, and seventy rupees per beega were exacted for the sugar-cane, thus paralysing the industry of the cultivator, and rendering abortive the beneficence of the Almighty.

Buttaie, or 'division in kind,' varies with the seasons and their products:

1st. The *indlî*, or 'summer harvest,' when wheat, barley, and a variety of pulses, as gram, moth, moong, til, are raised. The share of the state in these varies with the fertility of the soil, from one-fourth, one-third, and two-fifths, to one-half—the extreme fractions being the maximum and minimum; those of one-third and two-fifths are the most universally admitted as the share of the crown. But besides this, there are dues to the artificers and mechanics, whose labour to the village is compensated by a share of the harvest from each cultivator; which allowances reduce the portion of the latter to one-half of the gross produce of his industry, which if he realise, he is contented and thrives.

The second harvest is the *sîlloo*, or 'autumnal,' and consists of *mukhî*

or *boola* (Indian corn), of *joâr*, *bajrî*, the two chief kinds of maize, and *tîl* or sesamum, with other small seeds, such as *kaugni*,¹ with many of the pulses. Of all these, one-half is exacted by the state.

Such is the system of *buttaic*; let us describe that of *koont*.² *Koont* is the conjectural estimate of the quantity of the standing crop on a measured surface, by the officers of the government in conjunction with the proprietors, when the share of the state is converted into cash at the average rate of the day, and the peasant is debited the amount. So exactly can those habitually exercised in this method estimate the quantity of grain produced on a given surface, that they seldom err beyond one-twentieth part of the crop. Should, however, the cultivator deem his crop over-estimated, he has the power to cut and weigh it; and this is termed *lat'ha*.

The third is a tax in money, according to admeasurement of the field, assessed previously to cultivation.

The fourth is a mixed tax, of both money and produce.

Neither of these modes is free from objection. That of *koont*, or conjectural estimate of the standing crop, is, however, liable to much greater abuse than *lat'ha*, or measurement of the grain. In the first case, it is well known that by a bribe to the officer, he will *koont* a field at ten maunds, which may realise twice the quantity; for the chief guarantees to honesty are fear of detection, and instinctive morality; feeble safeguards, even in more civilised states than Rajwarra. If he be so closely watched that he must make a fair *koont*, or estimate, he will still find means to extort money from the ryot, one of which is, by procrastinating the estimate when the ear is ripe, and when every day's delay is a certain loss. In short, a celebrated superintendent of a district, of great credit both for zeal and honesty, confessed, "We are like tailors; we can cheat you to your face, and you cannot perceive it." The ryot prefers the *koont*; the process is soon over, and he has done with the government; but in *lat'ha*, the means are varied to perplex and cheat it; beginning with the reaping, when, with a liberal hand, they leave something for the gleaner; then, a "tithe for the *koorpi*, or 'sickle';" then, the thrashing; and though they muzzle the ox who treads out the corn, they do not their own mouths, or those of their family. Again, if not convertible into coin, they are debited and allowed to store it up, and "the rats are sure to get into the pits." In both cases, the *shanahs*, or village-watchmen, are appointed to watch the crops, as soon as the ear begins to fill; yet all is insufficient to check the system of pillage; for the ryot and his family begin to feed upon the heads of Indian corn and maize the moment they afford the least nourishment. The *shanah*, receiving his emoluments from the husbandman as well as from the crown, inclines more to his fellow-citizen; and it is asserted that *one-fourth of the crop*, and even a *third*, is frequently made away with before the share of the government can be fixed.

¹ *Panicum Italicum*, produced abundantly in the valley of the Rhine, as well as *mukhi*, there called *Velsh corn*; doubtless the maizes would alike grow in perfection.

² It would be more correct to say that *buttaic*, or 'payment in kind,' is divided into two branches, namely, *koont* and *lat'ha*; the first being a portion of the standing crop by conjectural estimate; the other by actual measure, after reaping and thrashing.

Yet the system of *lat'ha* was pursued by the Regent before he commenced that of *patéll*, which has no slight analogy to the permanent system of Bengal,¹ and was attended with similar results,—distress, confiscation, and sale, to the utter exclusion of the hereditary principle, the very cornerstone of Hindu society.

CHAPTER VIII

Farming system of Zalim Sing—Extent to which it has been carried—Its prosperity, fallacious and transitory—Details of the system—Soil of Kotah—The Regent introduces foreign ploughs—Area cultivated—Net produce—Value—Grain-pits—Prices, in plenty and famine—Zalim sells in one year grain to the amount of a million sterling—Monopoly—The *tithe*, or new tax on exported grain—The *jagátt*, or tax-gatherer—Impolicy of this tax—Gross revenue of Kotah—Opium monopoly—Tax on widows—On the mendicant—Gourd-tax—Broom-tax—The Regent detested by the bards—Province of Kotah at this period, and at assumption of the government, contrasted—Question as to the moral result of his improvements.

LET us proceed with the most prominent feature of the Regent's internal administration—his farming monopoly—to which he is mainly indebted for the reputation he enjoys throughout Rajpootana. The superficial observer, who can with difficulty find a path through the corn-fields which cover the face of Haroutí, will dwell with rapture upon the effects of a system in which he discovers nothing but energy and efficiency: he cannot trace the remote causes of this deceptive prosperity, which originated in moral and political injustice. It was because his own tyranny had produced unploughed fields and deserted villages, starving husbandmen and a diminishing population; it was with the distrained implements and cattle of his subjects, and in order to prevent the injurious effects of so much waste land upon the revenue, that Zalim commenced a system which has made him *farmer-general* of Haroutí; and he has carried it to an astonishing extent. There is not a nook or a patch in Haroutí where grain can be produced, which his ploughs do not visit. Forests have disappeared; even the barren rocks have been covered with exotic soil, and the mountain's side, inaccessible to the plough, is turned up with a spud, and compelled to yield a crop.

In S. 1840 (A.D. 1784), Zalim possessed only two or three hundred ploughs, which in a few years increased to eight hundred. At the commencement of what they term the new era (*nya samvat*) in the history of landed property of Kotah, the introduction of the *patéll* system, the number was doubled; and at the present time ² no less than *four thousand ploughs*,

¹ The *patél* of Haroutí, like the *zemindar* of Bengal, was answerable for the revenues; the one, however, was hereditary only during pleasure; the other perpetually so. The extent of their authorities was equal.

² This was drawn up in 1820–21.

of double yoke, employing *sixteen thousand oxen*, are used in the farming system of this extraordinary man ; to which may be added one thousand more ploughs and four thousand oxen employed on the estates of the prince and the different members of his family.

This is the secret of the Raj Rana's power and reputation ; and to the wealth extracted from her soil, Kotah owes her preservation from the ruin which befell the states around her during the convulsions of the last half-century, when one after another sank into decay. But although sagacity marks the plan, and unexampled energy superintends its details, we must, on examining the foundations of the system either morally or politically, pronounce its effects a mere paroxysm of prosperity, arising from stimulating causes which present no guarantee of permanence. Despotism has wrought this magic effect : there is not one, from the noble to the peasant, who has not felt, and who does not still feel, its presence. When the arm of the octogenarian Protector shall be withdrawn, and the authority transferred to his son, who possesses none of the father's energies, then will the impolicy of the system become apparent. It was from the sequestered estates of the valiant Hara chieftain, and that grinding oppression which thinned Harouti of its agricultural population, and left the lands waste, that the Regent found scope for his genius. The fields, which had descended from father to son through the lapse of ages, the unalienable right of the peasant, were seized, in spite of law, custom, or tradition, on every defalcation ; and it is even affirmed that he sought pretexts to obtain such lands as from their contiguity or fertility he coveted, and that hundreds were thus deprived of their inheritance. In vain we look for the peaceful hamlets which once studded Harouti : we discern instead the *orie*, or farmhouse of the Regent, which would be beautiful were it not erected on the property of the subject ; but when we inquire the ratio which the cultivators bear to the cultivation, and the means of enjoyment this artificial system has left them, and find that the once independent proprietor, who claimed a sacred right of inheritance,¹ now ploughs like a serf the fields formerly his own, all our perceptions of moral justice are shocked.

The love of country and the passion for possessing land are strong throughout Rajpootana : while there is a hope of existence, the cultivator clings to the '*bapota*,' and in Harouti this *amor patriæ* is so invincible, that, to use their homely phrase. "he would rather fill his *pait* in slavery there, than live in luxury abroad." But where could they fly to escape oppression ? All around was desolation ; armies perambulated the country, with rapid strides, in each other's train, "one to another still

¹ Throughout the Boondi territory, where no regent has innovated on the established laws of inheritance, by far the greater part of the land is the absolute property of the cultivating *ryot*, who can sell or mortgage it. There is a curious tradition that this right was obtained by one of the ancient princes making a general sale of the crown land, reserving only the tax. In Boondi, if a ryot becomes unable, from pecuniary wants or otherwise, to cultivate his lands, he lets them ; and custom has established *four anas per beega* of irrigated land, and *two anas* for *gorma*, that dependent on the heavens, or a share of the produce in a similar proportion, as his right. If in exile, from whatever cause, he can assign this share to trustees ; and, the more strongly to mark his inalienable right in such a case, the trustees reserve on his account *two seers on every maund of produce*, which is emphatically termed "*hukh bapata cã bhom*," the "dues of the patrimonial soil."

Expenses.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Establishments—namely, feeding cattle and servants, tear and wear of gear, and clearing the fields—one-eighth of the gross amount, ¹ or | 400,000 |
| Seed | 600,000 |
| Replacing 4000 oxen annually, at 20s. | 80,000 |
| Extras | 20,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,100,000 |

We do not presume to give this, or even the gross amount, as more than an approximation to the truth ; but the Regent himself has mentioned that in one year the casualties in oxen amounted to five thousand ! We have allowed one-fourth, for an ox will work well seven years, if taken care of. Thus, on the lowest scale, supposing the necessities of the government required the grain to be sold in the year it was raised, twenty lakhs will be the net profit of the Regent's farms. But he has abundant resources without being forced into the market before the favourable moment ; until when, the produce is hoarded up in subterranean granaries. Everything in these regions is simple, yet efficient : we will describe the grain-pits.

These pits or trenches are fixed on elevated dry spots ; their size being according to the nature of the soil. All the preparation they undergo is the incineration of certain vegetable substances, and lining the sides and bottom with wheat or barley stubble. The grain is then deposited in the pit, covered over with straw, and a terrace of earth, about eighteen inches in height, and projecting in front beyond the orifice of the pit, is raised over it. This is secured with a coating of clay and cow-dung, which resists even the monsoon, and is renewed as the torrents injure it. Thus the grain may remain for years without injury, while the heat which is extricated checks germination, and deters rats and white ants. Thus the Regent has seldom less than fifty lakhs of maunds in various parts of the country, and it is on emergencies, or in bad seasons, that these stores see the light ; when, instead of twelve rupees, the *mauni* runs as high as forty, or the famine price of sixty. Then these pits are mines of gold ; the Regent having frequently sold in one year sixty lakhs of maunds. In S. 1860 (or A.D. 1804), during the Mahratta war, when Holcar was in the Bhurtpoor state, and predatory armies were moving in every direction, and when famine and war conjoined to desolate the country, Kotah fed the whole population of Rajwarra, and supplied all these roving hordes. In that season, grain being fifty-five rupees per *mauni*, he sold to the enormous amount of *one crore of rupees, or a million sterling* !

Reputable merchants of the Mahajin tribe refrain from speculating in grain, from the most liberal feelings, esteeming it *dherm nuhyn hyn*, 'a want of charity.' The humane Jain merchant says, "to hoard up

¹ It is not uncommon in Rajwarra, when the means of individuals prevent them from cultivating their own lands, to hire out the whole with men and implements ; for the use of which *one-eighth* of the produce is the established consideration. We have applied this in the rough estimate of the expenses of the Regent's farming system.

grain, for the purpose of taking advantage of human misery, may bring riches, but never profit."

According to the only accessible documents, the whole crown-revenue of Kotah from the tax in kind, amounted, under bad management, to twenty-five lakhs of rupees. This is all the Regent admits he collects from (to use his own phrase) his handful (*puchewara*) of soil: of course he does not include his own farming system, but only the amount raised from the cultivator. He confesses that two-thirds of the superficial area of Kotah were waste; but that this is now reversed, there being two-thirds cultivated, and only one-third waste, and this comprises mountain, forest, common, etc.

In S. 1865 (A.D. 1809), as if industry were not already sufficiently shackled, the Regent established a new tax on all corn exported from his dominions. It was termed *lut'ho*, and amounted to a rupee and a half per *mauni*. This tax—not less unjust in origin than vexatious in operation—worse than even the infamous *gabelle*, or the *droit d'aubaine* of France—was another fruit of monopoly. It was at first confined to the grower, though of course it fell indirectly on the consumer; but the *Jagāti*, or chief collector of the customs, a man after the Regent's own heart, was so pleased with its efficiency on the very first trial, that he advised his master to push it farther, and it was accordingly levied as well on the farmer as the purchaser. An item of ten lakhs was at once added to the budget; and as if this were insufficient to stop all competition between the regent-farmer-general and his subjects, three, four, nay even five *lut'hos*, have been levied from the same grain before it was retailed for consumption. Kotah exhibited the picture of a people, if not absolutely starving, yet living in penury in the midst of plenty. Neither the lands of his chiefs nor those of his ministers were exempt from the operation of this tax, and all were at the mercy of the *Jagāti*, from whose arbitrary will there was no appeal. It had reached the very height of oppression about the period of the alliance with the British Government. This collector had become a part of his system; and if the Regent required a few lakhs of ready money, *Jo hookum*, 'your commands,' was the reply. A list was made out of 'arrears of *lut'ho*,' and friend and foe, minister, banker, trader, and farmer, had a circular. Remonstrance was not only vain but dangerous: even his ancient friend, the Pundit Bellal, had twenty-five thousand rupees to pay in one of these schedules; the *homme d'affaires* of one of his confidential chiefs, five thousand; his own foreign minister a share, and many bankers of the town, four thousand, five thousand, and ten thousand each. The term *lut'ho* was an abuse of language for a forced contribution: in fact the obnoxious and well-known *dind* of Rajwarra. It alienated the minds of all men, and nearly occasioned the Regent's ruin; for scarcely was their individual sympathy expressed, when the Hara princes conspired to emancipate themselves from his interminable and galling protection.

When the English Government came in contact with Rajwarra, it was a primary principle of the universal protective alliance to proclaim that it was for the benefit of the governed as well as the governors, since it availed little to destroy the wolves without, if they were consigned to the lion within. But there are and must be absurd inconsistencies, even in the policy of western legislators, where one set of principles is applied to

all. Zalim soon discovered that the fashion of the day was to *purwurush*, 'foster the ryot.' The odious character of the tax was diminished, and an edict limited its operation to the farmer, the seller, and the purchaser; and so anxious was he to conceal this weapon of oppression, that the very name of *lut'ho* was abolished, and *sowâé hasil*, or 'extraordinaries,' substituted. This item is said still to amount to five lakhs of rupees.

Thus did the skill and rigid system of the Regent exact from his *puchewara* of soil, full fifty lakhs of rupees. We must also recollect that nearly five more are to be added on account of the household lands of the members of his own and the prince's family, which is almost sufficient to cover their expenses.

What will the European practical farmer, of enlarged means and experience, think of the man who arranged this complicated system, and who, during forty years, has superintended its details? What opinion will he form of his vigour of mind, who, at the age of fourscore years, although blind and palsied, still superintends and maintains this system? What will he think of the tenacity of memory, which bears graven thereon, as on a tablet, an account of all these vast depositories of grain, with their varied contents, many of them the store of years past; and the power to check the slightest errors of the intendant of this vast accumulation; while, at the same time, he regulates the succession of crops throughout this extensive range? Such is the minute topographical knowledge which the Regent possesses of his country, that every field in every farm is familiar to him: and woe to the superintendent *havêldâr* if he discovers a fallow nook that ought to bear a crop.

Yet vast as this system is, overwhelming as it would seem to most minds, it formed but a part of the political engine conducted and kept in action by his single powers. The details of his administration, internal as well as external, demanded unremitted vigilance. The formation, the maintenance, and discipline of an army of twenty thousand men, his fortresses, arsenals, and their complicated minutiae, were amply sufficient for one mind. The daily account from his police, consisting of several hundred emissaries, besides the equally numerous reports from the head of each district, would have distracted an ordinary head, "for the winds could not enter and leave Haroutî without being reported." But when, in addition to all this, it is known that the Regent was a practical merchant, a speculator in exchanges, that he encouraged the mechanical arts, fostered foreign industry, pursued even horticulture, and, to use his own words, "considered no trouble thrown away which made the rupee return sixteen and a half anas, with whom can he be compared?"¹ Literature, philosophy, and *excerpts* from the grand historical epics, were the amusements of his hours of relaxation; but here we anticipate, for we have not yet finished the review of his economical character. His monopolies, especially that of grain, not only influenced his own market, but affected all the adjacent countries; and when speculation in opium ran to such a demoralising excess in consequence of the British Government monopolising the entire produce of the poppy cultivated throughout Malwa, he took advantage of the *mania*, and by his sales or purchases raised or depressed the market at pleasure. His gardens, scattered throughout the country, still

¹ There are sixteen *anas* to a rupee.

supply the markets of the towns and capital with vegetables, and his forests furnish them with fuel.

So rigid was his system of taxation that nothing escaped it. There was a heavy tax on widows who remarried. Even the *gourd* of the mendicant paid a tithe, and the ascetic in his cell had a domiciliary visit to ascertain the gains of mendicity, in order that a portion should go to the exigencies of the state. The *toomba burrâr*, or 'gourd-tax,' was abolished after forming for a twelvemonth part of the fiscal code of Harouti, and then not through any scruples of the Regent, but to satisfy his friends. Akin to this, and even of a lower grade, was the *jahroo burrâr*, or 'broom-tax,' which continued for ten years; but the many lampoons it provoked from the satirical *Bhat* operated on the more sensitive feelings of his son, Madhú Sing, who obtained its repeal.

Zalim was no favourite with the bards; and that he had little claim to their consideration may be inferred from the following anecdote. A celebrated rhymers was reciting some laudatory stanzas, which the Regent received rather coldly, observing with a sneer that "they told nothing but lies, though he should be happy to listen to their effusions when truth was the foundation." The poet replied that "he found truth a most unmarketable commodity; nevertheless, he had some of that at his service"; and stipulating for forgiveness if they offended, he gave the protector his picture in a string of *improvised* stanzas, so full of *vis* (poison), that the lands of the whole fraternity were resumed, and none of the order have ever since been admitted to his presence.

Though rigid in his observance of the ceremonies of religion, and sharing in the prevailing superstitions of his country, he never allows the accidental circumstance of birth or caste to affect his policy. Offences against the state admit of no indemnity, be the offender a Brahmin or a bard; and if these classes engage in trade, they experience no exemption from imposts.

Such is an outline of the territorial arrangements of the Regent Zalim Sing. When power was assigned to him, he found the state limited to Kailwarra on the east; he has extended it to the verge of the Plateau, and the fortress which guards its ascent, at first rented from the Mahrattas, is now by treaty his own. He took possession of the reins of power with an empty treasury and *thirty-two lakhs* of accumulating debt. He found the means of defence a few dilapidated fortresses, and a brave but unmanageable feudal army. He has, at an immense cost, put the fortresses into the most complete state of defence, and covered their ramparts with many hundred pieces of cannon; and he has raised and maintains, in lieu of about four thousand Hara cavaliers, an army—regular we may term it—of twenty thousand men, distributed into battalions, a park of one hundred pieces of cannon, with about one thousand good horse, besides the feudal contingents.

But is this prosperity? Is this the greatness which the Raja Gomán intended should be entailed upon his successors, his chiefs, and his subjects? Was it to entertain twenty thousand mercenary soldiers from the sequestered fields of the illustrious Hara, the indigenous proprietor? Is this government, is it good government according to the ideas of more civilised nations, to extend taxation to its limit in order to maintain this cumbrous machinery. We may admit that, for a time, such a system may have been requisite, not only for the maintenance of his delegated power, but to

preserve the state from predatory spoliation ; and now, could we see the noble restored to his forfeited estates, and the ryot to his hereditary rood of land, we should say that Zalim Sing had been an instrument in the hand of Providence for the preservation of the rights of the Haras. But, as it is, whilst the corn which waves upon the fertile surface of Kotah presents not the symbol of prosperity, neither is his well-paid and well-disciplined army a sure mean of defence : moral propriety has been violated ; rights are in abeyance, and until they be restored, even the apparent consistency of the social fabric is obtained by means which endanger its security.

CHAPTER IX

Political system of the Regent—His foreign policy—His pre-eminent influence in Rajwarra—His first connection with the English Government—Monson's retreat—Gallant conduct and death of the Hara chief of Coelah—Aid given by the Regent involves him with Holcar—Holcar comes to Kotah—Preparations to attack the capital—Singular interview with Zalim—Zalim's agents at foreign courts—Alliance with Ameer Khan, and the Pindarri chiefs—Characteristic anecdotes—Zalim's offensive policy—His domestic policy—Character of Maharao Oméd Sing—Zalim's conduct towards him—Choice of ministers—Bishen Sing Foujdar—Dulleel Khan Pathan—Circumvallation of Kotah—Foundation of the city Jhalra-patun—Mehrab Khan, commander of the forces.

THE foregoing reflections bring us back to political considerations, and these we must separate into two branches, the foreign and domestic. We purposely invert the discussion of these topics for the sake of convenience.

Zalim's policy was to create, as regarded himself, a kind of balance of power ; to overawe one leader by his influence with another, yet by the maintenance of a good understanding with all, to prevent individual umbrage, while his own strength was at all times sufficient to make the scale preponderate in his favour.

Placed in the very heart of India, Kotah was for years the centre around which revolved the desultory armies, or ambulant governments, ever strangers to repose ; and though its wealth could not fail to attract the cupidity of these vagabond powers, yet, by the imposing attitude which he assumed, Zalim Sing maintained, during more than half a century, the respect, the fear, and even the esteem of all ; and Kotah alone, throughout this lengthened period, so full of catastrophes, never saw an enemy at her gates. Although an epoch of perpetual change and political convulsion—armies destroyed, states overturned, famine and pestilence often aiding moral causes in desolating the land—yet did the Regent, from the age of twenty-five to eighty-two,¹ by his sagacity, his energy, his moderation, his prudence, conduct the bark intrusted to his care through all the shoals and dangers which beset her course. It may not excite surprise that he was unwilling to relinquish the helm when the vessel was moored in calm waters ; or, when the unskilful owner, forgetting these tempests, and deeming his own science equal to the task, demanded the surrender, that he should hoist the flag of defiance.

¹ I may once more repeat, this was written in A.D. 1820-21, when Zalim Sing had reached the age of fourscore and two.

There was not a court in Rajwarra, not even the predatory governments, which was not in some way influenced by his opinions, and often guided by his councils. At each he had envoys, and when there was a point to gain, there were irresistible arguments in reserve to secure it. The necessities, the vanities, and weaknesses of man, he could enlist on his side, and he was alternately, by adoption, the father, uncle, or brother, of every person in power during this eventful period, from the prince upon the throne, to the brat of a Pindarri. He frequently observed, that "none knew the shifts he had been put to"; and when entreated not to use expressions of humility, which were alike unsuited to his age and station, and the reverence he compelled, he would reply, "God grant you long life, but it is become a habit." For the last ten years he not only made his connection with Meer Khan subservient to avoiding a collision with Holcar, but converted the Khan into the make-weight of his balance of power: "he thanked God the time was past, when he had to congratulate even the slave of a Toork on a safe *accouchement*, and to pay for this happiness."

Though by nature irascible, impetuous, and proud, he could bend to the extreme of submission. But while he would, by letter or conversation, say to a marauding Pindarri or Pathan, "let me petition to your notice," or "if my clodpole understanding (*bhomia bood'h*) is worth consulting"; or reply to a demand for a contribution, coupled with a threat of inroad, "that the *friendly epistle* had been received; that he lamented the writer's distresses, etc. etc."; with a few thousand more than was demanded, and a present to the messenger, he would excite a feeling which at least obtained a respite; on the other hand, he was always prepared to repel aggression; and if a single action would have decided his quarrel, he would not have hesitated to engage any power in the circle. But he knew even success, in such a case, to be ruin, and the general feature of his external policy was accordingly of a temporising and very mixed nature. Situated as he was, amidst conflicting elements, he had frequently a double game to play. Thus, in the coalition of 1806-7, against Jodpoor, he had three parties to please, each requesting his aid, which made neutrality almost impossible. He sent envoys to all; and while appearing as the universal mediator, he gave assistance to none.

It would be vain as well as useless to attempt the details of his foreign policy; we shall merely allude to the circumstances which first brought him in contact with the British Government, in A.D. 1803-4, and then proceed to his domestic administration.

When the ill-fated expedition under Monson traversed Central India to the attack of Holcar, the Regent of Kotah, trusting to the invincibility of the British arms, did not hesitate, upon their appearance within his territory, to co-operate both with supplies and men. But when the British army retreated, and its commander demanded admission within the walls of Kotah, he met a decided and very proper refusal. "You shall not bring anarchy and a disorganised army to mix with my peaceable citizens; but draw up your battalions under my walls; I will furnish provisions, and I will march the whole of my force between you and the enemy, and bear the brunt of his attack." Such were Zalim's own expressions: whether it would have been wise to accede to his proposal is not the point of discussion. Monson continued his disastrous flight through the Boondí and Jeipoor dominions, and carried almost alone the news of his disgrace to the illustri-

ous Lake. It was natural he should seek to palliate his error by an attempt to involve others ; and amongst those thus calumniated, first and foremost was the Regent of Kotah, " the head and front of whose offending,"—non-admission to a panic-struck, beef-eating army within his walls,—was translated into treachery, and a connivance with the enemy ; a calumny which long subsisted to the prejudice of the veteran politician. But never was there a greater wrong inflicted, or a more unjust return for services and sacrifices, both in men and money, in a cause which little concerned him ; and it nearly operated hurtfully, at a period (1817) when the British Government could not have dispensed with his aid. It was never told, it is hardly yet known at this distant period, what devotion he evinced in that memorable *retreat*, as it is misnamed, when the troops of Kotah and the corps of the devoted Lucan were sacrificed to ensure the safety of the army until it left the Mokundurra Pass in its rear. If there be any incredulous supporter of the commander in that era of our shame, let him repair to the altar of the Coelah chief, who, like a true Hara, " spread his carpet " at the ford of the Amjar, and there awaited the myrmidons of the Mahrattas, and fell protecting the flight of an army which might have passed from one end of India to the other. Well might the veteran allude to our ingratitude in 1804, when in A.D. 1817 he was called upon to co-operate in the destruction of that predatory system, in withstanding which he had passed a life of feverish anxiety. If there was a doubt of the part he acted, if the monuments of the slain will not be admitted as evidence, let us appeal to the opinion of the enemy, whose testimony adds another feature to the portrait of this extraordinary man.

Besides the Coelah chief, and many brave Haras, slain on the retreat of Monson, the Bukshee, or commander of the force, was made prisoner. As the price of his liberation, and as a punishment for the aid thus given to the British, the Mahratta leader exacted a bond of ten lakhs of rupees from the Bukshee, threatening on refusal to lay waste with fire and sword the whole line of pursuit. But when the discomfited Bukshee appeared before the Regent, he spurned him from his presence, disavowed his act, and sent him back to Holcar to pay the forfeiture as he might.¹ Holcar satisfied himself then with threatening vengeance, and when opportunity permitted, he marched into Haroutf and encamped near the capital. The walls were manned to receive him ; the signal had been prepared which would not have left a single house inhabited in the plains, while the Bhils would simultaneously pour down from the hills on Holcar's supplies or followers. The bond was again presented, and without hesitation disavowed : hostilities appeared inevitable, when the friends of both parties concerted an interview. But Zalim, aware of the perfidy of his foe, declined this, except on his own conditions. These were singular, and will recall to mind another and yet more celebrated meeting. He demanded that they should discuss the terms of peace or war upon the Chumbul, to which Holcar acceded. For this purpose Zalim prepared two boats, each capable of containing about twenty armed men. Having moored his own little bark in the middle of the stream, under the cannon of the city, Holcar, accompanied by his cavalcade, embarked in his boat and rowed to meet him. Carpets were spread, and there these extraordinary men,

¹ If my memory betrays me not, this unfortunate commander, unable to bear his shame, took poison.

with only one eye¹ between them, settled the conditions of peace, and the endearing epithets of 'uncle' and 'nephew' were bandied, with abundant mirth on the peculiarity of their situation; while,—for the fact is beyond a doubt,—each boat was plugged, and men were at hand on the first appearance of treachery to have sent them all to the bottom of the river. But Holcar's necessities were urgent, and a gift of three lakhs of rupees averted such a catastrophe, though he never relinquished the threat of exacting the ten lakhs; and when at length madness overtook him, "the bond of Kaka Zalim Sing" was one of the most frequently repeated ravings of this soldier of fortune, whose whole life was one scene of insanity.

It will readily be conceived, that the labours of his administration were quite sufficient to occupy his attention without intermeddling with his neighbours; yet, in order to give a direct interest in the welfare of Kotah, he became a competitor for the farming of the extensive districts which joined his southern frontier, belonging to Sindia and Holcar. From the former he rented the *punj-mohals*, and from the latter the four important districts of Dig, Perawa, etc., which, when by right of conquest they became British, were given in sovereignty to the Regent. Not satisfied with this hold of self-interest on the two great predatory powers, he had emissaries in the persons of their confidential ministers, who reported every movement; and to "make assurance doubly sure," he had Mahratta pundits of the first talent in his own administration, through whose connections no political measure of their nation escaped his knowledge. As for Meer Khan, he and the Regent were essential to each other. From Kotah the Khan was provided with military stores and supplies of every kind; and when his legions mutinied (a matter of daily occurrence) and threatened him with the *bastinado*, or fastening to a piece of ordnance under a scorching sun, Kotah afforded a place of refuge during a temporary retreat, or ways and means to allay the tumult by paying the arrears. Zalim allotted the castle of Shirgurh for the Khan's family, so that this leader had no anxiety on their account, while he was pursuing his career of rapine in more distant scenes.

Even the Pindarris were conciliated with all the respect and courtesy paid to better men. Many of their leaders held grants of land in Kotah: so essential, indeed, was a good understanding with this body, that when Sindia, in A.D. 1807, entrapped and imprisoned in the dungeons of Gwalior the celebrated Kureem, Zalim not only advanced the large sum required for his ransom, but had the temerity to pledge himself for his future good conduct: an act which somewhat tarnished his reputation for sagacity, but eventually operated as a just punishment on Sindia for his avarice.

The scale of munificence on which the Regent exercised the rites of sanctuary (*sirna*) towards the chiefs of other countries claiming his protection, was disproportioned to the means of the state. The exiled nobles of Marwar and Méwar have held estates in Kotah greater than their sequestered patrimonies. These dazzling acts of beneficence were not lost on a community amongst whom hospitality ranks at the head of the virtues. In these regions, where the strangest anomalies and the most striking contradictions present themselves in politics, such conduct begets no astonishment, and rarely provokes a remonstrance from the state whence

¹ It should be remembered that Zalim was quite blind, and that Holcar had lost the use of one eye.

the suppliant fled. The Regent not only received the refugees, but often reconciled them to their sovereigns. He gloried in the title of 'peace-maker,' and whether his conduct proceeded from motives of benevolence or policy, he was rewarded with the epithet, sufficiently exalted in itself. "They all come to old Zalim with their troubles," he remarked, "as if he could find food for them all from 'his handful of soil'."

To conclude : his defensive was, in its results, the reverse of his offensive policy. Invariable and brilliant success accompanied the one ; defeat, disappointment, and great pecuniary sacrifices, were the constant fruits of the other. Méwar eluded all his arts, and involved Kotah in embarrassments from which she will never recover, while his attempt to take Sheepoor the capital of the Gores, by a *coup de main*, was signally defeated. Had he succeeded in either attempt, and added the resources of these acquisitions to Kotah, doubtless his views would have been still more enlarged. At an early period of his career, an offer was made to him, by the celebrated Pertáp Sing of Jeipoor, to undertake the duties of chief minister of that state : it is vain to speculate on what might have been the result to the state or himself, had he been able to wield her resources, at that time so little impaired.

Let us now view the domestic policy of the Regent ; for which purpose we must again bring forward the pageant prince of Kotah, the Raja Oméd Sing, who was destined never to be extricated from the trammels of a guardianship which, like most offices in the East, was designed to be hereditary : and at the age of threescore and ten, Oméd Sing found himself as much a minor as when his dying father "placed him in the lap" of the Protector Zalim Sing. The line of conduct he pursued towards his sovereign, through half a century's duration, was singularly consistent. The age, the character, the very title of *nanah*, or 'grandsire,' added weight to his authority, and the disposition of the prince seemed little inclined to throw it off. In short, his temperament appeared exactly suited to the views of the Regent, who, while he consulted his wishes in every step, acted entirely from himself. The Maha-Rao was a prince of excellent understanding, and possessed many of those qualities inherent in a Rajpoot. He was fond of the chase, and was the best horseman and marksman in the country ; and the Regent gained such entire ascendancy over him, that it is doubtful whether he was solicitous of change. Besides, there was no appearance of constraint ; and his religious occupations, which increased with his age, went far to wean him from a wish to take a more active share in the duties of government. His penetration, in fact, discovered the inutility of such a desire, and he soon ceased to entertain it ; while in proportion as he yielded, the attentions of the minister increased. If an envoy came from a foreign state, he was introduced to the prince, delivered his credentials to him ; and from him received a reply, but that reply was his minister's. If a foreign noble claimed protection, he received it from the prince ; he was the dispenser of the favours, though he could neither change their nature or amount. Nay, if the Regent's own sons required an addition to their estates, it could only be at the express desire of the Maha-Rao ; and to such a length did the minister carry this deference, that an increase to his personal income required being pressed upon him by the prince. If horses arrived from foreign countries for sale, the best were set aside for the Maha-Rao and his sons. The archives, the seal, and all

the emblems of sovereignty, remained as in times past in the custody of the personal servants of the prince, at the castle, though none durst use them without consent of the Regent. He banished his only son, Madhu Sing, during three years, to the family estate at Nandta, for disrespect to the heir-apparent, Kishore Sing, when training their horses together ; and it was with difficulty that even the entreaty of the Maha-Rao could procure his recall. There are many anecdotes related to evince that habitual deference to everything attached to his sovereign, which, originating in good feeling, greatly aided his policy. The Regent was one day at prayer, in the family temple in the castle, when the younger sons of the Maha-Rao not knowing he was there, entered to perform their devotions. It was the cold season, and the pavement was damp ; he took the quilt which he wore from his shoulders, and spread it for them to stand upon. On their retiring, a servant, deeming the quilt no longer fit to be applied to the Regent's person, was putting it aside ; but, guessing his intention, Zalim eagerly snatched it from him, and re-covering himself, observed it was now of some value, since it was marked with the dust of the feet of his sovereign's children. These are curious anomalies in the mind of a man who had determined on unlimited authority. No usurpation was ever more meek, or yet more absolute ; and it might be affirmed that the prince and the Regent were made for each other and the times in which they lived.

It was to be expected that a man, whose name was long synonymous with wisdom, should show discernment in the choice of his servants. He had the art of attaching them to his interests, of uniting their regard with a submissive respect, and no kindness, no familiarity, ever made them forget the bounds prescribed. But while he generously provided for all their wants, and granted them every indulgence, he knew too well the caprice of human nature to make them independent of himself. He would provide for them, for their relations and their dependents ; his hand was ever bestowing gratuities on festivals, births, marriages, or deaths ; but he never allowed them to accumulate wealth. It is to be remarked that his most confidential servants were either Pat'hans or Mahratta pundits : the first he employed in military posts, the other in the more complicated machinery of politics. He rarely employed his own countrymen ; and the post of Foujdar, now held by Bishen Sing, a Rajpoot of the Suktawut clan, is the exception to the rule. Dulleel Khan and Mehrab Khan were his most faithful and devoted servants and friends. The stupendous fortifications of the capital, with which there is nothing in India to compete, save the walls of Agra, were all executed by the former. By him also was raised that pride of the Regent, the city called after him, Jhalra-patun ;¹ while all the other forts were put into a state which makes Kotah the most defensible territory in India. Such was the affectionate esteem in which Dulleel was held by the Regent, that he used often to say, "he hoped he should not outlive Dulleel Khan." Mehrab Khan was the commander of the infantry, which he maintained in a state of admirable discipline and efficiency ;² they received their *bees roza*, or twenty days' pay, each month, with their arrears at the end of every second year.

¹ *Jhāla-ra-Pātun*, 'the city of the Jhala,' the Regent's tribe.

² Mehrab Khan was the commandant of one division of Zalim's contingent, placed at my disposal, which in eight days took possession of every district of Holcar's adjacent to Harouti, and which afterwards gained so much credit by

CHAPTER X

The Rajpoot states invited to an alliance with the British Government—Zalim Sing the first to accept it—Marquis Hastings sends an agent to his court—Confederation against the Pindarris—The Regent's conduct during the war—Approbation and reward of his services—Peace throughout India—Death of Maharao Oméd Sing—Treaty and supplemental articles—Sons of Maharao Oméd Sing—Their characters—Sons of the Regent—State of parties—The Regent leaves the *Chāoni* for Kotah—He proclaims Kishore Sing as successor of the late prince—His letter to the British agent, who repairs to Kotah—Dangerous illness of the Regent—Plots to overturn the order of succession—The Regent's ignorance thereof—Intricate position of the British Government—Arguments in defence of the supplemental articles—Recognition of all rulers *de facto* the basis of our treaties—Kishore Sing refuses to acknowledge the supplemental articles—Consequences—The Regent blockades the Prince, and demands the surrender of his son Gordhun-das—The Maharao breaks through the blockade—The British agent interposes—Surrender and exile of Gordhun-das—Reconciliation of the Maharao and the Regent—Coronation of the Maharao—Mutual covenants executed—The Regent prohibits *dind* throughout Kotah—Reflections. -

WE now enter upon that period of the Regent's history, when the march of events linked him with the policy of Britain. When in A.D. 1817, the Marquis of Hastings proclaimed war against the Pindarris, who were the very leas of the predatory hordes, which the discomfiture of the greater powers had thrown off, neutrality was not to be endured; and it was announced that all those who were not for us in this grand enterprise, which involved the welfare of all, would be considered against us. The Rajpoot states, alike interested with ourselves in the establishment of settled government, were invited to an alliance offensive and defensive with us, which was to free them for ever from the thralldom of the predatory armies; in return for which, we demanded homage to our power, and a portion of their revenues as the price of protection. The eagle-eye of Zalim saw at once the virtue of compliance, and the grace attendant on its being quickly yielded. Accordingly, his envoy was the first to connect Kotah in the bonds of alliance, which soon united all Rajwarra to Britain. Meanwhile, all India was in arms; two hundred thousand men were embodied, and moving on various points to destroy the germ of rapine for ever. As the first scene of action was expected to be in the countries bordering upon Harouti, the presence of an agent with Zalim Sing appeared indispensable. His instructions were to make available the resources of Kotah to the armies moving round him, and to lessen the field of the enemy's manœuvres, by shutting him out of that country. So efficient were these resources, that in five days after the agent reached the Regent's camp,¹ every pass was a post; and a corps of fifteen hundred men, infantry and cavalry, with four guns, was marched to co-operate with General Sir John Malcolm, who had just crossed the Nerbudda with

the brilliant escalade of the 'Souđi' fortress, when co-operating with General Sir John Malcolm. The *Royals* (*Rāj-Paltan*) were led by Syi Alli, a gallant soldier, but who could not resist joining the cause of the Maharao and legitimacy in the civil war of 1821.

¹ The author of these annals, then assistant Resident at Sindia's court, was deputed by Lord Hastings to the Raj Rana Zalim Sing. He left the residency at Gwalior on the 12th November 1817,* and reached the Regent's camp at Rowtah, about twenty-five miles S.S.E. of Kotah, on the 23rd.

a weak division of the army of the Dekhan, and was marching northward, surrounded by numerous foes and doubtful friends. Throughout that brilliant and eventful period in the history of British India, when every province from the Ganges to the ocean was agitated by warlike demonstrations, the camp of the Regent was the pivot of operations and the focus of intelligence. The part he acted was decided, manly, and consistent ; and if there were moments of vacillation, it was inspired by our own conduct, which created doubts in his mind as to the wisdom of his course. He had seen and felt that the grand principle of politics, expediency, guided all courts and councils, whether Mogul, Mahratta, or British : the disavowal of the alliances formed by Lord Lake, under Marquis Wellesley's administration, proved this to demonstration, and he was too familiar with the history of our power to give more credit than mere politeness required to our boasted renunciation of the rights of anticipated conquest. A smile would play over the features of the orbless politician when the envoy disclaimed all idea of its being a war of aggrandisement. To all such protestations he would say, "Maharaja, I cannot doubt you believe what you say ; but remember what old Zalim tells you ; the day is not distant when only one emblem of power (*ékî sicca*) will be recognised throughout India." This was in A.D. 1817-18 ; and the ten years of life since granted to him must have well illustrated the truth of this remark ; for although no absolute conquest or incorporation of Rajpoot territory has taken place, our system of control, and the establishment of our monopoly within these limits (not then dreamed of by ourselves), has already verified in part his prediction. It were indeed idle to suppose that any protestations could have vanquished the arguments present to a mind which had pondered on every page of the history of our power ; which had witnessed its development, from the battle of Plassy under Clive, to Lake's exploits at the altars of Alexander. He had seen throughout, that the fundamental rule which guides the Rajpoot prince, "obtain land," was one both practically and theoretically understood by viceroys from the west, who appeared to act upon the four grand political principles of the Rajpoot, *shâm, dâm, bed, dind* ; or, persuasion, gifts, stratagem, force ; by which, according to their great lawgiver, kingdoms are obtained and maintained, and all mundane affairs conducted. When, therefore, in order to attain our ends, we expatiated upon the disinterestedness of our views, his co-operation was granted less from a belief in our professions, than upon a dispassionate consideration of the benefits which such alliance would confer upon Kotah, and of its utility in maintaining his family in the position it had so long held in that state. He must have balanced the difficulties he had mastered to maintain that power, against the enemies, internal and external, which had threatened it, and he justly feared both would speedily be sacrificed to the incapacity of his successors. To provide a stay to their feebleness was the motive which induced him to throw himself heart and hand into the alliance we sought ; and of signal benefit did he prove to the cause he espoused. But if we read aright the workings of a mind, which never betrayed its purpose either to friend or foe, we should find that there was a moment wherein, though he did not swerve from the path he had chalked out, or show any equivocation in respect to the pledge he had given, the same spirit which had guided him to the eminence he had acquired, sug-

gested what he might have done at a conjuncture when all India, save Rajpootana, was in arms to overthrow the legions of Britain. All had reason to dread her colossal power, and hatred and revenge actuated our numerous allies to emancipate themselves from a yoke, to which, whether they were bound by friendship or by fear, was alike galling. If there was one master-mind that could have combined and wielded their resources for our overthrow, it was that of Zalim Sing alone. Whether the aspirations of his ambition, far too vast for its little field of action, soared to this height, or were checked by the trammels of nearly eighty winters, we can only conjecture. Once, and once only, the dubious oracle came forth. It was in the very crisis of operations, when three English divisions were gradually closing upon the grand Pindarri horde, under Kureem Khan, in the very heart of his dominions, and his troops, his stores, were all placed at our disposal, he heard that one of these divisions had insulted his town of Barah; then, the ideas which appeared to occupy him burst forth in the ejaculation, "that if twenty years could be taken from his life, Dehli and Dekhan should be one"; and appeared to point to the hidden thoughts of a man whose tongue never spoke but in parables.

There is also no doubt that his most confidential friends and ministers, who were Mahrattas, were adverse to his leaguings with the English, and for a moment he felt a repugnance to breaking the bond which had so long united him with their policy. He could not but enumerate amongst the arguments for its maintenance, his ability to preserve that independence which fifty years had strengthened, and he saw that, with the power to which he was about to be allied, he had no course but unlimited obedience; in short, that his part must now be subordinate. He preferred it, however, for the security it afforded; and as in the course of nature he must soon resign his trust, there was more hope of his power descending to his posterity than if left to discord and faction. But when hostilities advanced against the freebooters, and the more settled governments of the Peshwa, Bhoonsla, Holcar, and Sindia, determined to shake off our yoke, we could urge to him irresistible arguments for a perfect identity of interests. The envoy had only to hint that the right of conquest would leave the districts he rented from Holcar at our disposal; and that as we wanted no territory in Central India for ourselves, we should not forget our friends at the conclusion of hostilities. If ever there were doubts, they were dissipated by this suggestion; and on the grand horde being broken up, it was discovered that the families of its leaders were concealed in his territory. Through his indirect aid we were enabled to secure them, and at once annihilated the strength of the marauders. For all these important services, the sovereignty of the four districts he rented from Holcar was guaranteed to the Regent. The circumstances attending the conveyance of this gift afforded an estimate of Zalim's determination never to relinquish his authority; for, when the *sunrud* was tendered in his own name, he declined it, desiring the insertion of that of "his master, the Maharao." At the time, it appeared an act of disinterested magnanimity, but subsequent acts allowed us to form a more correct appreciation of his motives. The campaign concluded, and the noble commander and his enlightened coadjutor¹ left the seat of war impressed with the conviction of the great

¹ I allude to Mr. Adam, who divided with the noble Marquis the entire merits of that ever memorable period.

services, and the highest respect for the talents, of the veteran politician, while the envoy, who had acted with him during the campaign, was declared the medium of his future political relations.

In March A.D. 1818, profound repose reigned from the Sutlej to the ocean, of which Rajpoot history presented no example. The magic Runes, by which the north-man could "hush the stormy wave," could not be more efficacious than the rod of our power in tranquillising this wide space, which for ages had been the seat of conflict. The *satya yuga*, the golden age of the Hindu, alone afforded a parallel to the calm which had succeeded the eras of tumultuous effervescence.

Thus matters proceeded till November 1819, when the death of the Maharao Oméd Sing engendered new feelings in the claimants to the succession, and placed the Regent in a position from which not even his genius might have extricated him, unaided by the power whose alliance he had so timely obtained. And here it becomes requisite to advert to the terms of this alliance. The treaty¹ was concluded at Dehli, on the 26th of December 1817, by the envoys of the Regent, in the name of his lawful sovereign, the Maharao Oméd Sing, ratified by the contracting parties, and the deeds were interchanged at the Régent's court early in January. To this treaty his sovereign's seal and his own were appended; but no guarantee of the Regent's power was demanded pending the negotiation, nor is he mentioned except in the preamble, and then only as the ministerial agent of the Maharao Oméd Sing, in whose behalf alone the treaty was virtually executed. This excited the surprise of the British representative,² who, in his official despatch detailing the progress and conclusion of the negotiations, intimated that he not only expected such stipulation, but was prepared for admitting it. There was no inadvertence in this omission; the Regent saw no occasion for any guarantee, for the plenary exercise of the powers of sovereign during more than half a century had constituted him, *de facto*, prince of Kotah. Moreover, we may suppose had he felt a desire for such stipulation, that a feeling of pride might have stifled its expression, which by making the choice of ministers dependent on a foreign power would have virtually annulled the independent sovereignty of Kotah. Whatever was the reason of the omission, at a season when his recognition might have had the same formal sanction of all the parties as the other articles of the treaty, it furnished the future opponents of the Regent's power with a strong argument against its maintenance in perpetuity on the death of the Maharao Oméd Sing.

It has been already said, that the treaty was concluded at Dehli in December 1817, and interchanged in January 1818. In March of the same year, two supplemental articles were agreed to at Dehli, and transmitted direct to the Regent, guaranteeing the administration of affairs to his sons and successors for ever.

Having premised so much, let us give a brief notice of the parties, whose future fate was involved in this policy.

The Maharao Oméd Sing had three sons, Kishore Sing, Bishen Sing, and Pirthi Sing. The heir-apparent, who bore a name dear to the recollection of the Haras, was then forty years of age. He was mild in his temper

¹ Copy of this is inserted in Appendix, No. VI.

² C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., then resident at Dehli, now Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart., member of council in Bengal.

and demeanour ; but being brought up in habits of seclusion, he was more conversant with the formulas of his religion, and the sacred epics, than with the affairs of mankind. He was no stranger to the annals of his family, and had sufficient pride and feeling to kindle at the recollection of their glory ; but the natural bent of his mind, reinforced by education, had well fitted him to follow the path of his father, and to leave himself and his country to be governed as best pleased the *nanah saheb*,¹ the Regent.

Bishen Sing was about three years younger ; equally placid in disposition, sensible and sedate, and much attached to the Regent.

Pirthi Sing was under thirty ; a noble specimen of a Hara, eager for action in the only career of a Rajpoot—arms. To him the existing state of things was one of opprobrium and dishonour, and his mind was made up to enfranchise himself and family from the thralldom in which his father had left them, or perish in the attempt. The brothers were attached to each other, and lived in perfect harmony, though suspicions did exist that Bishen Sing's greater docility and forbearance towards the Regent's son and successor, arose from interested, perhaps traitorous, views. Each of them had estates of twenty-five thousand rupees' annual rent, which they managed through their agents.

The Regent had two sons, the elder, Madhú Sing, legitimate ; the younger, Gordhun-das, illegitimate ; but he was regarded with more affection, and endowed with almost equal authority with the declared successor to the regency. Madhú Sing was about forty-six at the period we speak of. A physiognomist would discover in his aspect no feature indicative of genius, though he might detect amidst traits which denoted indolence, a supercilious tone of character, the effect of indulgence. This was fostered in a great degree by the late Maharao, who supported the Regent's son against his own in all their dissensions, even from their infancy, which had increased the natural arrogance developed by power being too early entrusted to him : for when the Regent, as before related, quitted the capital for the camp, Madhú Sing was nominated to the office of Foujdar, the hereditary post of his father, and left as his *locum tenens* at Kotah. This office, which included the command and pay of all the troops, left unlimited funds at his disposal ; and as the checks which restrained every other officer in the state, were inoperative upon his sons, who dared to inform against the future Regent ? Accordingly, he indulged his taste in a manner which engendered dislike to him : his gardens, his horses, his boats, were in a style of extravagance calculated to provoke the envy of the sons of his sovereign ; while his suite eclipsed that of the prince himself. In short, he little regarded the prudent counsel of his father, who, in their metaphorical language, used to express his fears " that when he was a hundred years old " (*i.e.* dead), the fabric which cost a life in rearing would fall to pieces.

Gordhun-das,² the natural son of the Regent, was then about twenty-seven,³ quick, lively, intelligent, and daring. His conduct to his sovereign's

¹ This was the parental epithet always applied to the Regent by Oméd Sing and his sons, who it will be remembered mingled some of the Jhala blood in their veins. *Nānah-saheb*, 'sir grandsire.'

² *Anglicé*, 'the slave of Gord'hun,' one of the names of Crishna, the tutelary divinity of the Regent.

³ Let me again remind the reader, that this was written in 1820-21 ; for many reasons, the phraseology and chronology of the original MS. are retained.

family has been precisely the reverse of his brother's, and in consequence he lived on terms of confidential friendship with them, especially with the heir-apparent and prince, Pirthi Sing, whose disposition corresponded with his own. His father, who viewed this child of his old age with perhaps more affection than his elder brother, bestowed upon him the important office of *Purdhan*, which comprehends the grain-department of the state. It gave him the command of funds, the amount of which endangered the declared succession. The brothers cordially detested each other, and many indignities were cast upon Gordhun-das by Madhú Sing, such as putting him in the guard, which kindled an irreconcilable rancour between them. Almost the only frailty in the character of the Regent was the defective education of his sons: both were left to the indulgence of arrogant pretensions, which ill accorded with the tenor of his own behaviour through life, or the conduct that was demanded of them. Dearly, bitterly, has the Regent repented this error, which in its consequences has thrown the merits of an active and difficult career into the shade, and made him regret that his power was not to die with him.

Such was the state of parties and politics at Kotah in November 1819, when the death of the Maharao developed views that had long been concealed, and that produced the most deplorable results. The Regent was at the *Châoni*, his standing camp at Gagrown, when this event occurred, and he immediately repaired to the capital, to see that the last offices were properly performed, and to proclaim the *án*, or oath of allegiance, and the accession of the Maharao Kishore Sing.

The political agent received the intelligence ¹ on his march from Marwar to Méwar, and immediately addressed his government on the subject, requesting instructions. Meanwhile, after a few days' halt at Oodipoor, he repaired to Kotah to observe the state of parties, whose animosities and expectations were forebodings of a change which menaced the guaranteed order of things. On his arrival, he found the aged Regent, still a stranger to the luxury of a house, encamped a mile beyond the city, with his devoted bands around him; while his son, the heir to his power, continued in his palace in the town. The prince and brothers, as heretofore, resided at the palace in the castle, where they held their *coteries*, of which Gordhun-das and Pirthi Sing were the principals, moulding the new Maharao to their will, and from which the second brother, Bishen Sing, was excluded. Although the late prince had hardly ceased to breathe, before the animosities so long existing between the sons of the Regent burst forth, and threatened "war within the gates"; and although nothing short of the recovery of rights so long in abeyance was determined upon

¹ The following is a translation of the letter written by the Regent, announcing the decease of his master, dated 1st Suffur, A.H. 1235, or November 21st, 1819:—

"Until Sunday, the eve of the 1st Suffur, the health of the Maharao Oméd Sing was perfectly good. About an hour after sunset, he went to worship *Sri Byjnath-jí*. Having made six prostrations, and while performing the seventh, he fainted and remained totally insensible. In this state he was removed to his bed-chamber, when every medical aid was given, but unavailingly; at two in the morning he departed for heaven.

"Such affliction is not reserved even for a foe; but what refuge is there against the decree? You are our friend, and the honour and welfare of those whom the Maharao has left behind are now in your hands. The Maharao Kishore Sing, eldest son of the Maharao deceased, has been placed upon the throne. This is written for the information of friendship."

by the prince ; yet—and it will hardly be believed—these schemes escaped the vigilance of the Regent.

The death of his friend and sovereign, added to care and infirmity, brought on a fit of illness, the result of which was expected to crown the hopes of the parties who were interested in the event ; and when, to their surprise and regret, he recovered, the plans of his prince and natural son were matured, and as notorious as the sun at noon to every person of note but the Regent himself. He was not, indeed, the first aged ruler, however renowned for wisdom, who had been kept in ignorance of the cabals of his family. It required a prophet to announce to David the usurpation of Adonijah ;¹ and the same cause, which kept David ignorant that his son had supplanted him, concealed from the penetrating eye of Zalim Sing the plot which had for its object that his power should perish with him, and that his son Gordhun should supersede the heir to his hereditary staff of office. Strange as it must appear, the British Agent acted the part of Nathan on this occasion, and had to break the intelligence to the man who had swayed for sixty years, with despotic authority, the destinies of Kotah, that his sons were arming against each other, and that his prince was determined that his wand (*churri*) of power should (to speak in their metaphorical style) be consumed in the same pyre with himself whenever the "decree of Bhagwan" went forth.

It was then that the supplemental articles, guaranteeing Madhú Sing in the succession to the regency, proved a stumbling-block in the path of our mediation between parties, the one called on to renounce that dear-bought power, the other determined to regain what time and accident had wrested from him. Had the emergency occurred while the predatory system was predominant, not a whisper would have been raised ; the point in all probability would never have been mooted : it would have been considered as a matter of course, where

"Amurath to Amurath succeeds,"

that the Maharao Kishore should continue the same puppet in the hands of Madhú Sing that his father had been in Zalim's. This would have excited no surprise, nor would such a proceeding have afforded speculation for one hour. Nay, the usurper might have advanced to the ulterior step ; and, like the Frank *maire du palais*, have demanded of the pontiff of Nat'hdwara, as did Pepin of Pope Zacharius, "whether he who had the power, should not also have the title, of king" ;² and the same plenary indulgence would have awaited the first Jhala Raja of Kotah as was granted to the first of the Carlovingian kings ! It, therefore, became a matter of astonishment, especially to the unreflecting, whence arose the general sympathy, amounting to enthusiasm, towards this hitherto disregarded family, not only from chief and peasant, within the bounds of Harouti, and the foreign mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, but from the neighbouring princes and nobles, who had hitherto looked upon the usurpation in silence.

A short explanation will solve what was then enigmatical, even to those

¹ "Nathan spake unto Bathsheba, 'hast thou not heard that Adonijah, the son of Hagitha, does reign, and David our Lord knoweth it not ?'"

² Such was the question propounded, and answered as Pepin expected, regarding the deposal of Childeric, the last of the Merovingian race.

most interested in forming a just opinion. The practice of the moral virtues amongst any portion of civilised society may be uncertain, but there is one invariable estimate or standard of them in theory. The policy of 1817 changed the moral with the political aspect of Rajast'han. If, previous thereto, no voice was raised against usurpation and crime, it was because all hope that their condition could be ameliorated was extinct. But this was to them a *nya samvat*, a 'new era,' a day of universal regeneration. Was the sovereign not to look for the restoration of that power which had been guaranteed by treaty—nor the chiefs to claim the restitution of their estates—nor the peasant to hope for the lands now added to the crown domain ;—and were not all foreign potentates interested in calling for an example of retributive justice for ministerial usurpation, however mildly exercised towards the prince ? With more rational than political argument, they appealed to our high notions of public justice to accomplish these objects. Unhappy position, in which circumstances—nay, paradoxical as it may appear, political gratitude and justice—dictated a contrary course, and marshalled British battalions in line with the retainers of usurpation to combat the lawful sovereign of the country ! The case was one of the most difficult that ever beset our policy in the East, which must always to a certain extent be adapted to the condition of those with whom we come in contact ; and perhaps, on this occasion, no caution or foresight could have averted the effects of this alliance.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the supplemental articles of the treaty of Kotah, which pledged our faith to two parties in a manner which rendered its maintenance towards both an impossibility, produced consequences that shook the confidence of the people of Rajwarra in our political rectitude. They established two pageants instead of one, whose co-existence would have been miraculous : still, as a measure ought not to be judged entirely by its results, we shall endeavour to assign the true motive and character of the act.

If these articles were not dictated by good policy ; if they cannot be defended on the plea of expediency ; if the omission in the original treaty of December could not be supplied in March, without questioning the want of foresight of the framer ; he might justify them on the ground that they were a concession to feelings of gratitude for important services, rendered at a moment when the fate of our power in India was involved to an extent unprecedented since its origin. To effect a treaty with the Nestor of Rajwarra, was to ensure alliances with the rest of the states, which object was the very essence of Lord Hastings' policy. Thus, on general views, as well as for particular reasons (for the resources of Kotah were absolutely indispensable), the co-operation of the Regent was a measure vitally important. Still it may be urged that as the Regent himself, from whatever motive, had allowed the time to go by when necessity might have compelled us to incorporate such an article in the original treaty, was there no other mode of reimbursing these services besides a guarantee which was an apple of discord ? The war was at an end ; and we might with justice have urged that 'the state of Kotah,' with which we had treated, had, in the destruction of all the powers of anarchy and sharing in its spoils, fully reaped the reward of her services. Such an argument would doubtless have been diplomatically just ; but we were still revelling in the excitement of unparalleled success, to which Zalim had been no

mean contributor, and the future evil was overlooked in the feverish joy of the hour. But if cold expediency may not deem this a sufficient justification, we may find other reasons. When the author of the policy of 1817 had maturely adjusted his plans for the union of all the settled governments in a league against the predatory system, it became necessary to adopt a broad principle with respect to those with whom we had to treat. At such a moment he could not institute a patient investigation into the moral discipline of each state, or demand of those who wielded the power by what tenure they held their authority. It became, therefore, a matter of necessity to recognise those who were the rulers *de facto*, a principle which was publicly promulgated and universally acted upon. Whether we should have been justified in March, when all our wishes had been consummated, in declining a proposal which we would most gladly have submitted to in December, is a question which we shall leave diplomatists to settle,¹ and proceed to relate the result of the measure.

The counsellors of the new Maharao soon expounded to him the terms of the treaty, and urged him to demand its fulfilment according to its literal interpretation. The politic deference, which the Regent had invariably shown to the late prince, was turned skilfully into an offensive weapon against him. They triumphantly appealed to the tenth article of the treaty, "the Maharao, his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country"; and demanded how we could reconcile our subsequent determination to guarantee Madhú Sing and his heirs in the enjoyment of power, which made him *de facto* the prince, and "reduced the *gad* of Kotah to a simple heap of cotton?"—with the fact before our eyes, that the seals of all the contracting parties were to the original treaty, but that of the supplemental articles the late Maharao died in absolute ignorance.

All friendly intercourse between the prince and the Regent, and consequently with Madhú Sing, was soon at an end, and every effort was used whereby the political enfranchisement of the former could be accomplished. The eloquence of angels must have failed to check such hopes, still more to give a contrary interpretation to the simple language of the treaty, to which, with a judicious pertinacity, they confined themselves. It would be useless to detail the various occurrences pending the reference to our Government. The prince would not credit, or affected not to credit, its determination, and founded abundant and not easily-refutable arguments upon its honour and justice. When told that its instructions were, "that no pretensions of the titular Raja can be entertained by us in opposition to our positive engagement with the Regent; that he alone was considered as the head of the Kotah state, and the titular Raja no more deemed the ruler of Kotah, than the Raja of Satarra the leader of the Mahrattas, or the Great Mogul the emperor of Hindustan," the Maharao shut his ears against the representation of the Agent, and professed to regard the person who could compare his case to others so

¹ The overture for these supplementary articles, in all probability, originated not with the Regent, but with the son. Had the author (who was then the medium of the political relations with Kotah) been consulted regarding their tendency, he was as well aware *then as now*, what *he ought* to have advised. Whether his feelings, alike excited by the grand work in which he bore no mean part, would have also clouded his judgment, it were useless to discuss. It is sufficient, in all the spirit of candour, to suggest such reasons as may have led to a measure, the consequences of which have been so deeply lamented.

little parallel to it, as his enemy. While his brother, Pirthi Sing, and Gordhun-das formed part of the council of Kishore Sing, it was impossible to expect that he would be brought to resign himself to his destiny ; and he was speedily given to understand that the removal of both from his councils was indispensable.

But as it was impossible to effect this without escalating the castle, in which operation the prince, in all human probability, might have perished, it was deemed advisable to blockade it and starve them into surrender. When reduced to extremity, the Maharao took the determination of trusting his cause to the country, and placing himself at the head of a band of five hundred horse, chiefly Haras, with the tutelary deity at his saddle-bow, with drums beating and colours flying, he broke through the blockade. Fortunately, no instructions had been given for resistance, and his cavalcade passed on to the southward unmolested. As soon as the movement was reported, the Agent hastened to the Regent's camp, which he found in confusion ; and demanded of the veteran what steps he had taken, or meant to take, to prevent the infection spreading. His conduct, at such a crisis, was most embarrassing. Beset by scruples, real or affected, the Agent could only obtain ill-timed if not spurious declarations of loyalty ; " that he would cling to his sovereign's skirts, and *chakri kar* (serve him) ; that he would rather retire to Nat'hdwara, than *blacken his face* by any treason towards his master." Rejoiced at the mere hint of a sentiment which afforded the least presage of the only mode of cutting the Gordian knot of our policy, the Agent eagerly replied, " there was no earthly bar to his determination, which he had only to signify " ; but abhorring duplicity and cant at such a moment, when action of the most decisive kind was required, and apprehensive of the consequences of five hundred unquiet spirits being thrown loose on a society so lately disorganised, he hastily bid the veteran adieu, and galloped to overtake the prince's cavalcade. He found it bivouacked at the *Rungbári*, a country-seat six miles south of the capital. His followers and their horses, intermingled, were scattered in groups outside the garden-wall ; and the prince, his chiefs, and advisers, were in the palace, deliberating on their future operations. There was no time for ceremony ; and he reached the assembly before he could be announced. The rules of etiquette and courtesy were not lost even amidst impending strife ; though the greeting was short, a warm expostulation with the prince and the chiefs was delivered with rapidity ; and the latter were warned that their position placed them in direct enmity to the British Government, and that, without being enabled to benefit their sovereign, they involved themselves in destruction. The courtesy which these brave men had a right to was changed into bitter reproof, as the Agent turned to Gordhund-das, whom he styled a traitor to his father, and from whom his prince could expect no good, guided as he was solely by interested motives, and warned him that punishment of no common kind awaited him. His hand was on his sword in an instant ; but the action being met by a smile of contempt, and his insolent replies passing unheeded, the Agent, turning to the prince, implored him to reflect before the door would be closed to accommodation ; pledging himself, at the same time, to everything that reason and his position could demand, except the surrender of the power of the Regent, which our public faith compelled us to maintain ;

and that the prince's dignity, comforts, and happiness, should be sedulously consulted. While he was wavering, the Agent called aloud, "The prince's horse!" and taking his arm, Kishore Sing suffered himself to be led to it, observing as he mounted, "I rely implicitly on your friendship." His brother, Pirthi Sing, spoke; the chiefs maintained silence; and the impetuosity of Gordhun and one or two of the *coterie* was unheeded. The Agent rode side by side with the prince, surrounded by his bands, in perfect silence, and in this way they re-entered the castle, nor did the Agent quit him till he replaced him on his *gadi*, when he reiterated his expressions of desire for his welfare, but urged the necessity of his adapting his conduct to the imperious circumstances of his position; and intimated that both his brother and Gordhun-das must be removed from his person, the latter altogether from Harouti. This was in the middle of May; and in June, after the public deportation of Gordhun-das as a state-criminal to Dehli, and ample provision being made for the prince and every member of his family, a public reconciliation took place between him and the Regent.

The meeting partook of the nature of a festival, and produced a spontaneous rejoicing, the populace, with the loudest acclamations, crowding every avenue to the palace by which the Regent and his son were to pass. The venerable Zalim appeared like their patriarch; the princes as disobedient children suing for forgiveness. They advanced bending to embrace his knees, whilst he, vainly attempting to restrain this reverential salutation to his age and to habit, endeavoured by the same lowly action to show his respect to his sovereign. Expressions, in keeping with such forms of affection and respect, from the Maharao, of honour and fidelity from the 'guardian of his father' and himself, were exchanged with all the fervour of apparent sincerity. Anomalous condition of human affairs! strange perversity, which prevented this momentary illusion from becoming a permanent reality!

This much-desired reconciliation was followed on the 8th of Sawun, or 17th August A.D. 1820, by the solemnities of a public installation of the Maharao on the *gadi* of his ancestors: a pageantry which smoothed all asperities for the time, and, in giving scope to the munificence of the Regent, afforded to the mass, who judge only by the surface of things, a theme for approbation. We leave for another place¹ the details of this spectacle; merely observing that the representative of the British Government was the first (following the priest) to make the *tika*, or unction of sovereignty² on the forehead of the prince; and having tied on the jewels, consisting of aigrette, necklace, and bracelets, he girded on, amidst salutes of ordnance, the sword of investiture. The Maharao, with an appropriate speech, presented one hundred and one gold mohurs, as the *muzzur* or fine of relief, professing his homage to the British Government. At the same time, a *khelat*, or dress of honour, was presented, in the name of the Governor-General of India, to the Regent, for which he made a suitable acknowledgment, and a *muzzur* of twenty-five gold mohurs.

Madhú Sing then fulfilled the functions of hereditary Foudjar, making

¹ The details of this ceremony will be given in the Personal Narrative.

² "Anointing" appears to have been, in all ages, the mode of installation. The unguent on this occasion is of sandalwood and *utr* of roses made into a paste, or very thick ointment, of which a little is placed upon the forehead with the middle finger of the right hand.

the *lika*, girding on the sword, and presenting the gift of accession, which was returned by the Maharao presenting to Madhú Sing the *khelat* of ultimate succession to the regency: the grand difficulty to overcome, and which originated all these differences. The Agent remained an entire month after the ceremony, to strengthen the good feeling thus begun; to adapt the Maharao's mind to the position in which an imperious destiny had placed him; and also to impress on the successor to the regency the dangerous responsibility of the trust which a solemn treaty had guaranteed, if by his supineness, want of feeling, or misconduct, it were violated. On the 4th September, previous to leaving Kotah, the Agent was present at another meeting of all the parties, when there was as much appearance of cordiality manifested as could be expected in so difficult a predicament. The old Regent, the Maharao, and Madhú Sing, joined hands in reciprocal forgiveness of the past, each uttering a solemn asseveration that he would cultivate harmony for the future.

It was on this occasion that the Regent performed two deliberate acts, which appear suitable accompaniments to the close of his political life, both as respects his prince and his subjects. He had prepared a covenant of surety for his old and faithful servants after his death, demanding the Maharao's, his son Madhú Sing's, and the Agent's signatures thereto, stipulating that "if his successor did not choose to employ their services, they should be free agents, be called to no account for the past, but be permitted to reside wherever they pleased." The Maharao and Madhú Sing having signed the deed, the British agent, at the desire of the Regent, placed his signature as a guarantee for its execution. In this act, we not only have proof that to the last the Regent maintained the supremacy of his master, but evidence of the fears he entertained respecting the conduct of his successor.

The other act was a brilliant victory over the most inveterate habits of his age and country,—the revocation of *dind*, or forced contributions, throughout the dominion of Kotah. This spontaneous abolition of a practice so deeply rooted in Rajast'han, is another proof of the keen penetration of the Regent, and of his desire to conciliate the opinions of the protecting power, as to the duties of princes towards their subjects; duties regarding which, as he said, "theoretically *we* are not ignorant"; and on which he has often forcibly descanted before his son, whilst laying down rules of conduct when he should be no more. At such moments, he entered fully and with energy into his own conduct; condemning it; pointing out its inevitable results, and the benefits he had observed to attend an opposite course of action. "My word, son, was not worth a copper," he would say; "but now nobody would refuse anything to old Zalim." It was, therefore, as much from a conviction of the benefit to himself and the state which would attend the renunciation of this tax, as with a view of courting golden opinion, that he commanded a stone to be raised in the chief town of every district of his country, on which was inscribed the edict of perpetual abolition of *dind*, with the denunciation of eternal vengeance on whoever should revoke it. The effigies of the sun, the moon, the cow, and the hog, animals revered or execrated by all classes, were carved in relief, to attest the imprecation.

Such was the pacific termination of a contest for authority, which threatened to deluge Kotah with blood. Whether we had a right to hope

that such high and natural pretensions could rest satisfied with the measures of conciliation and concession that were pursued, the sequel will disclose to those who judge only by results.

CHAPTER XI

Banishment of Gordhun-das, the natural son of the Regent—His reappearance in Malwa—Consequent renewal of dissensions at Kotah—The troops mutiny and join the Maharao—The Regent assaults the castle—Flight of the Maharao and party—Reception at Boondi—The Maharao's second brother joins the Regent—Gordhun-das' attempt to join the Maharao frustrated—The Maharao leaves Boondi—General sympathy for him—He arrives at Bindrabun—Intrigues of Gordhun-das and superior native officers of the British Government, who deceive the Maharao—Returns to Kotah at the head of a force—Summons the Haras to his standard—His demands—Supplemental article of the treaty considered—Embarrassing conduct of the Regent—The Maharao refuses all mediation—His ultimatum—British troops march—Junction with the Regent—Attack the Maharao—His defeat and flight—Death of his brother Pirthi Sing—Singular combat—Amnesty proclaimed—The Hara chiefs return to their families—The Maharao retires to the temple of Crishna in Méwar—Negotiation for his return—Satisfactory termination—Reflections on these civil wars—Character and death of Zalim Sing.

THE sole measure of severity which arose out of these commotions was exercised on the natural son of the Regent, who was banished in the face of open day from the scene of his turbulent intrigue. Gordhun-das, or, as his father styled him, "Gordun-ji," was the 'child of love' and of his old age, and to his mother the Regent, it is said, felt the most ardent attachment. The perpetual banishment of this firebrand was essential to tranquillity; yet, notwithstanding his misdeeds, political and filial, it was feared that the sentiments of the Jewish monarch, rather than the sternness of the Roman father, would have influenced the Rajpoot Regent, whose bearing, when the sentence of condemnation was enforced, was to be regarded as the test of a suspicion that the Maharao had been goaded to his course through this channel by ulterior views which he dared not openly promulgate. But Zalim's fiat was worthy of a Roman, and sufficed to annihilate suspicion—"Let the air of Harouti never more be tainted by his presence." Dehli and Allahabad were the cities fixed upon, from which he was to select his future residence, and unfortunately the first was chosen. Here he resided with his family upon a pension sufficiently liberal, and had a range abundantly excursive for exercise, attended by some horsemen furnished by the British local authority.

About the close of 1821, permission was imprudently granted to the exile to visit Malwa, to fulfil a marriage-contract with an illegitimate daughter of the chieftain of Jabboa. Scarcely had he set his foot in that town, when symptoms of impatience, in lieu of perfect tranquillity, began to be visible at Kotah, and a correspondence both there and at Boondi was hardly detected, before a spirit of revolt was reported to have infected the tried veterans of the Regent. Syef Alli, the commander of the 'royals' (*Raj Pullun*), an officer of thirty years' standing, distinguished for his zeal, fidelity, and gallantry, was named as having been gained over to the cause

of his nominal sovereign. This was looked upon as a slander ; but too wise entirely to disregard it, the Regent interposed a force between the disaffected battalion and the castle, which brought the matter to issue. The Maharao immediately proceeded by water, and conveyed Syef Alli and a part of his battalion to the palace ; which was no sooner reported, than the blind Regent put himself into his litter, and headed a force with which he attacked the remainder, while two twenty-four pounders, mounted on a cavalier, which commanded not only every portion of the city, but the country on both sides the Chumbul, played upon the castle. In the midst of this firing (probably unexpected), the Maharao, his brother Pirthi Sing, and their adherents, took to boat, crossed the river, and retired to Boondí, while the remainder of the mutinous 'royals' laid down their arms. By this energetic conduct, the new attempt upon his power was dissolved as soon as formed, and the *gadí* of the Haras was abandoned. Bishen Sing escaped from his brothers in the midst of the fray, and joined the Regent, whose views regarding him, in this crisis, however indirectly manifested, could not be mistaken ; but our system of making and unmaking kings in these distant regions, though it may have enlarged our power, had not added to our reputation ; and the Agent had the most rooted repugnance to sanction the system in the new range of our alliances, however it might have tended to allay the discord which prevailed, or to free the paramount power from the embarrassment in which its diplomatic relations had placed it, and from whence there was no escape without incurring the too just reproach of violating the conditions we had imposed. Common decency forbade our urging the only plea we could in forming the treaty, namely, our considering the prince as a mere phantom ; and if we had been bold enough to do so, the reply would have been the same : " Why did you treat with a phantom ? " while he would have persisted in the literal interpretation of the bond.

There was but one way to deal with the perplexity—to fulfil the spirit of the treaty, by which public peace would be ensured. Instructions were sent to the prince of Boondí, that there was no restraint upon his performing the rites of hospitality and kindred to the fugitive princes, but that he would be personally responsible if he permitted them to congregate troops for the purpose of hostility against the Regent : while, at the same time, the commander of the British troops at Neemuch was desired to interpose a light corps on the line of Jabboa and Boondí, and to capture Gordhun-das, dead or alive, if he attempted to join the Maharao. He, however, contrived, through the intricacies of the plateau, to elude the well-arranged plan ; but finding that the prince of Boondí had the same determination, he made direct for Marwar, where being also denied an asylum, he had no alternative but to return to Dehli, and to a more strict *surveillance*. This, however, may have been concerted ; for soon after, the Maharao broke ground from Boondí, giving out a pilgrimage to Bindrabun ; and it was hoped that the tranquillity and repose he would find amidst the fanes of his tutelary deity, Brijnat'h-ji, might tempt a mind prone to religious seclusion, to pass his days there. While he remained at Boondí, public opinion was not at all manifested ; the distance was trifling to Kotah, and being with the head of his race, the act was deemed only one of those hasty ebullitions so common in those countries, and which would be followed by reconciliation. But as soon as the prince

moved northward, expectation being excited that his cause would meet attention elsewhere, he had letters of sympathy and condolence from every chief of the country, and the customary attentions to sovereignty were paid by those through whose states he passed, with the sole exception of that most contiguous to our provinces, Bhurtpore. The prince of this celebrated place sent a deputation to the frontier, excusing himself on account of his age and blindness ; but the Hara prince, knowing what was due from a Jat zemindar, however favoured by the accessions of fortune, repelled with disdain both his gifts and his mission. For this haughty, though not unbecoming maintenance of precedent, the Maharao was warned off the bounds of Bhurtpore. Having remained some time among the "groves of Vrija," there was reason to believe that the canticles of Jydeva had rendered an earthly crown a mere bauble in the eyes of the abdicated Hara, and that the mystical effusions of Kaniya and Radha had eradicated all remembrance of the rhapsodies of Chund, and the glories of the Chohan : he was accordingly left at discretion to wander where he listed. As it was predicted, he soon felt the difference between his past and present mode of life, surrounded by a needy crew in a strange land ; and towards the middle of April he had reached Muttra, on his return from Bindrabun to Kotah. But his evil genius, in the shape of Gordhun-das, had destined this should not be ; and notwithstanding the rigorous *surveillance*, or, in fact, imprisonment, which had been enjoined, this person found an opportunity to carry on cabals with natives of high rank and office.

Intrigues multiplied, and false hopes were inspired through these impure channels, which were converted by his corrupt emissaries into fountain-heads of political control, superseding the only authorised medium of communication between the misguided prince and the paramount power. Accordingly, having collected additional troops about him, he commenced his march to Harouti, giving out to the chiefs through whose dominions he passed, that he was returning by the consent of the paramount power for the resumption of all his sovereign rights, so long in abeyance. Men with badges in his train, belonging to the persons alluded to, and an agent from the native treasurer of Delhi, who supplied the prince with funds, gave a colour of truth which deceived the country, and produced ardent expressions of desire for his success. As he proceeded, this force increased, and he reached the Chumbul, towards the close of the monsoon 1821, with about three thousand men. Having crossed the river, he issued his summons in a language neither to be misunderstood nor disobeyed by a Rajpoot ; he conjured them by their allegiance to join his cause, "that of seeking justice according to the treaty" : and the call was obeyed by every Hara of the country. His conduct afforded the most powerful illustration of the Rajpoot's theory of fidelity, for even those closely connected by ties of blood and by every species of benefit, withdrew from the Regent, to whom they owed everything, in order to join their hereditary and lawful prince, whom some had never seen, and of whom they knew nothing. Negotiation, and expostulation the most solemn and earnest on the personal dangers he was incurring, were carried on, and even public tranquillity was hazarded, rather than have recourse to the last argument, which was the less necessary, as universal peace reigned around us, and the means of quelling revolt were at hand. An entire month was

thus consumed : but the ultimatum ¹ left no means of putting a stop to increasing disorders but that appeal which from various considerations had been so long delayed.

The tried troops of the Regent could not be depended on ; he confessed it ; and in this confession, what an evidence is afforded of the nature of his rule, and of the homage to immutable justice in all parts of the world ! Every corps, foreign or indigenous, was ready to range on the side of legitimate authority against the hand which had fed and cherished them. So completely did this feeling pervade every part of the political fabric, that the Regent himself said, in his forcible manner, on his escape from the danger, " even the clothes on his back smelt of treason to him." It was hoped that " the wisdom which called aloud (even) in the streets " would not be disregarded by the veteran ; that disgust at such marks of perfidy would make him spurn from him the odium of usurpation, and thus free the paramount power from a situation the most painful and embarrassing.

¹ Letter of Maharao Kishore Sing, accompanying counter-articles, presented to Capt. Tod, dated Asoj bud Panchmee, or 16th September, " Camp Meanoh."

(After compliments.)

Chand Khan has often expressed a desire to know what were my expectations. These had been already sent to you by my vakeels, Mirza Mohumud Aleo Beg, and Lalla Salik Ram. I again send you the Schedule of Articles. According to their purport you will act. Do me justice as the representative of the British Government, and let the master be as master, and the servant as servant ; this is the case everywhere else, and is not hidden from you.

Articles, the fulfilment of which was demanded by Maharao Kishore Sing, and accompanying his letter of 16th September.

1. According to the treaty executed at Dehli, in the time of Maharao Oméd Sing, I will abide.
2. I have every confidence in Nana-ji Zalim Sing ; in like manner as he served Maharao Oméd Sing, so he will serve me. I agree to his administration of affairs ; but between Madhú Sing and myself suspicions and doubts exist ; we can never agree ; therefore, I will give him a jageer ; there let him remain. His son, Bappa Lall, shall remain with me, and in the same way as other ministers conduct state business before their princes, so shall he before me. I, the master, he, the servant ; and if as the servant he acts, it will abide from generation to generation.
3. To the English Government, and other principalities, whatever letters are addressed shall be with my concurrence and advice.
4. Surety for his life, and also for mine, must be guaranteed by the English Government.
5. I shall allot a jageer for Pirthi Sing (the Maharao's brother), at which he will reside. The establishments to reside with him and my brother Bishen Sing shall be of my nomination. Besides, to my kinsmen and clansmen, according to their rank, I shall give jageers, and they shall, according to ancient usage, be in attendance upon me.
6. My personal or *khás* guards, to the amount of three thousand, with Bappa Lall (the Regent's grandson) shall remain in attendance.
7. The amount of the collections of the country shall all be deposited in the *Kishen Bindar* (general treasury), and thence expenditure made.
8. The killedars (commandants) of all the forts shall be appointed by me, and the army shall be under my orders. He (the Regent) may desire the officers of Government to execute his commands, but it shall be with my advice and sanction.

These are the Articles I desire ; they are according to the rules for government (*raj-reet*)—Mithi Asod Panchmee, S. 1878 (1822).

Abundant opportunities were afforded, and hints were given that he alone could cut the knot, which otherwise must be severed by the sword. But all was fruitless : " he stood upon his bond," and the execution of the treaty. The Maharao, his nominal sovereign, took the same ground, and even sent a copy of the treaty to the Agent, tauntingly asking whether it was to be recognised or not ? All this embarrassment would have been avoided, had the supplemental articles been embodied in the original treaty ; then the literal interpretation and its spirit would not have been at variance, nor have afforded a pretext to reproach the paramount power with a breach of faith and justice : charges which cannot in fact be supported, inasmuch as the same contracting parties, who executed the original document, amended it by this supplemental deed. The dispute then resolves itself into a question of expediency, already touched on, namely, whether we might not have provided better for the future, and sought out other modes of reward for services we had acknowledged, than the maintenance of two pageants of sovereignty, both acknowledged, the one *de facto*, the other *de jure*. It was fortunate, however, that the magnitude of the titular prince's pretensions placed him completely in opposition to the other contracting parties, inasmuch as he would not abide by either the spirit or the letter of the treaty or its supplement, in the most modified sense. His demand for " a personal guard of three thousand of his kinsmen, that he might allot estates at pleasure to his chiefs, appoint the governors of fortresses, and be head of the army," was a virtual repudiation of every principle of the alliance ; while the succession to the administrative powers of the state, secured to the issue of the Regent, was made to depend on his pleasure : rather a frail tenure whether in Europe or Rajpootana.

Everything that could be done to withdraw the infatuated prince from the knot of evil advisers and fiery spirits who daily flocked to his standard, carrying with them their own and their ancestors' wrongs, being ineffectual and hopeless, the troops which had been called upon to maintain the treaty moved forward in combination with the army of the Regent. As the force reached the Caly Sind, which alone divided the rivals for power, torrents of rain, which during several days swelled it to an impassable flood, afforded more time to try all that friendship or prudence could urge to save the Maharao from the impending ruin. But all was vain ; he saw the storm, and invited its approach with mingled resolution and despair, proclaiming the most submissive obedience to the paramount power, and avowing a conviction of the good intentions and friendship of its representative ; but to every remonstrance he replied, " what was life without honour ; what was a sovereign without authority ? Death, or the full sovereignty of his ancestors ! "

The conduct of the Regent was not less perplexing than that of the prince ; for while he affected still to talk of fealty, " to preserve his white beard from stain," he placed before him the ample shield of the treaty, although he expected that his power should be maintained without any active measures on his own part for its defence : a degree of irresponsibility not for a moment to be tolerated. It was in vain he hinted at the spirit, more than doubtful, of his army ; that in the moment of conflict they might turn their guns against us ; even this he was told we would hazard : and, it was added, if he desired, at whatever cost, to preserve the power guaranteed to his family, he must act offensively as well as defensively ;

for it would shortly be too late to talk of reconciling fealty with the preservation of his power. The wily Regent desired to have his work done for him ; to have all the benefit which the alliance compelled us to afford, with none of the obloquy it entailed. The Agent had some hope, even at the twelfth hour, that rather than incur the opprobrium of the world, and the penalty denounced against the violation of *swamdherma*, in committing to the chance of battle the lives of all those to whom he was protector, he would draw back and compromise his power ; but the betrayal of his half-formed designs in hypocritical cant adapted only for the multitude, soon dispelled the illusion ; and though there was a strong internal struggle, the love of dominion overcame every scruple.

The combination of the troops was discussed in his presence and that of his officers ; and in order that unity of action might be ensured, a British officer was at his request attached to his force.¹

At daybreak on the 1st of October, the troops moved down to the attack. The Regent's army consisted of eight battalions of infantry, with thirty-two pieces of cannon and fourteen strong *paegas*, or squadrons of horse. Of these, five battalions, with fourteen pieces and ten squadrons, composed the advance ; while the rest formed a reserve with the Regent in person, five hundred yards in the rear. The British troops, consisting of two weak battalions and six squadrons of cavalry, with a light battery of horse-artillery, formed on the right of the Regent's force as it approximated to the Maharao's position. The ground over which the troops moved was an extensive plain, gradually shelving to a small shallow stream, whence it again rose rather abruptly. The Maharao's camp was placed upon a rising ground, a short distance beyond the stream : he left his tents standing, and had disposed his force on the margin of the rivulet. The "Royals," who had deserted their old master, with their leader, Syef Alli, were posted on the left ; the Maharao with the *élite*, a band of full five hundred Hara cavaliers, upon the right, and the interval was filled by a tumultuous rabble. The combined force was permitted to choose its position, within two hundred yards of the foe, without the slightest demonstration of resistance or retreat. The Agent took advantage of the pause to request the British commander to halt the whole line, in order that he might make a last attempt to withdraw the infatuated prince and his devoted followers from the perils that confronted them. He advanced midway between the lines, and offered the same conditions and an amnesty to all ; to conduct and replace the prince on the *gadi* of his ancestors with honour. Yet, notwithstanding ruin stared him in the face, he receded from none of his demands ; he insisted on the *sine quâ non*, and would only re-enter Kotah surrounded by three thousand of his Hara kinsmen. During the quarter of an hour allowed him to deliberate ere the sword should be drawn, movements in position on both sides took place ; the Maharao's chosen band, condensing all their force on the right, opposed the Regent's advance, while the British troops formed so in *echelon* as to enfilade their dense masses.

The time having expired, and not an iota of the pretensions being abated, the signal, as agreed upon, was given, and the action commenced by a discharge of cannon and firearms from the Regent's whole line,

¹ Lieutenant M'Millan, of the 5th Regt. Native Infantry, volunteered for this duty, and performed it as might have been expected from an officer of his gallantry and conduct.

immediately followed by the horse-artillery on the right. With all the gallantry that has ever distinguished the Haras, they acted as at Futtiabad and Dholpoor, and charged the Regent's line, when several were killed at the very muzzle of the guns, and but for the advance of three squadrons of British cavalry, would have turned his left flank, and probably penetrated to the reserve, where the Regent was in person.¹ Defeated in this design, they had no resource but a precipitate retreat from the unequal conflict, and the Maharao, surrounded by a *gole* of about four hundred horse, all Haras, his kinsmen, retired across the stream, and halted on the rising ground about half a mile distant, while his auxiliary foot broke and dispersed in all directions. The British troops rapidly crossed the stream, and while the infantry made a movement to cut off retreat from the south, two squadrons were commanded to charge the Maharao. Determined not to act offensively, even in this emergency he adhered to his resolution, and his band awaited in a dense mass and immovable attitude the troops advancing with rapidity against them, disdaining to fly and yet too proud to yield. A British officer headed each troop; they and those they led had been accustomed to see the foe fly from the shock; but they were Pindarris, not Rajpoots. The band stood like a wall of adamant; our squadrons rebounded from the shock, leaving two brave youths² dead on the spot, and their gallant commander³ was saved by a miracle, being stunned by a blow which drove in his casque, his reins cut, and the arm raised to give the *coup de grâce*, when a pistol-shot from his orderly levelled his assailant. The whole was the work of an instant. True to the determination he expressed, the Maharao, satisfied with repelling the charge, slowly moved off; nor was it till the horse-artillery again closed, and poured round and grape into the dense body, that they quickened their retreat; while, as three fresh squadrons had formed for the charge, they reached the *mukhi* fields, amongst the dense crops of which they were lost.

Pirithi Sing, younger brother of the prince, impelled by that heroic spirit which is the birthright of a Hara, and aware that Harouti could no longer be a home for him while living, determined at least to find a grave in her soil. He returned, with about five-and-twenty followers, to certain destruction, and was found in a field of Indian corn as the line advanced, alive, but grievously wounded. He was placed in a litter, and, escorted by some of Skinner's horse, was conveyed to the camp. Here he was sedulously attended; but medical skill was of no avail, and he died the next day. His demeanour was dignified and manly; he laid the blame upon destiny, expressed no wish for life, and said, looking to the tree near the tent, that "his ghost would be satisfied in contemplating therefrom the fields of his forefathers." His sword and ring had been taken from him by a trooper, but his dagger, pearl necklace, and other valuables, he gave in charge to the Agent, to whom he bequeathed the care of his son, the sole heir to the empty honours of the sovereignty of Kotah.

It was not from any auxiliary soldier that the prince received his death-wound; it was inflicted by a lance, propelled with unerring force from

¹ The Author, who placed himself on the extreme left of the Regent's line, to be a check upon the dubious conduct of his troops, particularly noted this intended movement, which was frustrated only by Major Kennedy's advance.

² Lieutenants Clarke and Read, of the 4th Regt. Light Cavalry.

³ Major (now Lt.-Col.) J. Ridge, C.B.

were exhausted by wounds or by their peculiar situation, these brave defenders fell on the mount, whence they disputed the march of ten battalions of infantry and twenty pieces of cannon.¹ They were Haras ! But Zalim was the cloud which interposed between them and their fortunes ; and to remove it, they courted the destruction which at length overtook them.

The entire devotion which the vassalage of Harouti manifested for the cause of the Maharao, exemplified, as before observed, the nature and extent of *swamdherma* or fealty, which has been described as the essential quality of the Rajpoot character ; while, at the same time, it illustrates the severity of the Regent's yoke. Even the chief who negotiated the treaty could not resist the defection (one of his sons was badly wounded), although he enjoyed estates under the Regent which his hereditary rank did not sanction, besides being connected with him by marriage.

The Maharao gained the Parbutty, which, it is said, he swam over. He had scarcely reached the shore when his horse dropped dead from a grape-shot wound. With about three hundred horse he retired upon Baroda. We had no vengeance to execute ; we could not, therefore, consider the brave men, who abandoned their homes and their families from a principle of honour, in the light of the old enemies of our power, to be pursued and exterminated. They had, it is true, confronted us in the field ; yet only defensively, in a cause at least morally just and seemingly sanctioned by authorities which they could not distrust.

The pretensions so long opposed to the treaty were thus signally and efficiently subdued. The chief instigators of the revolt were for ever removed, one by death, the other by exile ; and the punishment which overtook the deserters from the regular forces of the Regent would check its repetition. Little prepared for the reverse of that day, the chiefs had made no provision against it, and at our word every door in Rajwarra would have been closed against them. But it was not deemed a case for confiscation, or one which should involve in proscription a whole community, impelled to the commission of crime by a variety of circumstances which they could neither resist nor control, and to which the most crafty views had contributed.² The Maharao's camp being left standing, all his correspondence and records fell into our hands, and developed such complicated intrigues, such consummate knavery, that he, and the brave men who suffered from espousing his pretensions, were regarded as entitled to every commiseration.³ As soon, therefore, as the futility of their pretensions was disclosed, by the veil being thus rudely torn from their eyes, they manifested a determination to submit. The Regent was instructed to grant a complete amnesty, and to announce to the chiefs that

¹ Lieut. (now Captain) M'Millan and the Author were the only officers, I believe, who witnessed this singular scene.

² In a letter, addressed by some of the principal chiefs to the Regent, through the Agent, they did not hesitate to say they had been guided in the course they adopted of obeying the summons of the Maharao, *by instructions of his confidential minister.*

³ The native treasurer at Dehli, who conducted these intrigues, after a strict investigation was dismissed from his office ; and the same fate was awarded to the chief *moonshi* of the Persian secretary's office at the seat of government. Regular treaties and bonds were found in the camp of the Maharao, which afforded abundant condemnatory evidence against these confidential officers, who mainly produced the catastrophe we have to record, and rendered nugatory the most strenuous efforts to save the misguided prince and his brave brethren.

they might repair to their homes without a question being put to them. In a few weeks, all was tranquillity and peace ; the chiefs and vassals returned to their families, who blessed the power which tempered punishment with clemency.¹

The Maharao continued his course to Nat'hdwara in Méwar, proving that the sentiment of religious abstraction alone can take the place of ambition. The individuals who, for their own base purposes, had by misrepresentation and guile guided him to ruin, now deserted him ; the film fell from his eyes, and he saw, though too late, the only position in which he could exist. In a very short time, every pretension inimical to

¹ The Author, who had to perform the painful duty related in this detailed transaction, was alternately aided and embarrassed by his knowledge of the past history of the Haras, and the mutual relations of all its discordant elements. Perhaps, entire ignorance would have been better—a bare knowledge of the treaty, and the expediency of a rigid adherence thereto, unbiassed by sympathy, or notions of abstract justice, which has too little in common with diplomacy. But without overlooking the colder dictates of duty, he determined that the ægis of Britain should not be a shield of oppression, and that the remains of Hara independence, which either policy or fear had compelled the Regent to respect, should not thereby be destroyed ; and he assumed the responsibility, a few days after the action, of proclaiming a general amnesty to the chiefs, and an invitation to each to return to his dwelling. He told the Regent that any proceeding which might render this clemency nugatory, would not fail to dissatisfy the Government. All instantly availed themselves of the permission ; and in every point of view, morally and physically, the result was most satisfactory, and it acted as a panacea for the wounds our public faith compelled us to inflict. Even in the midst of their compulsory inflection, he had many sources of gratulation : and of these he will give an anecdote illustrative of Rajpoot character. In 1807, when the Author, then commencing his career, was wandering alone through their country, surveying their geography, and collecting scraps of their statistics, he left Sindia battering Rathgurrh, and with a slender guard proceeded through the wilds of Chanderl, and thence direct westwards, to trace the course of all the rivers lying between the Betwa and the Chumbul. In passing through Haroutl, leaving his tent standing at Barah, he had advanced with the perambulator as far as the Caly-Sind, a distance of seventeen miles ; and, leaving his people to follow at leisure, was returning home unattended at a brisk canter, when, as he passed through the town of Bamolia, a party rushed out and made him captive, saying that he must visit the chief. Although much fatigued, it would have been folly to refuse. He obeyed, and was conveyed to a square, in the centre of which was an elevated *chabootra* or platform, shaded by the sacred tree. Here, sitting on carpets, was the chief with his little court. The Author was received most courteously. The first act was to disembarass him of his boots ; but this, heated as he was, they could not effect : refreshments were then put before him, and a Brahmin brought water, with a ewer and basin, for his ablutions. Although he was then but an indifferent linguist, and their *patois* scarcely intelligible to him, he passed a very happy hour, in which conversation never flagged. The square was soon filled, and many a pair of fine black eyes smiled courteously upon the stranger—for the females, to his surprise, looked abroad without any fear of censure ; though he was ignorant of their sphere in life. The Author's horse was lame, which the chief had noticed ; and on rising to go, he found one ready caparisoned for him, which, however, he would not accept. On reaching his tent the Author sent several little articles as tokens of regard. Fourteen years after this, the day following the action at Mangrole, he received a letter by a messenger from the mother of the chief of Bamolia, who sent her blessing, and invoked him, by past friendship and recollections, to protect her son, whose honour had made him join the standard of his sovereign. The Author had the satisfaction of replying that her son would be with her nearly as soon as the bearer of the letter. The Bamolia chief, it will be recollected, was the descendant of the chief of Athoon, one of the great opponents of the Regent at the opening of his career.

the spirit and letter of the treaty, original and supplemental, was relinquished ; when, with the Regent's concurrence, a note was transmitted to him, containing the basis on which his return to Kotah was practicable. A transcript with his acceptance being received, a formal deed was drawn up, executed by the Agent and attested by the Regent, not only defining the precise position of both parties, but establishing a barrier between the titular and executive authorities, which must for ever prevent all collision of interests : nothing was left to chance or cavil. The grand object was to provide for the safety, comfort, and dignity of the prince, and this was done on a scale of profuse liberality ; far beyond what his father, or indeed any prince of Kotah had enjoyed, and incommensurate with the revenue of the state, of which it is about the twentieth portion. The amount equals the household expenditure of the Rana of Oodipoor, the avowed head of the whole Rajpoot race, but which can be better afforded from the flourishing revenues of Kotah than the slowly improving finances of Méwar.

These preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted, it became important to inspire this misguided prince with a confidence that his welfare would be as anxiously watched as the stipulations of the treaty whose infringement had cost him so much misery. He had too much reason to plead personal alarm as one of the causes of his past conduct, and which tended greatly to neutralise all the endeavours to serve him. Even on the very day that he was to leave Nat'hdwara, on his return, when after great efforts his mind had been emancipated from distrust, a final and diabolical attempt was made to thwart the measures for his restoration. A mutilated wretch was made to personate his brother Bishen Sing, and to give out that he had been maimed by command of the Regent's son, and the impostor had the audacity to come within a couple of miles of the Maharao ; a slight resemblance to Bishen Sing aided the deceit, which, though promptly exposed, had made the impression for which it was contrived, and it required some skill to remove it. The Rana of Oodipoor no sooner heard of this last effort to defeat all the good intentions in which he co-operated towards the Maharao, to whose sister he was married, than he had the impostor seized and brought to the city, where his story had caused a powerful sensation. His indiscreet indignation for ever destroyed the clue by which the plot might have been unravelled ; for he was led immediately to execution, and all that transpired was, that he was a native of the Jeipoor state, and had been mutilated for some crime. Could the question have been solved, it might have afforded the means of a different termination of these unhappy quarrels, to which they formed a characteristic sequel : intrigue and mistrust combined to inveigle Kishore Sing into attempts which placed him far beyond the reach of reason, and the most zealous exertions to extricate him.

This last scene being over, the Maharao left his retreat at the fane of Kaniya, and marched across the plateau to his paternal domains. On the last day of the year, the Regent, accompanied by the Agent, advanced to reconduct the prince to the capital. The universal demonstration of satisfaction at his return was the most convincing testimony that any other course would have been erroneous. On that day, he once more took possession of the *gadi* which he had twice abandoned, with a resignation free from all asperity, or even embarrassment. Feelings arising out of a mind accustomed to religious meditation, aided while they softened

the bitter monitor, adversity, and together they afforded the best security that any deviation from the new order of things would never proceed from him.

Besides the schedule of the personal expenditure, over which he was supreme, much of the state expense was to be managed under the eye of the sovereign : such as the charities, and gifts on festivals and military ceremonies. The royal insignia used on all great occasions was to remain as heretofore at his residence in the castle, as was the band at the old guardroom over the chief portal of entrance. He was to preside at all the military or other annual festivals, attended by the whole retinue of the state ; and the gifts on such occasions were to be distributed in his name. All the palaces, in and about the city, were at his sole disposal, and funds were set apart for their repairs : the gardens, *rumnas*, or game-preserves, and his personal guards, were also to be entertained and paid by himself. To maintain this arrangement inviolate, an officer of the paramount power was henceforth to reside at Kotah. A handsome stipend was settled on the minor son of the deceased Pirthi Sing ; while, in order to prevent any umbrage to the Maharao, his brother Bishen Sing, whose trimming policy had been offensive to the Maharao, was removed to the family estate at Antah, twenty miles east of the capital, on which occasion an increase was spontaneously made to his jagheer.

The Agent remained an entire month after this, to strengthen the good understanding now introduced. He even effected a reconciliation between the prince and Madhú Sing, when the former, with great tact and candour, took upon himself the blame of all these disturbances : each gave his hand in token of future amity, and the prince spontaneously embraced the man (the Regent's son) to whom he attributed all his misery. But the Maharao's comforts and dignity are now independent of control, and watched over by a guardian who will demand a rigid exaction of every stipulation in his favour. The patriarchal Zalim was, or affected to be, overjoyed at this result, which had threatened to involve them all in the abyss of misery. Bitter was his self-condemnation at the moral blindness of his conduct, which had not foreseen and guarded against the storm ; and severe, as well as merited, was the castigation he inflicted on his successor. " It is for your sins, son, that I am punished," was the conclusion of every such exhortation.

It will be deemed a singular fatality, that this last conspicuous act in the political life of the Regent should have been on the spot which exactly sixty years before witnessed the opening scene of his career : for the field of Butwarro¹ adjoined that of Mangrole. What visions must have chased each other on this last memorable day, when he recalled the remembrance of the former ! when the same sword, which redeemed the independence of Kotah from tributary degradation to Ambér, was now drawn against the grandson of that sovereign who rewarded his services with the first office of the state ! Had some prophetic *Bardai* withdrawn the mantle of *Bháváni*, and disclosed through the vista of threescore years the Regent in the foreground, in all the panóply of ingenuous youth " spreading his carpet " at Butwarro, to review the charge of the Cuchwaha chivalry, and in the distant perspective that same being palsied, blind,

¹ The battle of Butwarro was fought in S. 1817, or A.D. 1761 ; the action at Mangrole, Oct. 1, A.D. 1821.

and decrepit, leading a mingled host, in character and costume altogether strange, against the grandchildren of his prince, and the descendants of those Haras who nobly seconded him to gain this reputation, what effect would such a prospect have produced on one whom the mere hooting of an owl on the house-top had "scared from his propriety" ?

Soon after the satisfactory conclusion of these painful scenes, the Regent returned to the *Châoné*, his fixed camp, and projected a tour of the state, to allay the disorders which had crept in, and to regulate afresh the action of the state-machine, the construction of which had occupied a long life, but which could not fail to be deranged by the complicated views which had arisen amongst those whose business was to work it. Often, amidst these conflicts, did he exclaim, with his great prototype both in prosperity and sorrow, "My kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me." But Zalim had not the same resources in his griefs that Job had ; nor could he with him exclaim, "If my land cry against me, if I have eaten the fruits thereof without money, or caused the owners thereof to lose their lives, let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley."¹ His yet vigorous mind, however, soon restored everything to its wonted prosperity ; and in a few weeks, not a trace was left of the commotions which for a while had totally unhinged society, and threatened to deluge the land with proscription and blood. The prince was reseatd on the throne with far greater comforts about him and more certainty of stability than previous to the treaty ; the nobles took possession of their estates with not a blade of grass removed, and the *gur'h-khélie*, the home-farms of the Regent, lost none of their productiveness : commerce was unscathed, and public opinion, which had dared loudly to question the moral justice of these proceedings, was conciliated by their conclusion. The Regent survived these events five years : his attenuated frame was worn out by a spirit, vigorous to the last pulsation of life, and too strong for the feeble cage which imprisoned it.

If history attempt to sum up, or institute a scrutiny into, the character of this extraordinary man, by what standard must we judge him ? The actions of his life, which have furnished matter for the sketch we have attempted, may satisfy curiosity ; but the materials for a finished portrait he never supplied : the latent springs of those actions remained invisible save to the eye of Omniscience. No human being ever shared the confidence of the *Machiavelli* of Rajast'han, who, from the first dawn of his political existence to its close, when "fourscore years and upwards," could always say, "My secret is my own." This single trait, throughout a troubled career of more than ordinary length, would alone stamp his character with originality. No effervescence of felicity, of success, of sympathy, which occasionally bursts from the most rugged nature, no sudden transition of passion,—joy, grief, hope, even revenge,—could tempt him to betray his purpose. That it was often fathomed, that his "vaulting ambition has o'erleapt itself," and made him lose his object, is no more than may be said of all who have indulged in "that sin by which angels fell" ; yet he never failed through a blind confidence in the instruments of his designs. Though originally sanguine in expectation and fiery in temperament, he subdued these natural defects, and could await with composure the due ripening of his plans : even in the hey-day

¹ Job, chap. xxxi.

of youth he had attained this mastery over himself. To this early discipline of his mind he owed the many escapes from plots against his life, and the difficulties which were perpetually besetting it increased his natural resources. There was no artifice, not absolutely degrading, which he would not condescend to employ : his natural simplicity made humility, when necessary, a plausible disguise ; while his scrupulous attention to all religious observances caused his mere affirmation to be respected. The sobriety of his demeanour gave weight to his opinions and influenced the judgment ; while his invariable urbanity gained the goodwill of his inferiors, and his superiors were won by the delicacy of his flattery, in the application of which he was an adept. To crown the whole, there was a mysterious brevity, an oracular sententiousness, in his conversation, which always left something to the imagination of his auditor, who gave him credit for what he did not, as well as what he did utter. None could better appreciate, or studied more to obtain, the meed of good opinion ; and throughout his lengthened life, until the occurrences just described, he threw over his acts of despotism and vengeance a veil of such consummate art, as to make them lose more than half their deformity. With him it must have been an axiom, that mankind judge superficially ; and in accordance therewith, his first study was to preserve appearances, and never to offend prejudice if avoidable. When he sequestered the states of the Hara feudality, he covered the fields, by them neglected, with crops of corn, and thereby drew a contrast favourable to himself between the effects of sloth and activity. When he usurped the functions of royalty, he threw a bright halo around the orb of its glory, overloading the *gadi* with the trappings of grandeur, aware that—

“ the world is e'er deceived by ornament ” ;

nor did the princes of Kotah ever appear with such magnificence as when he possessed all the attributes of royalty but the name. Every act evinced his deep skill in the knowledge of the human mind and of the elements by which he was surrounded ; he could circumvent the crafty Mahratta, calm or quell the arrogant Rajpoot, and extort the applause even of the Briton, who is little prone to allow merit in an Asiatic. He was a depository of the prejudices and the pride of his countrymen, both in religious and social life ; yet, enigmatical as it must appear, he frequently violated them, though the infraction was so gradual as to be imperceptible except to the few who watched the slow progress of his plans. To such he appeared a compound of the most contradictory elements : lavish and parsimonious, oppressing and protecting ; with one hand bestowing diamond aigrettes, with the other taking the tithe of the anchorite's wallet ; one day sequestering estates and driving into exile the ancient chiefs of the land ; the next receiving with open arms some expatriated noble, and supporting him in dignity and affluence, till the receding tide of human affairs rendered such support no longer requisite.

We have already mentioned his antipathy to the professors of “ the tuneful art ” ; and he was as inveterate as Diocletian to the alchemist, regarding the trade of both as alike useless to society : neither were, therefore, tolerated in Kotah. But the enemies of the Regent assert that it was from no dislike of their merit, but from his having been the dupe of the one, and the object of the other's satire (*vis*). His persecution of

of witches (*dhakun*) was in strict conformity with the injunction in the Pentateuch : "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. chap. xxii. ver. 18). But his ordeal was worse than even death itself : handling balls of hot iron was deemed too slight for such sinners ; for it was well known they had substances which enabled them to do this with impunity. Throwing them into a pond of water was another trial : if they sunk, they were innocent, if they unhappily rose to the surface, the league with the powers of darkness was apparent. A gram-bag of cayenne pepper tied over the head, if it failed to suffocate, afforded another proof of guilt ; though the most humane method, of rubbing the eyes with a well-dried capsicum, was perhaps the most common, and certainly if they could furnish this demonstration of their innocence, by withholding tears, they might justly be deemed witches. These *dhakuns*, like the vampires of the German *bardais*, are supposed to operate upon the *viscera* of their victims, which they destroy by slow degrees with charms and incantations, and hence they are called in Sinde (where, as Abulfazil says, they abound) *Jigger-khor*, or 'liver-devourers.' One look of a *dhakun* suffices to destroy ; but there are few who court the title, at least in Kotah, though old age and eccentricity are sufficient, in conjunction with superstition or bad luck, to fix the stigma upon individuals.

Aware of the danger of relaxing, "to have done," even when eighty-five winters had passed over his head, was never in his thoughts. He knew that a Rajpoot's throne should be the back of his steed ; and when blindness overtook him, and he could no longer lead the chase on horse-back, he was carried in his litter to his grand hunts, which consisted sometimes of several thousand armed men. Besides dissipating the *ennui* of his vassals, he obtained many other objects by an amusement so analogous to their character ; in the unmasked joyousness of the sport, he heard the unreserved opinions of his companions, and gained their affection by thus administering to the favourite pastime of the Rajpoot, whose life is otherwise monotonous. When in the forest, he would sit down, surrounded by thousands, to regale on the game of the day. Camels followed his train, laden with flour, sugar, spices, and huge cauldrons for the use of his sylvan *cuisine* ; and amidst the hilarity of the moment, he would go through the varied routine of government, attend to foreign and commercial policy, the details of his farms or his army, the reports of his police ; nay, in the very heat of the operations, shot flying in all directions, the ancient Regent might be discovered, like our immortal Alfred or St. Louis of the Franks, administering justice under the shade of some spreading peepul tree ; while the day so passed would be closed with religious rites, and the recital of a mythological epic : he found time for all, never appeared hurried, nor could he be taken by surprise. When he could no longer see to sign his own name, he had an autograph facsimile engraved, which was placed in the special care of a confidential officer, to apply when commanded. Even this loss of one sense was with him compensated by another, for long after he was stone-blind, it would have been vain to attempt to impose upon him in the choice of shawls or clothes of any kind, whose fabrics and prices he could determine by the touch ; and it is even asserted that he could in like manner distinguish colours.

If, as has been truly remarked, "that man deserves well of his country who makes a blade of grass grow where none grew before," what merit is

due to him who made the choicest of nature's products flourish where grass *could not* grow ; who covered the bare rock around his capital with soil, and cultivated the exotics of Arabia, Ceylon, and the western Archipelago ; who translated from the Indian Apennines (the mountains of Malabar) the coco-nut and palmyra ; and thus refuted the assertion that these trees could not flourish remote from the influence of a marine atmosphere ? In his gardens were to be found the apples and quinces of Cabul, pomegranates from the famed stock of *Kagla ca bagh* in the desert, oranges of every kind, scions of Agra and Sylhet, the *amba* of Mazagon, and the *chumpha-kéla*, or golden plantain, of the Dekhan, besides the indigenous productions of Rajpootana. Some of the wells for irrigating these gardens cost in blasting the rock thirty thousand rupees each ; he hinted to his friends that they could not do better than follow his example, and a hint always sufficed. He would have obtained a prize from any horticultural society for his improvement of the wild *bér* (*jujube*), which by grafting he increased to the size of a small apple. In chemical science he had gained notoriety ; his *utlrs*, or essential oils of roses, jessamine, *kétki*, and *keurâ*, were far superior to any that could be purchased. There was no occasion to repair to the valley of Cashmere to witness the fabrication of its shawls ; for the looms and the wool of that fairy region were transferred to Kotah, and the Cashmerian weaver plied the shuttle under Zalim's own eye. But, as in the case of his lead-mines, he found that this branch of industry did not return even sixteen anas and a half for the rupee,¹ the minimum profit at which he fixed his remuneration ; so that after satisfying his curiosity, he abandoned the manufacture. His forges for swords and firearms had a high reputation, and his matchlocks rival those of Boondî, both in excellence and elaborate workmanship.

His corps of gladiators, if we may thus designate the *Jâetis*, obtained for him equal credit and disgrace. The funds set apart for this recreation amounted at one time to fifty thousand rupees per annum ; but his wrestlers surpassed in skill and strength those of every other court in Rajwarra, and the most renowned champions of other states were made "to view the heavens,"² if they came to Kotah. But in his younger days, Zalim was not satisfied with the use of mere natural weapons, for occasionally he made his *jâetis* fight with the *bâgnukh*,³ or tiger-claw, when they tore off the flesh from each other. The chivalrous Oméd Sing of Boondî put a stop to this barbarity. Returning from one of his pilgrimages from Dwarica, he passed through Kotah while Zalim and his court were assembled in the *akhara* (arena) where two of these stall-fed prize-fighters were about to contend. The presence of this brave Hara checked the bloody exhibition, and he boldly censured the Regent for squandering on such a worthless crew resources which ought to cherish his Rajpoots. This might have been lost upon the Protector, had not the royal pilgrim, in the fervour of his indignation, thrown down the gauntlet to the entire assembly of *Jâetis*. Putting his shield on the ground, he placed therein,

¹ There are sixteen anas to the rupee or half-crown.

² "*Asmán decláóná*," is the phrase of the '*Fancy*' in these regions, for victory ; when the vanquished is thrown upon his back and kept in that attitude.

³ See an account of this instrument by Colonel Briggs, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii.

one by one, the entire panoply of armour which he habitually wore in his peregrinations, namely, his matchlock and its ponderous accompaniments, sword, daggers, staff, and battleaxe, and challenged any individual to raise it from the ground with a single arm. All tried and failed ; when Srijī, though full sixty years of age, held it out at arm's length during several seconds. The Haras were delighted at the feat of their patriarchal chief ; while the crest-fallen *Jāetis* hung their heads, and from that day lost ground in the favour of the Regent. But these were the follies of his earlier days, not of the later period of his life : he was then like an aged oak, which, though shattered and decayed, had survived the tempest and the desolation which had raged around it.

To conclude : had he imitated Diocletian, and surrendered the *purple*, he would have afforded another instance of the anomalies of the human understanding ; that he did not do so, for the sake of his own fame and that of the controlling power, as well as for the welfare of his prince, must be deeply lamented ; the more especially as his *churri* (rod) has descended to feeble hands. He had enjoyed the essentials of sovereignty during threescore years, a period equal in duration to that of Darius the Mede ; and had overcome difficulties which would have appalled no ordinary minds. He had vanquished all his enemies, external and internal, and all his views as regarded Haroutī were accomplished.

Amongst the motives which might have urged the surrender of his power, stronger perhaps than his desire of reparation with heaven and his prince, was the fear of his successor's inefficiency : but this consideration unhappily was counterbalanced by the precocious talents of his grandson, whom he affectionately loved, and in whom he thought he saw himself renewed. Pride also, that chief ingredient in his character, checked such surrender ; he feared the world would suppose he had relinquished what he could no longer retain ; and ruin would have been preferred to the idea that he had been " driven from his stool." Able and artful ministers flattered the feeling so deeply rooted, and to crown the whole, he was supported by obligations of public faith contracted by a power without a rival. Still, old age, declining health, the desire of repose and of religious retirement, prompted wishes which often escaped his lips ; but counter-acting feelings intruded, and the struggle between the good and evil principle lasted until the moment had passed when abdication would have been honourable. Had he, however, obeyed the impulse, his retreat would have more resembled that of the fifth Charles than of the Roman King. In the shades of Nat'hdwara he would have enjoyed that repose, which Diocletian could not find at Salona ; and imbued with a better philosophy and more knowledge of the human heart, he would have practised what was taught, that " there ought to be no intermediate change between the command of men and the service of God."

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

CHAPTER

Departure from the valley of Oodipoor—Lake of Khyroda—Ancient temple of Mandéswar—Bhartewar—Its Jain temples—Khyroda—Connected with the history of the feuds of Méwar—Exploits of Singram Sing—He obtains Khyroda—Curious predicament of Jey Sing, the adopted heir of Singram—Calmness with which political negotiations are managed in the East—The agricultural economy of Khyroda—Precarious nature of sugar-cultivation—Heentah—Large proportion of land alienated as religious grants—Heentah and Doondia established on church-lands—Mandhata Raja—Traditions of him—Performed the *Aswamedha*—His grant of Mynār to the Rishis—Grant inscribed on a pillar—Exploit of Raj Sing against the Mahrattas—Morwun, boundary of the Méwar territory—Reflections on that state—The author's policy during his official residence there.

OODIPOOR, *January 29, 1820.*—The Personal Narrative attached to the first volume of this work terminated with the author's return to Oodipoor, after a complete circuit of Marwar and Ajmér. He remained at his headquarters at Oodipoor until the 29th January 1820, when circumstances rendering it expedient that he should visit the principalities of Boondí and Kotah (which were placed under his political superintendence), he determined not to neglect the opportunity it afforded of adding to his portfolio remarks on men and manners, in a country hitherto untrodden by Europeans.

Although we had not been a month in the valley of Oodipoor, we were all desirous to avail ourselves of the lovely weather which the cold season of India invariably brings, and which exhilarates the European who has languished through the hot winds, and the still more oppressive monsoon. The thermometer at this time, within the valley, was at the freezing point at break of day, ranging afterwards as high as 90°, whilst the sky was without a cloud, and its splendour at night was dazzling.

KHYRODA.—On the 29th, we broke ground from the heights of Toos, marched fifteen English miles (though estimated at only six and a half coss), and encamped under the embankment of the spacious lake of Khyroda. Our route was over a rich and well-watered plain, but which had long been a stranger to the plough. Three miles from Duboke we crossed our own stream, the Bairis, and at the village of Dorowlee is a small outlet from this river, which runs into a hollow and forms a *jheel*, or lake. There is a highly interesting temple, dedicated to Mandéswar (Síva), on the banks of this stream, the architecture of which attests its antiquity. It is the counterpart in miniature of a celebrated temple, at Chandravati, near Aboo, and verifies the traditional axiom, that the architectural rules of past ages were fixed on immutable principles.

We passed the *serai* of Soorujpoora, a mile to the right, and got entangled in the swampy ground of Bhartewar. This town, which belongs to the chief of Kanor'h, one of the sixteen great barons of Méwar, boasts a high antiquity, and Bhartirri, the elder brother of Vicrama, is its reputed founder. If we place any faith in local tradition, the bells of seven hundred and fifty temples, chiefly of the Jain faith, once sounded within its walls, which were six miles in length ; but few vestiges of them now remain, although there are ruins of some of these shrines which show they were of considerable importance. Within a mile and a half of Khyroda we passed through Khyrsana, a large charity-village belonging to the Brahmins.

Khyroda is a respectable place, having a fortress with double ditches, which can be filled at pleasure from the river. Being situated on the high-road between the ancient and modern capitals, it was always a bone of contention in the civil wars. It was in the hands of Rawut Jey Sing of Lawah, the adopted heir of Singram Suktawut, one of the great leaders in the struggles of the year 1748, an epoch as well known in Méwar as the 1745 of Scotland. Being originally a fiscal possession, and from its position not to be trusted to the hands of any of the feudal chiefs, it was restored to the sovereign ; though it was not without difficulty that the riever of Lawah agreed to sign the constitution of the 4th of May,¹ and relinquish to his sovereign a stronghold which had been purchased with the blood of his kindred.

The history of Khyroda would afford an excellent illustration of the feuds of Méwar. In that between Singram Sing the Suktawut, and Bhiroo Sing Chondawut, both of these chief clans of Méwar lost the best of their defenders. In 1733, Singram, then but a youth (his father, Lalji, Rawut of Seogurh, being yet alive), took Khyroda from his sovereign, and retained it six years. In 1740, the rival clans of Deogurh, Amait, Korabur, etc., under their common head, the chief of Saloombra, and having their acts legalised by the presence of the Depra minister, united to expel the Suktawut. Singram held out four months ; when he hoisted a flag of truce and agreed to capitulate, on condition that he should be permitted to retreat unmolested, with all his followers and effects, to Bheendir, the capital of the Suktawuts. This condition was granted, and the heir of Seogurh was received into Bheendir. Here he commenced his depredations, the adventures attending which are still the topics of numerous tales. In one of his expeditions to the estate of Korabur, he carried off both the cattle and the inhabitants of Goorli. Zalim Sing, the heir of Korabur, came to the rescue, but was laid low by the lance of Singram. To revenge his death, every Chondawut of the country assembled round the banner of Saloombra ; the sovereign himself espoused their cause, and with his mercenary bands of Sindies succeeded in investing Bheendir. During the siege, Urjoon of Korabur, bent on revenge for the loss of his heir, determined to surprise Seogurh, which he effected, and spared neither age nor sex.² Khyroda remained attached to the fisc during several years, when the Rana, with a thoughtlessness which has nourished these feuds, granted it to Sirdar Sing, the Chondawut chief of Bhadaisir. In S. 1746, the Chondawuts were in rebellion and disgrace, and their rivals, under the chief of

¹ See treaty between the Rana and his chiefs, vol. i. p. 171.

² The sequel of this feud has been related, vol. i. p. 349.

Bheendir, assembled their kindred to drive out the Sindie garrison, who held Khyroda for their foe. Urjoon of Korabur, with the Sindie Koli, came to aid the garrison, and an action ensued under the walls, in which Singram slew with his own hand two of the principal subordinates of Korabur, namely, Goman the Sikerwal, and Bheemji Ranawut. Nevertheless, the Chondawuts gained the day, and the Suktawuts again retired on Bheendir. There they received a reinforcement sent by Zalim Sing of Kotah (who fostered all these disputes, trusting that eventually he should be able to snatch the bone of contention from both), and a band of Arabs, and with this aid they returned to the attack. The Chondawuts, who, with the auxiliaries of Sinde, were encamped in the plains of Akolah, willingly accepted the challenge, but were defeated; Sindie Koli, leader of the auxiliaries, was slain, and the force was entirely dispersed. Singram, who headed this and every assault against the rival clan, was wounded in three places; but this he accounted nothing, having thereby obtained the regard of his sovereign, and the expulsion of his rival from Khyroda, which remained attached to the fisc until the year 1758, when, on the payment of a fine of ten thousand rupees, the estate was assigned to him under the royal signature. This was in the year A.D. 1802, from which period until 1818, when we had to mediate between the Rana and his chiefs, Khyroda remained a trophy of the superior courage and tact of the Suktawuts. No wonder that the Rawut Jey Sing of Lawah, the adopted heir of Singram, was averse to renounce Khyroda. He went so far as to man its walls, and forbid any communication with the servants of his sovereign: the slightest provocation would have compelled a siege and assault, in which all the Chondawuts of the country would gladly have joined, and the old feuds might have been revived on the very dawn of disfranchisement from the yoke of the Mahrattas. But what will be thought of this transaction when it is stated that the lord of Khyroda was at this time at court the daily companion of his sovereign! Although the dependents of Jey Sing would have fired on any one of his master's servants who ventured to its walls, and, according to our notions, he was that moment a rebel both to his prince and the paramount protector, not an uncourtly phrase was ever heard, nor could it be discovered that the Rana and the Rawut stood in any other relation than as the gracious sovereign and the loyal subject. These matters are conveniently managed: all the odium of discussion is left to the *kamdars*, or delegates of the prince and the chief, between whom not the least diminution of courteous etiquette would be observable, whilst there remained a hope of adjustment. Asiatics do not count the moments which intervene between the conception and consummation of an undertaking as do those of colder climes. In all their transactions, they preserve more composure, which, whatever be its cause, lends an air of dignity to their proceedings. I have risen from discussion with the respective ministers of the sovereign and chieftains regarding acts involving treason, in order to join the principals in an excursion on the lake, or in the tilt-yard at the palace, where they would be passing their opinions on the points of a horse, with mutual courtesy and affability. This is no unamiable feature in the manners of the East, and tends to strengthen the tie of fraternity which binds together the fabric of Rajpoot policy.

The agricultural economy of Khyroda, which discovers distinct traces of

the patriarchal system, is not without interest. Khyroda is a *tuppa*, or subdivision of one of the greater *khalisa* or fiscal districts of Méwar, and consists of fourteen townships, besides their hamlets. It is rated at 14,500 rupees of yearly rent, of which itself furnishes 3500. The land, though generally of a good quality, is of three classes, namely, *pectul*, or watered from wells; *gorma*, also irrigated land, extending three or four *khaits*, or fields, around the village; and *mar* or *mal*, depending on the heavens alone for moisture. As has been already stated, there are two harvests, namely, the *oonaloo* (from *oon*, 'heat'), or summer-harvest; and the *sálloo* (from *see*, 'cold'), the winter or autumnal. The share of the crown, as in all the ancient Hindu governments, is taken in kind, and divided as follows:—Of the first, or *oonaloo* crop, consisting of wheat, barley, and gram, the produce is formed into *kullas* (piles or heaps) of one hundred maunds each; these are subdivided into four parts, of twenty-five maunds each. The first operation is to provide from one of these the *seerano*, or one seer on each maun, to each individual of the village-establishment: namely, the *patél*, or head-man; the *patwari*, register or accountant; the *shanah*, or watchman; the *bullat*, or messenger and also general herdsman;¹ the *kát'hi* (alias *sootár*) or carpenter; the *lohár*, or blacksmith; the *khomâr*, or potter; the *dhobí*, or washerman; the *chamár*, who is shoemaker, carrier, and scavenger; the *naé*, or barber-surgeon. These ten *seeranos*, or one seer on each *kulla*, or two maunds and a half to each individual, swallow up one of the subdivisions. Of the three remaining parts, one share, or twenty-five maunds, goes to the *raj*, or sovereign, and two to the ryot, or cultivator, after deducting a *seerano* of two maunds for the heir-apparent, which is termed *Kowur-mutka*, or 'pot for the prince.' An innovation of late years has been practised on the portion belonging to the village, from which no less than three *seeranos* of one maund each are deducted, previous to subdivision amongst the ten village officers; namely, one 'pot for the prince,' another for the Rana's chief groom, and a third for his *moodi*, or steward of the grain department. These all go to the government, which thus realises thirty maunds out of each hundred, or *three-tenths*, instead of *one-fourth*, according to ancient-usage. But the village-establishment has an additional advantage before the grain is thrashed out; this is the *kirpah* or sheaf from every *beega* (a third of an acre) of land cultivated, to each individual; and each sheaf is reckoned to yield from five to seven *seers* of grain. The reapers are also allowed small *kirpas* or sheafs, yielding two or three *seers* each; and there were various little larcenies permitted, under the terms of *dantuni* and *chabuni*, indicating they were allowed the use of their teeth (*dant*) while reaping: so that in fact they fed ('*chabna*, to bite or masticate') upon roasted heads of Indian corn and maize.

Of the *sálloo* crop, which consists of *mukhi*, or Indian corn, and *joodr* and *bajrá*, or maize, with the different pulses, the process of distribution is as follows. From every *kulla*, or heap of one hundred maunds, forty are set apart for the *raj* or government, and the rest, after deducting the *seeranos* of the village-establishment, goes to the cultivator.

On the culture of sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, opium, tobacco, *til* or

¹ The *bullat* or *bullaiti* is the shepherd of the community, who drives the village flock to the common pasturage; and, besides his *seerano*, has some trifling reward from every individual. It is his especial duty to prevent cattle-trespasses.

sesamum, and the various dyes, there has always been a fixed money-rent, varying from two to ten rupees per *beega*.

There is nothing so uncertain in its results as the cultivation of sugar-cane, which holds out a powerful lure for dishonesty to the collector for the crown. But it is asserted here that the ryot had no option, being compelled to cultivate, in due proportion, cane, opium, and grain, from the same *chursa* or well. A rough estimate of the expense attending the culture of a *chursa*, or what may be irrigated by one well, may not be uninteresting. Let us take, first, one *beega* of cane, and no more can be watered with one pair of oxen, premising that the cane is planted in the month of Aggun, and reaped in the same month next year; that is, after a whole twelvemonth of labour :—

| | Rupees. |
|---|-----------------|
| Hasil, or rent | 10 |
| Seed of one beega | 20 |
| Gor, or stirring up the earth with spuds, eight times before reaping, sixteen men each time, at two <i>anas</i> to each | 16 |
| Two men at the well, at four rupees each per month, for twelve months | 96 ¹ |
| Two oxen, feeding, etc. | 18 |
| Paring and cutting forty thousand canes, at four <i>anas</i> per thousand | 10 |
| Placing canes in the mill, clothes to the men, besides one seer of sugar out of every maund | 20 |
| Shares of all the village establishment; say, if the beega yields fifty maunds, of which they are entitled to one-fifth | 40 |
| Wood | 2 |
| Hire of boiler | 6 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 238 |
| A beega will yield as much as eighty maunds of sugar, though fifty is esteemed a good crop; it sells at about four rupees per maund, or | 200 |
| | <hr/> |
| Leaving the cultivator minus | 38 |

It will be observed that the grower's whole expenses are charged; besides, to make up, we must calculate from the labour of the same two men and cattle, the produce profit of one *beega* of opium and four *beegas* of wheat and barley, as follows :—

| | Rupees. |
|--|---------|
| Surplus profit on the opium, seven seers of opium, at four rupees per seer | 28 |
| One hundred and fifty maunds of grain, of both harvests, of which one-third to the <i>raj</i> , leaves one hundred maunds, at one rupee each maund | 100 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 128 |
| Deduct deficiency on cane | 38 |
| | <hr/> |
| Profit left, after feeding, men and cattle, etc., etc. | 90 |

Sometimes, though rarely, the cane is sold standing, at four to five rupees the thousand; but, occasionally, the whole crop is lost, if the cane should unfortunately flower, when it is rooted up and burnt, or given to the cattle, being unfit for the use of man. This may be superstition;

¹ This goes to feed the cultivator, if he works himself.

though the cultivators of the cane in the West Indies may perhaps say that the deterioration of the plant would render it not worth the trouble of extracting the juice. I shall here conclude this rough sketch of the agricultural economy of Khyroda, which may be taken as a fair specimen of the old system throughout Méwar, with remarking that, notwithstanding the laws of Menu, inscriptions on stone, and tradition, which constitute in fact the customary law of Rajpootana, make the rent in kind far lighter than what we have just recorded, yet the cultivator could not fail to thrive if even this system were maintained. But constant warfare, the necessities of the prince, with the cupidity and poverty of the revenue officers, have superadded vexatious petty demands, as *khur-lakur* (wood and forage), and *ghur-ginti* (house-tax); the first of which was a tax of one rupee annually on every beega of land in cultivation, and the other the same on each house or hut inhabited. Even the *kaêd sâli*, or triennial fine on the headman and the register, was levied by these again on the cultivators. But besides these regular taxes, there was no end to irregular exactions of *burrar* and *dind*, or forced contributions, until, at length, the country became the scene of desolation from which it is only now emerging.

HEENTAH, *January 30*.—This was a short march of three and a half coss, or nine miles, over the same extensive plain of rich black loam, or *mal*, whence the province of Malwa has its name. We were on horseback long before sunrise; the air was pure and invigorating; the peasantry were smiling at the sight of the luxuriant young crops of wheat, barley, and gram, aware that no ruthless hand could now step between them and the bounties of Heaven. Fresh thatch, or rising walls, gave signs of the exiles' return, who greeted us, at each step of our journey, with blessings and looks of joy mingled with sadness. Passed the hamlet, or *poorwa*, of Amerpoora, attached to Khyroda, and to our left the township of Mynâr, held in *sasun* (religious grant) by a community of Brahmins. This place affords a fine specimen of 'the wisdom of ancestors' in Méwar, where fifty thousand *beegas*, or about sixteen thousand acres of the richest crown land, have been given in perpetuity to these drones of society; and although there are only twenty families left of this holy colony, said to have been planted by Raja Mândhâtâ in the *trêta-yug*, or silver age of India, yet superstition and indolence conspire to prevent the resumption even of those portions which have none to cultivate them. A "sixty thousand years' residence in hell" is undoubtedly no comfortable prospect, and to those who subscribe to the doctrine of transmigration, it must be rather mortifying to pass from the purple of royalty into "a worm in ordure," one of the delicate purgatories which the Rajpoot soul has to undergo, before it can expiate the offence of resuming the lands of the church! I was rejoiced, however, to find that some of 'the sons of Sukta,' as they increased in numbers, in the inverse ratio of their possessions, deemed it better to incur all risks than emigrate to foreign lands in search of *bhom*; and both Heentah and Doondia have been established on the lands of the church. Desirous of preserving every right of every class, I imprecated on my head all the anathemas of the order, if the Rana should resume all beyond what the remnant of this family could require. I proposed that a thousand *beegas* of the best land should be retained by them; that they should not only be furnished with cattle, seed, and implements of agriculture, but that there should be wells cleared out, or fresh ones dug for them. At

this time, however, the astrologer was a member of the cabinet, and being also physician in ordinary, he, as one of the order, protected his brethren of Mynâr, who, as may be supposed, were in vain called upon to produce the *tamba-patra*, or copper-plate warrant, for these lands.

Mandhata Raja, a name immortalised in the topography of these regions, was of the Pramari tribe, and sovereign of Central India, whose capitals were Dhâr and Oojein; and although his period is uncertain, tradition uniformly assigns him priority to Vicramaditya, whose era (fifty-six years anterior to the Christian) prevails throughout India. There are various spots on the Nerbudda which perpetuate his name, especially where that grand stream forms one of its most considerable rapids. Cheetore, with all its dependencies, was but an appanage of the sovereignty of Dhâr in these early times, nor can we move a step without discovering traces of their paramount sway in all these regions: and in the spot over which I am now moving, the antiquary might without any difficulty fill his portfolio. Both Heentah and Doondia, the dependencies of Mynâr, are brought in connection with the name of Mandhata, who performed the grand rite of *aswamedha*, or sacrifice of the horse, at Doondia, where they still point out the *coond*, or 'pit of sacrifice.' Two *Rishis*, or 'holy men,' of Heentah attended Mandhata, who, on the conclusion of the ceremony, presented them the customary *poon*, or 'offering,' which they rejected; but on taking leave, the Raja delicately contrived to introduce into the *beera of pân*, a grant for the lands of Mynâr. The gift, though unsolicited, was fatal to their sanctity, and the miracles which they had hitherto been permitted to form, ceased with the possession of Mammon. Would the reader wish to have an instance of these miracles? After their usual manifold ablutions, and wringing the moisture of their *dhoti*, or garment, they would fling it into the air, where it remained suspended over their head, as a protection against the sun's rays. On the loss of their power, these saints became tillers of the ground. Their descendants hold the lands of Mynâr, and are spread over this tract, named *Burra Chôubeesa*, 'the great twenty-four!'

We also passed in this morning's march the village of Bamuneo, having a noble piece of water maintained by a strong embankment of masonry. No less than four thousand *beegas* are attached. It was fiscal land, but had been usurped during the troubles, and being nearly depopulated, had escaped observation. At this moment it is in the hands of Mooti Pâsbân, the favourite handmaid of "the Sun of the Hindus." This 'Pearl' (*mooti*) pretends to have obtained it as a mortgage, but it would be difficult to show a lawful mortgager. Near the village of Bhansaira, on the estate of Futtah Sing, brother of Bheendir, we passed a *seura* or *sûlâ*, a pillar or land-mark, having a grant of land inscribed thereon with the usual denunciations, attested by an image of the sacred cow, engraved in slight relief, as witness to the intention of the donor.

Heentah was a place of some consequence in the civil wars, and in S. 1808 (A.D. 1752) formed the appanage of one of the *babas*, or infants of the court, of the Mahraja Sawunt Sing. It now belongs to a subordinate Suktawut, and was the subject of considerable discussion in the treaty of resumption of the 4th of May 1818, between the Rana and his chiefs.

It was the scene of a gallant exploit in S. 1812, when ten thousand Mahrattas, led by Sutwa, invaded Méwar. Raj Sing, of the Jhala tribe,

the chief of Sadri, and descendant of the hero who rescued that first of Rajpoot princes, Rana Pertap, had reached the town of Heentah in his passage from court to Sádri, when he received intelligence that the enemy was at Salairo, only three miles distant. He was recommended to make a slight detour and go by Bheendir ; but having no reason for apprehension, he rejected the advice, and proceeded on his way. He had not travelled half a mile, when they fell in with the marauders, who looked upon his small but well-mounted band as legitimate prey. But, in spite of the odds, they preferred death to the surrender of their equipments, and an action ensued, in which the Raj, after performing miracles of valour, regained the fort, with eight only of his three hundred and fifty retainers. The news reaching Khoshial Sing, the chief of Bheendir, who, besides the sufficient motive of *Rajpooti*, or 'chivalry,' was impelled by friendship and matrimonial connection, he assembled a trusty band, and marched to rescue his friend from captivity and his estate from mortgage for his ransom. This little phalanx amounted only to five hundred men, all Suktawuts, and of whom three-fourths were on foot. They advanced in a compact mass, with lighted matches, the cavaliers on either flank, with Khoshial at their head, denouncing death to the man who quitted his ranks, or fired a shot without orders. They were soon surrounded by the cloud of Mahratta horse ; but resolve was too manifest in the intrepid band even for numbers to provoke the strife. They thus passed over the immense plain between Bheendir and Heentah, the gates of which they had almost reached, when, as if ashamed at seeing their prey thus snatched from their grasp, the word was given, "*Birchee de !*" and a forest of Mahratta lances, each twelve feet long, bristled against the Suktawuts. Khoshial called a halt, wheeled his cavaliers to the rear, and allowed the foe to come within pistol-shot, when a well-directed volley checked their impetuosity, and threw them into disorder. The little band of cavalry seized the moment and charged in their turn, gave time to load again, and returned to their post to allow a second volley. The gate was gained, and the Sadri chief received into the ranks of deliverers. Elated with success, the Maharaja promptly determined rather to fight his way back than coop himself up in Heentah, and be starved into surrender ; all seconded the resolution of their chief, and with little comparative loss they regained Bheendir. This exploit is universally known, and related with exultation, as one of the many brilliant deeds of "the sons of Sukta," of whom the Maharaja Khoshial Sing was conspicuous for worth, as well as gallantry.

MORWUN, *January 31*.—The last day of January (with the thermometer 50° at daybreak), brought us to the limits of Méwar. I could not look on its rich alienated lands without the deepest regret, or see the birthright of its chieftains devolve on the mean Mahratta or ruthless Pat'han, without a kindling of the spirit towards the heroes of past days, in spite of the vexations their less worthy descendants occasion me ; less worthy, yet not worthless, for having left my cares behind me with the court, where the stubbornness of some, the vices and intrigues of others, and the apathy of all, have deeply injured my health. There is something magical in absence ; it throws a deceitful medium between us and the objects we have quitted, which exaggerates their amiable qualities, and curtails the proportions of their vices. I look upon Méwar as the land of my adoption, and, linked with all the associations of my early hopes and

their actual realisation, I feel inclined to exclaim with reference to her and her unmanageable children,

“Méwar, with all thy faults, I love thee still.”

The virtues owe an immense debt to the present feudal nobility, not only of Méwar but of Rajpootana, and it is to be hoped that the rising generation will pay to it what has been withheld by the past ; that energy and temperance will supersede opium and the juice of the *mawah*, and riding in the ring, replace the siesta, and the tabor (*tabla*) and lute. I endeavoured to banish some of these incentives to degeneracy ; nor is there a young chieftain, from the heir-apparent to the throne to the aspirant to a skin of land (when opportunity was granted), from whom I have not exacted a promise, never to touch that debasing drug, opium. Some may break this pledge, but many will keep it ; especially those whose minority I protected against court-faction and avarice : such a one as Urjoon Sing, the young chief of Bussie, of the Sangawut branch of the Chondawut clan. His grandfather (for his father was dead) had maintained the old castle and estate, placed on the elevated Oopermâl, against all attempts of the Mahrattas, but had incurred the hatred of Bheem Sing of Saloombra, the head of his clan, who in S. 1846 dispossessed him, and installed a junior branch in the barony of Bussie. But the energetic Tukt Sing regained his lost rights, and maintained them, until civil broils and foreign foes alike disappeared, on their connection with the British in 1818. Then the veteran chief, with his grandson, repaired to court, to unite in the general homage to their prince with the assembled chiefs of Méwar. But poverty and the remembrance of old feuds combined to dispossess the youth, and the amount of fine (ten thousand rupees) had actually been fixed for the installation of the interloper, who was supported by all the influence of the chief of Saloombra. This first noble of Méwar tried to avail himself of my friendship to uphold the cause of his protégé, Burrud Sing, whom he often brought me to visit, as did old Tukta his grandson. Both were of the same age, thirteen ; the aspirant to Bussie, fair and stout, but heavy in his looks ; while the possessor, Urjoon, was spare, dark, and beaming with intelligence. Merit and justice on one side ; stupidity and power on the other. But there were duties to be performed ; and the old Thakoor's appeal was not heard in vain. “*Swamdherma* and this” (putting his hand to his sword), said the aged chief, “have hitherto preserved our rights ; now, the cause of the child is in his sovereign's hands and yours ; but here money buys justice, and right yields to favour.” The Rana, though he had assented to the views of Saloombra, left the case to my adjudication. I called both parties before me, and in their presence, from their respective statements, sketched the genealogical tree, exhibiting in the remote branches the stripling's competitors, which I showed to the Rana. Ever prone to do right when not swayed by faction, he confirmed Urjoon's patent, which he had given him three years previously, and girt him with the sword of investiture. This contest for his birthright was of great advantage to the youth ; for his grandfather was selected to command the quotas for the defence of the frontier fortress of Jehaj-poor, a duty which he well performed ; and his grandson accompanied him and was often left in command while he looked after the estate. Both came to visit me at Cheetore. Urjoon was greatly improved during his

two years' absence from the paternal abode, and promises to do honour to the clan he belongs to. Amongst many questions, I asked "If he had yet taken to his *uml*?" to which he energetically replied, "My fortunes will be *cracked* indeed, if ever I forget any injunction of yours."

But a truce to digression: the whole village *punchâet* has been waiting this half hour under the spreading burr tree, to tell me, in the language of homely truth, *khoosh hyn Compani sahêb ca-pertâp sa*, that "by the auspices of Sir Company they are happy; and that they hope I may live a thousand years."

I must, therefore, suspend my narrative, whilst I patiently listen till midnight to dismal tales of sterile fields, exhausted funds, exiles unreturned, and the depredations of the wild mountain Bhîl.

CHAPTER II

The chief of Heentah—Difficulty of arranging the separation of Heentah from the fisc—Anomalous character of its present chief, Maun Sing Suktawut—His history—Lalji Rawut of Net'harra—Origin of the Dodeah family—Adventure of Singram Sing, the Rana of Mēwar—His son, Chandrabhān, and Rana Raj—Extraordinary manner in which he acquired Lawah—Decline of the family—Form of deed of conveyance of lands from the lord paramount—Address of Maun Sing—Atrocious murder of a Rahtore boy—Its singular sequel.

I was not deceived; it is now midnight, but, late as it is, I will introduce to the reader a few of my visitors. The chief of Heentah, who was absent at his patrimonial estate of Koon, on the hills of Chappun, sent his brother and his *homme d'affaires* to make his compliments to me, and express his regret that he could not offer them personally at Heentah, which he said was "my own township." This was not mere customary civility. Heentah had been taken by the Suktawuts soon after the commencement of the civil wars of S. 1824, which was within the period (A.D. 1766) fixed by the general arrangements of the 4th of May 1818, for restitution; and it was impossible, without departing from the principle on which they were based, that the chief should retain it, though he could plead the prescriptive right of half a century.

The discussions regarding Heentah were consequently very warm: the renunciation of ten valuable townships by the Maharaja Zoorawur Sing of Bheendir, the head of the Suktawut clans, did not annoy the Bheendir chief so much as his failure to retain Heentah as one of his minor feuds: nay, the surrender of Arjah, the price of blood, a far more important castle and domain, by his own brother Futteh Sing (the original acquisition of which sealed the conclusion of a long-standing feud), excited less irritation than the demand that Heentah should revert to the fisc. "It is the key of Bheendir," said the head of the clan. "It was a Suktawut allotment from the first," exclaimed his brother. "The Ranawut was an interloper," cried another. "It is my *bâpotâ*, the abode of my fathers," was the more feeling expression of the occupant. It was no light task to deal with such arguments; especially when an appeal to the dictates of reason and justice was thwarted by the stronger impulse of self-interest.

of Suktawut, Lalji poised his lance in the train of his chief in defence of the throne. Thus passed his life, a chequered course of alternate loyalty and treason, until its tragical close at Seogurh.¹

Singram Sing, the eldest son of Lalji,² with his infant nephews, Jey Sing and Nahur (who was absent), escaped the avenger's sword, under which perished his father, mother, both brothers, and all his own children, at one fell swoop! Singram succeeded to the possession of Seogurh, and to the feuds of his family. His nephew, young Nahur, joined in all his enterprises, from the defence of Khyroda to the escalade and capture of the castle of Lawah, in which he maintained himself until the Rana not only pardoned him, but gave him precedence above his enemies in his own councils.

Lawah was wrested by Singram Sing Suktawut from Singram Sing the Dodeah, an ancient tribe, but like many others little known, until the incident we are about to relate gave it a momentary gleam of splendour, and afforded the bard an opportunity to emblazon its fame upon his page. Even in these regions, so full of strange vicissitudes, the sudden rise of the Dodeah is a favourite topic of the traditional muse of Méwar.

Chandrabhán was the father of this meteor of the day; his sole wealth consisted of a team of oxen, with which he tilled a few beegas of land at the base of *Nahramugra*, the 'tiger mount,' where the Rana had a *rumna* or preserve, for the royal sport of tiger-hunting. It was during the autumnal harvest, when the Dodeah had finished his day's work, having put up the last rick of *muk'hi* (Indian corn), as he was driving home the companions of his toil, a voice hailed him from the wood. He answered, and advanced to the spot whence it issued, where he found a stranger, evidently of rank, with his horse panting for breath. After inquiring his tribe, and being told "Rajpoot," the stranger begged a little water, which was supplied, along with two coarse cakes of *muk'hi*, and a little *chunna-cá-dál*, pulse cooked with *ghee*, or clarified butter, which the honest Dodeah took out of a cloth not over clean. Having performed all the other duties which hospitality requires, the Dodeah made his *salaam*, and was about to depart, when a train of horsemen coming in sight, he paused to look at them. All went up to the stranger; and, from the profound respect paid to him, he found that he had entertained no common guest.

It was in fact his sovereign, the Rana Juggut Sing, who delighted in the chase, and having that day been bewildered in the intricacies of *Nahra-mugra*, had stumbled on the Dodeah carle. The latter expressed neither surprise nor delight when introduced to the Rana, and replied to all his questions with the frankness that grows out of the sentiment of honest pride and independence, which never abandons a Rajpoot, whatever be his condition.³ The Rana was so much pleased with his rustic

¹ See vol. i. p. 350.

² Lalji's issue :

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-----------|---|---------------|
| Singram. | — | Seo Sing. | — | Soortan Sing. |
| His children massacred at Seogurh. | | Jey Sing. | | Nahur Sing. |
| | | | | Maun Sing. |

³ In my days of inexperience, when travelling through countries unknown, and desirous to take the first peasant I found as a guide, I have been amused by

host, that he commanded a led horse to be brought forth, and desired the Dodeah would accompany him to Oodipoor, only ten miles distant. 'The rocket of the moon' (*Chandrabhán*), in his peasant's garb, bestrode the noble charger with as much ease as if it were habitual to him. The next day, the Dodeah was conducted to the Presence, and invested with a dress which had been worn by his sovereign (a distinguished mark of royal favour), accompanied with the more solid reward of the grant of Kowario and its lands in perpetuity.

Chandrabhán and his benefactor died about the same time. Rana Raj had succeeded to the throne of Méwar, and Sirdar Sing, son of Chandrabhán, did personal service for the lands of Kowario. It was a source of daily amusement for the prince and his youthful associates to plunge into the fountain at the *Suhailea-ca-barri*,¹ a villa about two miles from the capital, on which occasions reserve was banished, and they gave themselves up to unrestrained mirth. The young Dodeah had some peculiarities, which made him a butt for their wit. The following incident will show the character of these princely pastimes. It was one day remarked, that when refreshing in the *coond*, or reservoir, Sirdar Sing did not lay aside his turban, which provoked a suspicion that he had no hair. The Rana, impatient to get a peep at the bare head of the son of Chandrabhán, proposed that they should push each other into the water. The sport began, and the Dodeah's turban falling off, disclosed the sad truth. The jest, however, was not relished by Sirdar; and he tartly replied, in answer to his sovereign's question, "what had become of his hair?" that "he had lost it in *his* service, in a former birth, as *chélá*,² by carrying wood upon his head to feed the flame, when his sovereign, as a *jogi*, or ascetic, performed penance (*tapasya*) in the hills of Buddrinath." The prince felt that he had violated decorum; but the reply was pregnant with sarcasm, and his dignity must be maintained. "Sirdar must bring proof of his assertion, or punishment awaits him," was the rejoinder. The young chief, in the same lofty tone, offered the evidence of the *deôta* (divinity) of the temple of Kowario. This was a witness whose testimony could not be impugned, and he had leave to bring it forward.

At the village of Gopalpoor, attached to his estate of Kowario, was a temple of the Bagrawuts, a tribe little known, having a shrine of their divinity, who was personified by an image with a tiger's (*bág*) head. "He invoked his support on this occasion, when the *deôta* threw him the flower³ in his hand, and desired him to carry it to his sovereign." He did so, and the Rana's faith was too great to dispute the miracle. What honours could suffice for the man who had performed the most meritorious service to his prince in former transmigrations! *Mang*, 'ask,' was the sign of grace and favour. Singram's request was governed

his announcing to me, before a question was put, "I am a Rajpoot," as if in anticipation of the demand and a passport to respect; literally, "I am of royal descent": a reflection which lends an air of dignity to all his actions, and distinguishes him from every other class.

¹ 'The nymphs' *parterre*'; for the *barri* is more a flower-garden than one of indiscriminate culture.

² *Chélá* is a phrase which includes servitude or domestic slavery: but implies, at the same time, treatment as a child of the family. Here it denotes that of a servant or disciple.

³ That sculptured from the stone is meant.

by moderation ; it was for Lawah and its lands, which adjoined his estate at Kowario.

The Rana being yet a minor, and the queen-mother at the head of affairs, he hastened to her to be released from the debt of gratitude. But Lawah, unluckily, was held by herself ; and although she was not heretic enough to doubt the miraculous tale, she thought the Dodeah might have selected any other land but hers, and testily replied to her son's request, that " he might give him Méwar if he chose." Displeased at this unaccommodating tone, the prince quickly rejoined, " Méwar shall be his, then." The word of a prince is sacred ; he sent for Singram, and thus addressed him : " I give you Méwar for the space of three days ; make the best use of your time ; my arsenals, my armouries, my treasury, my stables, my throne and its ministers, are at your command." The temporary Rana availed himself of this large power, and conveyed to his estate whatever he had a mind to. During the abdication, Sirdar held his court, though he had too much tact actually to press the cushion of his master ; but seated himself on one side of the vacant throne, attended by all the nobles, fully impressed with the sanctity of the individual who had attained such distinction. On the third day, the queen-mother sent her son the patent for Lawah ; and on the fourth, the Dodeah surrendered the sceptre.

With the wealth thus acquired, he erected a castle in his domain of Lawah, on which he expended nine lakhs of rupees, about £100,000. He formed a lake ; and a single *báori* or reservoir, in the fort, cost another lakh. He built a splendid palace, whose china and mirror-halls are still the theme of encomium. These were greatly defaced by an explosion of a powder-magazine, which threw down half the fortress that had taken twenty years to complete ; and though it underwent considerable repairs, it lost much of its splendour, which the guns of Holcar aided to diminish : but the castle of Lawah is still one of the finest in Méwar. Sirdar Sing had also a grant of one of the royal *mahls* or palaces of Oodipoor, erected on the margin of the lake, after the model of the Jugmunder. Although it now belongs to the chief of Amait, it is only recognised as the *Dodeah-ca-mahl* ; but its halls are the dwelling of the bat and the owl ; the *burr* has taken root in its light, airy porticoes, and its walls have every direction but the perpendicular. Sirdar lived twenty years after the erection of Lawah ; he died in S. 1838 (A.D. 1782), leaving one son, the heir of his honours and estates. Throughout his long life, he lost no portion of the respect paid to his early years ; but with him the name of Dodeah again sunk into obscurity, or lived but as a memento of the instability of fortune. It was this son who, when driven from Lawah by Singram Sing Suktawut, had no place of shelter, and died in indigence and obscurity. His son (grandson of Sirdar, and great-grandson of the 'rocket of the moon') is now patronised by the heir-apparent, Prince Jowan Sing, and receives a daily allowance, but has not a foot of land.

Singram, the Suktawut, had a regular *sumud* for the fief of Lawah, which was rated at twenty-three thousand rupees of annual rent, while Kowario has reverted to the fisc. The lake of Lawah, which irrigates some thousand acres of rice-land, alone renders it one of the most desirable of the secondary estates of Méwar. Singram's children being all murdered

in the feud of Seogurh, he was succeeded by Jey Sing (son of Seo Sing, his second brother), who was received as *khola*, or son of adoption, by all the retainers of Lawah. While Singram Sing lived, no subdivision of allotments took place; all, to use the words of Maun Sing, "ate out of one dish": and his own father Nahur, who had aided in the enterprise, having by a similar *coup de main* secured the estate of Bunwull for himself, no necessity for such partition existed. But Bunwull belonging to the fisc, to which it reverted on the restoration of order in A.D. 1818, young Maun had no alternative but to turn round on Jey Sing, the adopted heir of Singram, and demand his *bhut*, or share of the lands of Lawah, in virtue of the right of joint acquisition, and as a younger brother. Jey Sing refused: but custom prevailed, and the village of Jaetpoorah, of fifteen hundred rupees' annual revenue, was bestowed upon the son of Nahur Sing. So long as Maun Sing performed his duties to his chief, his share of Lawah was irresumable and inalienable: hence the stubborn tenacity of the chiefs of their share in the patrimonial acres, even when holding largely, but separately, of the crown, since of the latter, caprice or intrigue may deprive them; but their own misconduct alone can forfeit their *bapota*. The simple deed of conveyance will better establish this point:

"Maharao Sri Jey Sing, plighting his faith (*buchunâeto*).

"At this time, Brother Maun Sing, I bestow upon thee, of my own free will, the village and lands of Jaetpoorah. This donative shall not look to *rankroos*: *su-poot*, *ca-poot*:¹ your issue shall enjoy them. Of this intention I call the four-armed divinity (*Chatoorbhoj*) as witness. You are my own child (*chooroo*): wherever and whenever I order, you will do my service: if you fail, the fault be on your own head."

Whether Maun Sing failed in his duty to his superior, or otherwise, Jaetpoorah was resumed; and having in vain endeavoured to obtain justice through the ministers, he came to me to solicit attention to his case. With the resumption of Khyroda, his brother, the chief of Lawah, lost half his nominal income; and it may therefore be conjectured he would not be slow to listen to any charge against Maun, by which he might get back his allotment. On my departure for Marwar, in August 1820, he had written to me to say that Jey Sing had summoned him to evacuate Jaetpoorah. In my reply, I said, it was a matter for the Rana alone to decide. He accordingly went to court, and failing there, followed me; but, as at my desire he had been appointed to head the quotas on the Sadri frontier, and had performed this duty very negligently, I received him coolly: this, however, only gave additional eagerness to his defence, as he assigned strong personal reasons for the neglect. But the son of 'the tiger' (Nahur Sing) shall speak for himself. Let the reader imagine a young man of twenty-five, above six feet high, of an athletic figure and chivalrous demeanour, his expression at once modest and independent, with those indispensable appendages to a Rajpoot warrior's visage, well-trimmed *favoris* and *moustache*, and armed at all points: such was the lord-marcher (*Seem-iswar*), Maun Sing. Having presented his patent for my perusal, he continued: "Had I failed in my obligations to my

¹ *Rankroos* is a phrase embracing mental or physical infirmity; here strengthened by the words which follow. *Su-poot* means 'worthy,' or 'good issue' (*pûtra*), as *ca-poot*, the reverse, 'bad or incompetent issue.'

brother, he would have been justified in this step ; but since you took Bunwull from me, my retainers, at his beck, equalled his own in numbers ; what right therefore had he to resume Jaetpoorah ? When Singram Sing died, Lawah was in my hands : who could have prevented my keeping it, had it been my pleasure ? The son of Nahur Sing would have been preferred by the vassals of Singram to one they had never even seen ; but I respected his rights, though even now he could not forcibly dispossess me. When the Thakoor of Amait, on his way to court, beat his drums on the bounds of Lawah, did I not assemble my retainers and avenge the insult to my chief ? My head was Jey Sing's,—that is, with the *kangras* (battlements) of Lawah : but he never could have dared to take Jaetpoorah, had not respect for the chief of Lawah, respect for the Rana, and for you, made me passive. Only bid me retake it, and I am not the son of Nahur Sing if he keeps it a day. Its little castle, erected by these hands, sheltered my wife and children, who, now expelled from my patrimony, are compelled to seek refuge elsewhere. The lands assigned me in lieu of Bunwull are waste. For every rupee I can hope to derive from them, I must expend one ; and on Jaetpoorah alone could I raise any funds. Reckoning on this, I paid my *finé* of two thousand five hundred rupees for my *putta* (grant), and from its produce I looked to maintain my family and followers until the first should be made productive. When I lost this support, my creditors assailed me : to satisfy them, I sold all I had of value, even to my wife's jewels, and the horse you saw me ride when I came to meet you at Gangapoor. I laid my case before *Pirthi-ná'h*, and here is his reply, deciding in my favour. I represented it through Jawandás (a natural brother of the Rana), and five hundred rupees were demanded and agreed to by me, provided *buchun* (security) was given me of success. The Bikanér-jí's ¹ was given ; but the purse of the Thakoor of Jaetpoorah is not so long as the chieftain of Lawah's, and one thousand rupees, offered by him, made his the juster cause ! It is this that makes me negligent of my duty ; this which incited the Pat'hans to carry off my little harvest from Salairoh ; and Bhairawí ² is still in the hands of the foresters. Here is my case : if I demand aught that is not just, or that is contrary to usage, deal with me as you please. There is Futtéh Sing, who holds in separate grant from the Rana an estate of thirty thousand rupees ; but as a younger brother of Bheendír, he enjoys five thousand from his brother : and Ajeit Sing of Ahsind, though richer than his immediate head of Korabur, yet, as the son of Arjoon Sing, holds his allotment (*bhut*) from him : but you know all this, why should I repeat it ? " Here the Thakoor concluded, without any interruption being given to his animated harangue, the interest of which was enhanced by his natural eloquence, and his manly but modest deportment. He is a noble specimen, not of his tribe alone, but of the human character. His appeal was irresistible ; and would almost have carried conviction of its justice, even to those who could not have understood his tongue. Still it was requisite to steel myself against impulses ; and I recommended, as the best mode of enabling me to advocate his cause, that he should repair to his post, and establish fresh claims to his sovereign's regard, by punishing an atrocious act which in all probability his absence had occasioned. With

¹ One of the queens, a princess of Bikanér.

² The two villages he obtained in lieu of Bunwull.

the gift of a brace of pistols, and the usual leave-taking hint of *utr-pân*, Maun Sing quitted my tent.

And now for the melancholy occurrence which preceded that of the young Suktawut. On the borders of Little Sadri, where the quotas are posted, is a mountainous tract covered with deep forest, the abode of the half-savage Meenas and Bhîls. Mixed with them are the estates of some vassal chiefs, whose duty it is to repress their excesses; but, in such times as we have described, they more frequently instigated them to plunder, receiving a share of the spoils. Amongst the foremost in this association was the steward of Kalákote. At the foot of a pass leading into the wilds of Chuppun was the hamlet of Beeleo, occupied by a Rahtore Rajpoot, who had snatched from the mountain-side a few beegas of land, and dug some wells to irrigate the arable patches about his cot. With severe toil he raised a subsistence for himself, his wife, and an only son, who was to inherit his patrimony. Returning homewards one day, after his usual labour, he was met by his wailing helpmate; she said the savage Bhîl had rifled his cot, and with the cattle carried off their prop, their only child, and at the same time a young Jogî, his playmate. The afflicted father spake not a word, but loading his matchlock, took the road to Kalákote. What was his horror when, at the entrance of the village, he stumbled over the headless bodies of his boy and his young companion! He learned that the savages belonged to the lordship of Kalákote; that having conveyed the children from their home upon the cattle they had stolen, they were entering the place, when the young Rahtore, recognising the steward, called out, "Save me, uncle, and my father will ransom me at your own price!" This was the object for which he had been abducted; but these words proved that the steward was known to be the author of the outrage, and they were the last the child spoke. With this intelligence, the wretched father entered the 'black-castle' (Kalákote), in quest of the steward. He denied all participation in the abduction or the murder; and commiserating the Rahtore's misfortune, offered him four times the number of cattle he had lost, twice the amount of all his other losses, and to pay double the sum of *mirkhéâ*, or money expended in the search. "Can you give me back my son?" was the only reply: "I want justice and vengeance, not money. I could have taken it in part," continued he; "for what is life now? but let it fall on all."

No attempt at consolation could diminish the father's grief; but in promising him my aid to realise his vengeance, I gave him hope to cling to; and on handing him over to Maun Sing, saying his own suit would be best promoted by the imprisonment of all concerned in this outrage, he quitted me with some mitigation of his grief. But before he left my camp, tidings arrived that the chief culprit was beyond the reach of man; that the Great Avenger had summoned to his own tribunal the iniquitous steward of Kalákote! Even in these regions of rapine, where the blood of man and of goats is held in almost equal estimation, there was something in the wild grief of the Rahtore that sunk into the hearts of the vassals of Kalákote: they upbraided the steward, and urged him to confess the share he had in the deed. But he swore 'by his God' he had none, and offered to ratify the oath of purgation in his temple. Nothing less would satisfy them, and they proceeded to the ordeal. The temple was but a few hundred yards distant. The steward mounted his horse,

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and had just reached the shrine, when he dropped dead at the threshold ! It caused a deep sensation ; and to the vengeance of an offended divinity was ascribed this signal expiation of the triple crime of theft, murder, and sacrilege. There now only remain the base accomplices of the wretch who thus trafficked with the liberty of his fellow-men ; and I should rejoice to see them suspended on the summit of the Beeleo pass, as a satisfaction to the now childless Rahtore, and a warning to others who yet follow such a course.

CHAPTER III

Morwun—The solitude of this fine district—Caused by the Mahrattas and their mercenaries—Impolicy of our conduct towards the Mahrattas—Antiquities of Morwun—Tradition of the foundation and destruction of the ancient city—Inscriptions—Jain temple—Game—Attack by a tiger—Sudden change of the weather—Destructive frost—Legend of a temple of Mámá-déva—Important inscription—Distress of the peasantry—Gratitude of the people to the author—Nekoomp—Oppression of the peasants—Murlah—Inhabited by Charuns—Reception of the author—Curious privilege of the Charuns—Its origin—Traditional account of the settlement of this colony in Méwar—Imprecation of *satis*—The *tandas*, or caravans—Their immunity from plunder and extortion—Neembaira—Ranikhaira—Indignity committed by a scavenger of Laisrawun—Sentence upon the culprit—Tablet to a *Silpi*—Reception at Neembaira.

MORWUN, February 1.—Yesterday, Maun Sing took up the whole of my time with the feuds of Lawah and their consequences. It obliged me to halt, in order to make inquiries into the alienated lands in its vicinity. Morwun is, or rather was, a township of some consequence, and head of a *tuppa* or subdivision of a district. It is rated, with its contiguous hamlets, at seven thousand rupees annual rent. The situation is beautiful, upon heights pleasingly diversified, with a fine lake to the westward, whose margin is studded with majestic tamarind trees. The soil is rich, and there is water in great abundance within twenty-five feet of the surface ; but man is wanting ! The desolation of solitude reigns throughout, for (as Rousseau observes) there is none to whom one can turn and say, *que la solitude est belle !*

I experienced another pang at seeing this fertile district revert to the destroyer, the savage Pat'han, who had caused the desolation, and in the brief but expressive words of a Roman author, *solitudinem facit, pacem appellat*. Morwun is included in the lands *mortgaged* for a war-contribution, but which with others has remained in the hands of the Mahratta mortgagees or their mercenary subordinates. But it is melancholy to reflect that, but for a false magnanimity toward our insidious, natural enemies, the Mahrattas, all these lands would have reverted to their legitimate masters, who are equally interested with ourselves in putting down predatory warfare. Justice, good policy, and humanity would have been better consulted had the Mahrattas been wholly banished from Central India. When I contrasted this scene with the traces of incipient prosperity I had left behind me, I felt a satisfaction that the alienated acres produced nothing to the possessor, save luxuriant grass, and the leafless *késoola* or *plás*.

Morwun has some claims to antiquity ; it derives its appellation from the Mori tribe, who ruled here before they obtained Cheetore. The ruins of a fort, still known by the name of Chitrung Mori's castle, are pointed out as his residence ere he founded Cheetore, or more properly Cheetore. The tradition runs thus : Chitrung, a subordinate of the imperial house of Dhar, held Morwun and the adjacent tract, in appanage. One of his subjects, while ploughing, struck the share against some hard substance, and on examination found it was transmuted to gold. This was the *pâris-puttur*,¹ or 'philosopher's stone,' and he carried it forthwith to his lord, with whose aid he erected the castle, and enlarged the town of Morwun, and ultimately founded Cheetore. The *dhoolkote*, or site of Mori-ca-puttun, is yet pointed out, to the westward of the present Morwun. It was miraculously destroyed through the impieties of its inhabitants by fire, which fate recalls a more celebrated catastrophe ; but the act of impiety in the present case was merely seizing a *rishi*, or 'hermit,' while performing penance in the forest, and compelling him to carry radishes to market ! The tradition, however, is of some value: it proves, first, that there were radishes in those days ; and secondly, that volcanic eruptions occurred in this region. Oojein-Ahar, in the valley of Oodipoor, and the lake of which is said in some places to be *â'tac*, 'deeper than plummet sounded,' is another proof of some grand commotion of nature. Morwun boasts of three *mindras*, or temples, one of which is dedicated to *Shêsnâg*, the thousand-headed hydra which supports the globe. Formerly, saffron was the meet offering to this king of reptiles ; but he is now obliged to be content with ointment of sandal, produced from the evergreen, which is indigenous to Méwar.

Having heard of an inscription at the township of Unair, five miles distant, to the south-west, I requested my old *gûrû* to take a ride and copy it. It was of modern date, merely confirming the lands of Unair to the Brahmins. The tablet is in the temple of *Chatoorbhooja* (the four-armed divinity), built and endowed by Rana Singram Sing in S. 1570 (A.D. 1514) ; to whose pious testament a codicil is added by Rana Juggut Sing, S. 1791, imprecating an anathema on the violator of it. There was also engraved upon one of the columns a voluntary gift, from the village-council of Unair to the divinity, of the first-fruits of each harvest ; namely, two and a half seers from each *kulla*, or heap, of the spring-crops, and the same of the autumnal. The date, S. 1845 (A.D. 1789), shows that it was intended to propitiate the deity during the wars of Méwar.

Directly opposite, and very near the shrine of the 'four-armed,' is a small Jain temple, erected, in S. 1774, to cover an image of the great pontiff, Parswanath, found in digging near this spot. Here at every step are relics of past ages.

February 2.—An accident has compelled another halt at Morwun. The morning was clear and frosty, not a cloud in the sky, and we rose with the sun ; my kinsman, Captain Waugh, to try his Arab at a *nîlgâe*, and myself to bag a few of the large rock-pigeons which are numerous about Morwun. My friend, after a hard run, had drawn blood from the elk, and was on the point of spearing him effectually just as he attained a thick part of the jungle, which not heeding, horse and rider came in contact with a tree, and were dashed with violence to the ground. There

¹ In the Sanscrit *puttur*, 'stone, rock,' we have nearly the *petros* of the Greeks.

he lay insensible, and was brought home upon a *charpae*, or cot, by the villagers, much bruised, but fortunately with no broken bones. A leech was not to be had in any of the adjacent villages; and the patient complaining chiefly of the hip-bone, we could only apply emollients and recommend repose. I returned with no game except one or two black-partridges and batten-quail. The rock-pigeon, or *bur-lectur*, though unaccustomed to the fowler, were too wild for me to get a shot at them. The bird bears no analogy to the pigeon, but has all the rich game plumage of the *lectur*, or partridge, in which name the ornithologist of the west will see the origin of *tetrao*. There are two species of this bird in India, one much smaller than the common partridge; that of which I speak is much larger, and with the peculiarity of being feathered to the toe. I have since discovered it to be the counterpart of a bird in the museum at Chambéry, called '*barteveldt des Alpes*'; the ptarmigan of the highlands of Scotland. The male has exactly these redundant white feathers; while that I saw in Savoy was a richly-plumaged female *bur-lectur*.

Our annual supply of good things having reached us this morning, we were enjoying a bottle of some delicious Burgundy and 'La Rose' after dinner, when we were roused by violent screams in the direction of the village. We were all up in an instant, and several men directed to the spot. Our speculations on the cause were soon set at rest by the appearance of two *hircarras* (messengers), and a lad with a vessel of milk on his head. For this daily supply they had gone several miles, and had nearly reached the camp, when having outwalked the boy, they were alarmed by his vociferations, "Oh, uncle, let go—let go—I am your child, uncle, let me go!" They thought the boy mad, and it being very dark, cursed his uncle, and desired him to make haste; but the same wild exclamations continuing, they ran back, and found a huge tiger hanging to his tattered cold-weather doublet. The *hircarras* attacked the beast most manfully with their javelin-headed sticks, and adding their screams to his, soon brought the whole village, men, women, and children, armed with all sorts of missiles, to the rescue; and it was their discordant yells that made us exchange our good fare for the jungles of Morwun.

The 'lord of the black rock,' for such is the designation of the tiger, was one of the most ancient *bourgeois* of Morwun; his freehold is Kálá-páhár, between this and Mugurwar, and his reign for a long series of years has been unmolested, notwithstanding his numerous acts of aggression on his bovine subjects: indeed, only two nights before, he was disturbed gorging on a buffalo belonging to a poor oilman of Morwun. Whether this tiger was an incarnation of one of the Mori lords of Morwun, tradition does not say; but neither gun, bow, nor spear had ever been raised against him. In return for this forbearance, it is said he never preyed upon man, or if he seized one, would, upon being entreated with the endearing epithet of *mamoo* or uncle, let go his hold; and this accounted for the little ragged urchin using a phrase which almost prevented the *hircarras* returning to his rescue.

February 3.—Another halt for our patient, who is doing well, and greatly relieved by the application of leeches obtained from Neembaira. What a night! the clouds which had been alternately collecting and dispersing ever since we left Marwar, in December last, but had almost disappeared as we commenced our present march, again suddenly gathered.

The thermometer, which had averaged 41° at daybreak throughout the last month, this morning rose to 60° . On the 1st, the wind changed to the south, with showers, where it continued throughout yesterday; but during the night it suddenly veered to the north, and the thermometer at daybreak was 28° , or four degrés below the freezing point. Reader, do you envy me my *bon vin de Bourgogne et murailles de coton*, with not even a wood fire, labouring under a severe pulmonary affection, with work enough for five men? Only three days ago, the thermometer was 86° at noon, and to-day it is less at noon than yesterday at daybreak: even old England, with all her vicissitudes of weather, can scarcely show so rapid a change as this.

Ill-fated Méwar! all our hopes are blasted; this second visitation has frustrated all our labours. The frost of December, which sunk the mercury to 27° as we passed over the plains of Marwar, was felt throughout Rajwarra, and blighted every pod of cotton. All was "burnt up"; but our poor exiles comforted themselves, amidst the general sorrow, with the recollection that the young *gram* was safe. But even this last hope has now vanished: all is nipped in the bud. Had it occurred a month ago, the young plant would have been headed down with the sickle, and additional blossoms would have appeared. I was too unwell to ride out and see the ravages caused by this frost.

February 4.—Our patient is doing so well, that we look to moving to-morrow. Thermometer 28° at daybreak, and 31° at sunrise, with a keen cutting wind from the north. Ice closed the orifice of the *meshek*, or leathern water-bag. Even the shallow stream near the tents had a pellicle of ice on its surface: our people huddling and shivering round their fires of *bajra* sticks, and the cattle of all classes looking very melancholy.

My Yati friend returned from Palode, where I had sent him to copy an inscription in a temple dedicated to *Mámá-déva*, the mother of the gods; but he was disappointed, and brought back only the following traditional legend. The shrine, erected by a wealthy Jain disciple, was destined to receive the image of one of their pontiffs; but on its completion, *Mámá-déva* appeared in *propria persona* to the founder, and expressed so strongly her desire to inhabit it, that, heretic as he was, he could not deny the goddess' suit. He stoutly refused, however, to violate the rules of his order: "By my hands the blood neither of goats or buffaloes can be shed," said the Jain. But, grateful for the permission that a niche should be set apart for her *suroop* (form), she told him to go to the Sonigurra chief of Cheetore, who would attend to the rites of sacrifice. The good Jain, with easy faith, did as he was commanded, and erecting another temple, succeeded at length in enshrining Parswanat'h. My old friend, however, discovered in a temple to *Mataji*, 'the universal mother,' an inscription of great importance, as it fixes the period of one of the most conspicuous kings of the Solanki dynasty of Nehrvalla, or correctly, Anhulwarra Puttun; and, in conjunction with another of the same prince (which I afterwards discovered in Cheetore), also bearing the very same date,¹ demonstrates that the Solanki had actually made a conquest of the capital of the Gehlotes. The purport is simply that "Komarpál Solanki and his son Sohunpál, in the month of Pos (the precise day illeg-

¹ See inscription, vol. i. p. 629.

ible), S. 1207 (winter of A.D. 1151), came to worship the Universal Mother in her shrine at Palode." ¹ The Seesodias try to get rid of this difficulty by saying, that during the banishment of Komarpál by Sidraj, he not only enjoyed *sirna* (refuge) at Cheetore, but held the post of prime minister to Rawul Samarsi, the friend and brother-in-law of the Chohan emperor of Dehli; but the inscription (given in the first volume), which I found in the temple built by Lakha Rana, is written in the style of a conqueror, "who planted his standard even in Salpoor," the city of the Getes in the Punjáb. At all events, it is one more *datum* in the history of Rajpootana.

February 5, thermometer 30°.—Mounted *Bajraj*, 'the royal steed,' and took a ride over the heights of Morwun, a wild yet fairy scene, with the Pat'har or table-land bounding the perspective to the east. The downs are covered with the most luxuriant grasses, and the *d'hák* or *plás* dried by the wintry blast, as if scorched by the lightning, faintly brought to mind the poet's simile, applied to this tree, even in the midst of spring: "The black leafless *késoola*." We entered a village in ruins, whose neem trees bid defiance to winter; the 'thorny babool' (*mimosa Arabica*) grows luxuriantly out of the inner sides of the walls, and no hand invades the airy nest of the imitative *pápya*, fantastically pendant from the slenderest branches. No trace of the presence of man; but evidence that he has been here. The ground was covered with hoar-frost, and the little stream coated with ice. Many a heavy heart has it caused, and plunged joyous industry into utter despondence. Take one example: yonder Jât, sitting by the side of his field, which he eyes in despair; three months since, he returned, after many years of exile, to the *bapota*, the land of his sires, without funds, without food, or even the implements for obtaining it. He had been labouring as a serf in other lands, but he heard of peace in his own, and came back to the paternal acres, which had been a stranger to the ploughshare since he was driven from his cot in S. 1844, immediately following the battle of Hurkea-Khál, when the 'Southron' completed the bondage of Méwar. What could he do? his well was dried up, and if not, he had no cattle to irrigate a field of wheat or barley. But Méwar is a kind mother, and she yields her *chunna* crop without water. To the *bohora* (the *metayer*) he promised one-fifth of the produce for the necessary seed and the use of a pair of oxen and a plough; one-fifth more was the share of the state from land so long sterile; there were three-fifths left for himself of his long neglected but at once luxuriant fields. He watched the crop with paternal solicitude, from the first appearance of verdure to the approach of *bussunt*, the joyous spring. Each night, as he returned to his yet roofless abode, he related the wonders of his field and its rapid vegetation; and as he calculated the produce, he anticipated its application; "so much shall go for a plough, so much for the *bohora*, so much in part payment of a pair of bullocks, and the rest will keep me in bread till the *mukhi* crop is ready." Thus the days passed, until this killing frost nipped his hopes in the bud, and now see him wringing his hands in the bitterest anguish! This is no ideal picture: it is one to be found in every village of Méwar. In this favoured soil, there is as much of *chunna* in the *rubbee* harvest as of wheat and barley conjoined, and in the first crop sown in *bunjur*, or soil long sterile, wheat and *chunna* are sown to-

¹ The style of this inscription is perfectly in unison with the inscriptions on the temples and statues of Egypt.

gether. It is a sad blow to the exiles ; though happily in the crown-lands their distress will be mitigated, as these are rented on leases of five years, and the renters for their own sakes must be lenient, and moreover they are well watched.

February 6.—Still halting ; our patient very well, though he feels his bruises : but we shall put him on an elephant to-morrow. The jealousy of the Mahratta had hitherto prevented the inhabitants from fulfilling their desire to come and visit me ; but to-day, the elders forming the *punchaet*, heading the procession, they came *en masse*. The authorities need not have feared exposing the nakedness of the land, which is too visible ; but they apprehended the contrast of their condition with our poor subjects, who were at least unmolested in their poverty. It was a happiness to learn that this contrast was felt, and as the Patél presented to me an engaging little child, his daughter, he said, " Let not our misfortunes be our faults ; we all belong to Méwar, though we are not so happy as to enjoy your protection and care." I assured him, that although under the Toork, I should look upon them as my children, and the subjects of the Rana ; and I have had it in my power to redeem this pledge—for, strange to say, even Ameer Khan, seeing that the prosperity of the subject is that of the prince, has commanded his governor of Neembaira to consult me in everything, and has even gone so far as to beg I would consider the place as under my authority. Already, following our example, he has reduced the transit duties nearly one-half, and begins to think the *Fringi* notions of economy better than his own, his loss having proved a gain.

NEKOOMP, February 7 : eleven miles.—Midway, passed through Chakoorla, a village belonging to Meer Khan. Nekoomp is a *talook* of Jawud, which with Mundipea was held by the Pindarri freebooter, Fazil, while Jeswunt Row Bhao held them in *jaddad*. They are now leased to a Pundit by the Hakim of Jawud, which latter is assigned by Sindia to his father-in-law, the Senapati. Nekoomp is a good village, but more than two-thirds depopulated, and the renter is prevented from being lenient, as he experiences no mercy himself. Notwithstanding they have all been suffering as we have from this frost, an assessment is now levying. One poor fellow said to me, " I returned only three months ago from exile, and I had raised the mud-walls of my hut two feet, when my wife died, leaving me to take care of a boy eight years of age, and to get bread for both. If the walls were two feet higher I would cover it in ; but though I have not a foot of land, my roofless half-finished cot is assessed a rupee and a half " : a gift of two rupees made him happier than his Hakim !

The country is beautiful, the soil rich, and water, as already mentioned, about twenty-five feet from the surface. We are now in the region of the flower sacred to " gloomy Dis," the accursed poppy. The crop looks miserable from the frost, but those patches within the influence of the wells are partly saved by the fields being inundated, which expedient is always successful upon such visitations, if applied with judgment. The mountains touching great Sadri lay twelve miles south coming from Pertabgurh, and ranging to Saloombra and Oodipoor, where they commingle with the giant Aravulli.

MURLAH, February 8 : seven miles.—Crossed two ridges running northward to Bhadaisir. The intervening valleys, as usual, fertile, with numerous

villages, but alienated to the southern Goths or the partisan Pat'han. Passed many large townships, formerly in the fisc of Méwar, as Baree, Binotah, Bumborce, etc. In the distance, saw "the umbrella of the earth," the far-famed Cheetore. Murlah is an excellent township, inhabited by a community of Charuns, of the tribe Cucholeah, who are Bunjarris (carriers) by profession, though poets by birth. The alliance is a curious one, and would appear incongruous, were not gain the object generally in both cases. It was the sanctity of their office which converted our *bardais* into *bunjarris*, for their persons being sacred, the immunity extended likewise to their goods, and saved them from all imposts; so that in process of time they became the free-traders of Rajpootana. I was highly gratified with the reception I received from the community, which collectively advanced to me at some distance from the town. The procession was headed by the village-band, and all the fair Charunis, who, as they approached, gracefully waved their scarfs over me, until I was fairly made captive by the *muses* of Murlah! It was a novel and interesting scene: the manly persons of the Charuns, clad in the flowing white robe, with the high loose folded turban inclined on one side, from which the *mala*, or chaplet, was gracefully suspended; the *naïques*, or leaders, with their massive necklaces of gold, with the image of the *pitriswur* (manes) depending therefrom, gave the whole an air of opulence and dignity. The females were uniformly attired in a skirt of dark brown camlet, having a bodice of light-coloured stuff, with gold ornaments worked into their fine black hair; and all had the favourite *chooris*, or rings of *hâti-dânt* (elephant's tooth), covering the arm, from the wrist to the elbow, and even above it. Never was there a nobler subject for the painter in any age or country; it was one which Salvator Rosa would have seized, full of picturesque contrasts: the rich dark tints of the female attire harmonising with the white garments of their husbands; but it was the mien, the expression, the gestures, denoting that though they paid homage they expected a full measure in return. And they had it: for if ever there was a group which bespoke respect for the natural dignity of man and his consort, it was the Charun community of Murlah.

It was not until the afternoon, when the *naïques* again came to see me at my camp, that I learned the full value of my escape from the silken bonds of the fair Charunis. This community had enjoyed for five hundred years the privilege of making prisoner any Rana of Méwar who may pass through Murlah, and keeping him in bondage until he gives them a *gote*, or entertainment: and their chains are neither galling, nor the period of captivity, being thus in the hands of the *captivated*, very long. The patriarch told me that I was in jeopardy, as the Rana's representative; but not knowing how I might have relished the joke, had it been carried to its conclusion, they let me escape, though they lost a feast by it. But I told them I was too much delighted with old customs not to keep up this; and immediately sent money to the ladies with my respects, and a request that they would hold their *gote* (feast). The patriarch and his subordinate *naïques* and their sons remained with me to discourse on the old time.

The founders of this little colony accompanied Rana Hamir from Guzzerat in the early part of his reign, and although five centuries have elapsed, they have not parted with one iota of their nationality or their

privileges since that period : neither in person, manners, or dress, have they anything analogous to those amidst whom they dwell. Indeed, their air is altogether foreign to India, and although they have attained a place, and that a high one, amongst the tribes of Hind, their affinity to the ancient Persian is striking ; the loose robe, high turban, and flowing beard, being more akin to the figures on the temples of the Guebres than to anything appertaining to the *Charburrun*, or four classes of the Hindus. But I must give the tale accounting for their settlement in Méwar. Rana Hamir, so celebrated in the history of Méwar, had a leprous spot on his hand, to remove which he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hinglaz, upon the coast of Mekran, the division *Oritæ* of Arrian's geography. He had reached the frontiers of Cutch Bhooj, when alighting near a *tanda*, or encampment of Charuns, a young damsel abandoned the meal she was preparing, and stepped forward to hold the stranger's steed. Thanking her for her courtesy, he jocosely observed that he wished his people had as good a breakfast as she was preparing, when she immediately made an offering of the contents of the vessel ; on which Hamir observed, it would go but a short way to satisfy so many hungry mouths. " Not if it pleased Hinglaz-ji," she promptly replied ; and placing the food before the Rana and his train, it sufficed for all their wants. A little well, which she excavated in the sand, was soon filled with a copious supply of water, which served to quench their thirst. It was an evident interposition of the goddess of Hinglaz in favour of this her royal votary. He returned from her shrine cured, and the young Charuni's family were induced to accompany him to Méwar, where he bestowed upon them the lands of Murlah, with especial immunities in their mercantile capacity : and as a perpetual remembrance of the miraculous feast, permission was granted to the Charuni damsels to make captive of their sovereign as related above.

The colony, which now consists of some thousands of both sexes, presented an enigma to our young Englishmen, who think " all black fellows alike," and equally beneath notice : it was remarked how comfortable they looked in house and person, though there was not a vestige of cultivation around their habitations. The military policy of the troubled period accounts for the first ; and a visit to the altars of Murlah will furnish the cause of the neglect of the agrarian laws of Méwar. As the community increased in numbers, the subdivision of the lands continued, according to the customs of Cutch, until a dispute regarding limits produced a civil war. A ferocious combat ensued, when the wives of the combatants who were slain ascended the funeral pile ; and to prevent a similar catastrophe, imprecated a curse on whomever from that day should cultivate a field in Murlah ; since which the land has lain in absolute sterility ! Such is the implicit reverence for the injunction of a *sati*, at this moment of awful inspiration, when about to take leave of the world. In Méwar, the most solemn of all oaths is that of the *sati*. *Maha sati 'an-ca-án*, 'by the great *satis*,' is an adjuration frequently used in the royal patents.

The *tanda* or caravan, consisting of four thousand bullocks, has been kept up amidst all the evils which have beset this land, through Mogul and Mahratta tyranny. The utility of these caravans, as general carriers to conflicting armies, and as regular tax-paying subjects, has proved their safeguard ; and they were too strong to be pillaged by any petty marauder, as any one who has seen a Bunjarri encampment will be con-

vinced. They encamp in a square; their grain-bags piled over each other breast-high, with interstices left for their matchlocks, make no contemptible fortification. Even the ruthless Toork, Jemshid Khan, set up a protecting tablet in favour of the Charuns of Murlah, recording their exemption from *dind* contributions, and that there should be no increase in duties, with threats to all who should injure the community. As usual, the sun and moon are appealed to as witnesses of good faith, and sculptured on the stone. Even the forester Bhil and mountain Mair have set up their signs of immunity and protection to the chosen of Hinglaz; and the figures of a cow and its *kairie* (calf), carved in rude relief, speak the agreement that they should not be slain or stolen within the limits of Murlah.

NEEMBAIRA: seven miles.—The soil, as usual, excellent; but from Ranikhaira to Neembaira the blue schist at intervals penetrates the surface, and there is but little superincumbent soil even to the bed of the stream, which makes an entire disclosure of the rock, over which flows a clear rivulet abounding with small fish, amongst which the speckled trout were visible. Ranikhaira, through which we passed, is the largest township of this district, and was built by the Rani of Ursi Rana, mother of the present ruler of Méwar, at whose expense the temple, the *bawari* or 'reservoir,' and the paved street, were constructed. Although in the alienated territory, I had a visit from its elders to complain of an indignity to the community by the *bungi*, or scavenger, of Laisrawun, who had killed a hog and thrown it into the reservoir, whose polluted waters being thus rendered unfit for use, the inhabitants were compelled to get a purer element from the adjacent villages. This *báwari* is about half a mile from the town, and being upon the highway, the council and train very wisely stopped at the spot where the aggression had happened: and although the cavalcade of the Hakim of Neembaira was in sight, advancing to welcome me, it was impossible to proceed until I heard the whole grievance, when adjured by "subjects of Méwar, and children of the Rana, though unhappily under the Toork," to see their wrongs redressed. I might not have recorded this incident, but for its consequence; as the hog thrown into the reservoir of *Báejí-Ráj*, 'the royal mother,' of Méwar, affords an instance of the extent to which mortgage is carried.

The *Buhingis*, or scavengers, of Ranikhaira, the very refuse of mankind, had mortgaged their rights in the *dead carcasses* of their town to a professional brother of Laisrawun; but, on the return of these halcyon days, they swerved from their bond. The chieftain of Laisrawun espoused his vassal's cause, and probably pointed out the mode of revenge. One morning, therefore, not having the fear of Jemshid of Neembaira before his eyes, the said mortgagee slew his pig; and, albeit but the wreck of a human being, contrived to cast his victim into the pure fountain of 'Queenstown,' and immediately fled for *sirna* to Bheendir. But what could be done to a wretch, who for former misdeeds had already suffered the dismemberment of an arm, a leg, and his nose? Here is the sentence! "To be paraded, mounted on an ass, his face blackened, with a chaplet of shoes round his neck, and drummed out of the limits of Ranikhaira!" The fountain is now undergoing purification; and when the polluted waters are baled out, it is to be lustrated with the holy stream of the Ganges, and the ceremony will conclude with a *gote*, or feast, to one hundred Brahmins. Previous to this, I took a peep at the humble altars of Ranikhaira. All is modern;

but there is one tablet which pleasingly demonstrates that both public feeling and public gratitude exist in these regions. This tablet, set up by the council of the town, recorded that Kistna, the '*silpi*' or stone-cutter, did at his own expense and labour repair all the altars then going to decay ; for which pious act they guaranteed to him and his successors for ever six *thālīs* or platters of various viands, saffron, oil, butter, and several pieces of money, at every village *fête*. Doubtless such traits are not confined to Ranikhaira. I accepted with kindness the offerings of the elders and assembled groups—a pot of curds and sundry blessings—and continued my journey to meet the impatient cavaliers of Neembaira, who, to fill up the interlude, were *karowling*, with matchlock and spear, their well-caparisoned chargers. The Khan was in the centre of the group, and we had a friendly, unceremonious *dustabazee*, or shaking of hands, without dismounting. He is a gentlemanly Pat'han, of middle age, courteous and affable, and a very different personage from the *two-handed* Jemshid his predecessor, who lately died from a cancer in his back : a judgment, if we are to credit our Méwar friends, for his horrible cruelties and oppressions over all these regions, as lieutenant of Ameer Khan during many years. The Khan welcomed me to Neembaira with true Oriental *politesse*, saying, " that the place was mine " ; and that he had received the " positive instructions of the Nawab Sahib (Ameer Khan, whose son-in-law he is) to look upon me as himself." I replied, that, in accepting such a trust, I could not say more than that I would, whenever occasion presented itself, act for him as if Neembaira were really my own. The Khan had reason to find that his confidence was not misplaced ; and while enabled to benefit him, I had also the opportunity of protecting the interests of the feudatories, who by this alienation (as is fully related in the Annals of Méwar) were placed beyond the pale of the Rana's power. The Khan, after accompanying me to my tents, took leave ; but paid me a long visit in the evening, when we discussed all that concerned the welfare of his charge and the peace of the borders. As matters stand, it is a duty to conciliate and to promote prosperity ; but it is melancholy to see this fertile appanage of Méwar in the hand of so consummate a villain as Meer Khan ; a traitor to his master Holcar, for which he obtained the ' sovereignty in perpetuity ' of many rich tracts both in Méwar and Ambér, without rendering the smallest service in return. Let this be borne in mind when another day of reckoning comes. Neembaira is a considerable town, with an excellent stone circumvallation ; and, being on the high road between Malwa and Hindusthan, it enjoys a good share of traffic. Upwards of one hundred villages are attached to it, and it was estimated at three lakhs of rupees, of annual rent.

CHAPTER IV

The Pat'har or Table-land of Central India—View from thence—Project of a canal—Its advantages to Méwar—Utility of further works to the people—Traces of superstition in the *Pat'har*—Temple of Sookhdeo—The *Dyle-cahar*, or 'Giant's bone'—The *Vira-jhamp*, or 'Warrior's Leap'—Proprietorship of the *Pat'har*—Its products—The poppy—Pernicious effects of its increased cultivation—Account of the introduction and mode of culture of opium—Original spot of its cultivation—The manufacture of opium kept pace with the depopulation of Méwar—Process of cultivation, and of manufacture—Its fluctuation of price—Adulterated opium of Khantul—Evil consequences of the use of opium—Duty of the paramount power to restrict the culture—Practicability of such a measure—Distribution of crops—Impolicy of our Government in respect to the opium monopoly.

KUNAIROH, *February 13*: $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles.—A new feature in the face of Méwar was this day disclosed to us. At the termination of our short march, we ascended the *Pat'har*, or plateau of Central India, the grand natural rampart defending Méwar to the east. As we approached it, the level line of its crest, so distinct from the pinnacled Aravulli, at once proclaimed it to be a tableland, or rock of the secondary formation. Although its elevation is not above four hundred feet from its western base, the transition is remarkable, and it presents from the summit one of the most diversified scenes, whether in a moral, political, or picturesque point of view, that I ever beheld. From this spot the mind's eye embraces at once all the grand theatres of the history of Méwar. Upon our right lies Cheetore, the palladium of Hinduism; on the west, the gigantic Aravulli, enclosing the new capital, and the shelter of her heroes; here, at our feet, or within view, all the alienated lands now under the 'barbarian Toork' or Mahratta, as Jawud, Jeerun, Neemuch, Neembaira, Kheyri, Ruttengurh. What associations, what aspirations, does this scene conjure up to one who feels as a Rajpoot for this fair land! The rich flat we have passed over—a space of nearly seventy English miles from one table-range to the other—appears as a deep basin, fertilised by numerous streams, fed by huge reservoirs in the mountains, and studded with towns, which once were populous, but are for the most part now in ruins, though the germ of incipient prosperity is just appearing. From this height I condensed all my speculative ideas on a very favourite subject—the formation of a canal to unite the ancient and modern capitals of Méwar, by which her soil might be made to return a tenfold harvest, and famine be shut out for ever from her gates. My eye embraced the whole line of the Bairis, from its outlet at the *Oodiságur*, to its passage within a mile of Cheetore, and the benefit likely to accrue from such a work appeared incalculable. What new ideas would be opened to the Rajpoot, on seeing the trains of oxen, which now creep slowly along with merchandise for the capital, exchanged for boats gliding along the canal; and his fields, for many miles on each side, irrigated by lateral cuts, instead of the cranking *Egyptian* wheel, as it is called, but which is indigenous to India! If the reader will turn to the map, he will perceive the great facilities for such an undertaking. He will there see two grand reservoirs within six miles of each other, the Péschola, or internal lake, having an elevation of eighty feet above the external one, the *Oodiságur*, whose outlet forms the Bairis River; but for which the valley of the capital would be one wide lake and which, for want of proper

regulation, once actually submerged a third of it. The Pésbola may be called the parent of the other, although it is partly fed by the minor lake at the villa of Suhailea-ca-barí. Both are from twelve to fourteen miles in circumference, in some places thirty-five feet deep, and being fed by the perennial streams from the Aravulli, they contain a constant supply of water. From the external lake to Cheetore, the fall is so slight that few locks would be required; and the soil being a yielding one throughout, the expense of the undertaking would be moderate. There is plenty of material in the neighbouring hills and forests, and by furnishing occupation for the wild population, the work would tend not a little to reclaim them. But where are the means? With this difficulty, and the severe blow to our incipient prosperity in this untimely frost, our schemes dissipate like the mist of the morning. But I cannot relinquish the conviction that the undertaking, if executed, would not only enable the Rana to pay his tribute, but to be more merciful to his subjects, for whose welfare it is our chief duty to labour.¹

The summit of the Pat'har has a fertile soil, well-watered and well-wooded, and producing the mango, mhowa, and neem; and were the appearance of the crops a criterion, we should say it was equal in fertility to the best part of Méwar. In ancient inscriptions, the term *Oopermal* is applied, as well as *Pat'har*, to this marked feature in the geological structure of Central India: the first being rendered exactly by the German *oberland*; the other signifying 'flat,' or table-land.

In the indented recesses of this elevated land, which covers an immense portion of Central India, there are numerous spots of romantic beauty, which enthusiasm has not failed to identify with religious associations. Wherever there is a deep glen, a natural fountain, or a cascade, the traveller will infallibly discover some traces of the 'Great God' (Mahadeva) of the Hindus, the creator and destroyer of life.

By the stupidity of my guide, and the absence of the indefatigable Balgovind, my Brahmin antiquarian pioneer, I lost the opportunity of seeing the shrine of Sookhdeo, situated in a dark cleft of the rock, not two miles from the pass where I ascended. In excuse, he said he thought, as my camp was near, that it would be easy to descend to the shrine of the 'ease-giving' god, Sookhdeo (from *sookh*, 'ease'); but *revocare gradum* was an evil which, added to the necessity of extracting all the information I could from some of the opium-growers in attendance, deterred me. The abode of Sookhdeo is in a deep recess, well-wooded, with a cascade bursting from the rock near its summit, under a ledge of which the symbolic representative is enshrined. Around it are several *gop'has* or caves of the anchorite devotees; but the most conspicuous object is a projecting ledge, named *Dyle-ca-hár*, or 'Giant's-bone,' on which those who are in search of 'ease' jump from above. This is called the *Vira-j'hamp*, or 'warrior's-leap,' and is made in fulfilment of vows either for temporal or future good. Although most of the leapers perish, some instances of escape are recorded. The love of offspring is said to be the principal motive to this pious act of saltation; and I was very gravely told of one poor woman, whose philo-

¹ Even now, as I transcribe this from my journal, I would almost (when 'The Annals' are finished) risk a couple of years' residence in 'the happy valley,' where I scarcely ever enjoyed one day of health, to execute this and another favourite project—the reopening of the tin-mines of Jawura.

progenitive bump was so great, that she vowed to take the leap herself with her issue ; and such, says the legend, was her faith, that both escaped. A *taili*, or oilman, was the last jumper of Sookhdeo, and he was no less fortunate ; to him the 'giant's-bone' was a bed of roses. So much for the faith of the oilman of Jawud ! There are many such Leucotheas in this region of romance : that at Oonkár, on the Nerbudda, and the sacred mount Gírnár, are the most celebrated.

Until the last sixty years, the whole of the plateau, as far as the Chumbul, belonged to Méwar ; but all, with the exception of Kunéroh, are now in the hands of Sindia. Kunéroh is the chief township of a small district of twenty-two villages, which, by the change of events, has fortunately reverted to the Rana, although it was not extricated from the grasp of the Mahrattas without some difficulty ; it was taken first, and the right of repossession argued afterwards. Would we had tried the same process with all the rest of the plateau ; but unhappily they were rented to old Lalaji Bellal, a lover of order, and an ally of old Zalim Sing ! But let me repeat, for the tenth time, that all these lands are only held by Sindia on mortgage for war-contributions, paid over and over again : and when an opportunity occurs, let this be a record, and the *Pat'har* west of the Chumbul be restored to Méwar.

I was delighted to see that the crops of Kunéroh had only partially suffered from the ravages of the frost of the 3rd, 4th, to 25th, which extended over Malwa, and that although the *gram* was destroyed, the wheat, barley, sugar-cane, and poppy, were abundant and little injured ; though we could have wished that the last-named pernicious plant, which is annually increasing all over these regions, had been sacrificed in lieu of the noble crops of vetches (*gram*).

That the culture of the poppy, to the detriment of more useful husbandry, is increasing to an extent which demands the strong hand of legislative restraint, must strike the most superficial observer in these regions. When the sumptuary laws of this patriarchal government were in force, a restraint was at the same time imposed on an improvident system of farming which, of course, affected the prince, whose chief revenues were derived from the soil ; and one of the agrarian laws of Méwar was, that there should be to each *churru*, or skin of land, only one *beega* of opium, and the same quantity of cane, with the usual complement of corn. But the feverish excitement produced by our monopoly of the drug has extended its culture in every direction, and even in tracts where hitherto it has never entered into their agricultural economy. Whatever, therefore, be the wisdom or policy of our interference in this matter, of the result there can be no doubt, namely, that it converted the agricultural *routiniers* into speculators and gamblers.

A slight sketch of the introduction and mode of culture of this drug, which has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influence of pestilence and war, may not be without interest.

We are indebted to the commentaries of the imperial autobiographers, Baber, Akber, and Jehangir, for the most valuable information on the introduction of exotics into the horticultural economy of India ; and we are proud to pay our tribute of applause to the illustrious house of Timoor, whose princes, though despots by birth and education, and albeit the bane

of Rajpootana, we must allow, present a more remarkable succession of great characters, historians, statesmen, and warriors, than any contemporaneous dynasty, in any region of the world.¹

Akber followed up the plans of Baber, and introduced the gardeners of Persia and Tartary, who succeeded with many of their fruits, as peaches, almonds (both indigenous to Rajpootana), pistachios, etc. To Jehangir's Commentaries we owe the knowledge that tobacco was introduced into India in his reign; but of the period when the poppy became an object of culture, for the manufacture of opium, we have not the least information. Whatever may be the antiquity of this drug, for medicinal uses, it may be asserted that its abuse is comparatively recent, or not more than three centuries back. In none of the ancient heroic poems of Hindustan is it ever alluded to. The guest is often mentioned in them as welcomed by the *munwar pîdâ*, or 'cup of greeting,' but no where by the *umî-panî*, or 'infused opiate,' which has usurped the place of the *phool-ra-arrac*, or 'essence of flowers.' Before, however, the art of extracting the properties of the poppy, as at present, was practised, they used the opiate in its crudest form, by simply bruising the capsules, which they steeped a certain time in water, afterwards drinking the infusion, to which they give the name of *tejarro*, and not unfrequently *pos*, 'the poppy.' This practice still prevails in the remote parts of Rajpootana, where either ignorance of the more refined process, prejudice, or indolence, operates to maintain old habits.

¹ In all the branches of knowledge which have reference to the comforts, the elegancies, and the luxuries of life, they necessarily bore away the palm from the Rajpoot, who was cooped up within the barriers of superstition. The court of Samarcand, with which the kings of Ferghana were allied, must have been one of the most brilliant in the world, for talents as well as splendour; and to all the hereditary instruction there imbibed, Baber, the conqueror of India, added that more useful and varied knowledge only to be acquired by travel, and constant intercourse with the world. When, therefore, his genius led him from 'the frosty Caucasus' into the plains of Hindustan, the habit of observation and noting in a book, as set before him by Huzrut Tymoor, all that appeared novel, never escaped him; and in so marked a transition from the highlands of Central India to the region of the sun, his pen had abundant occupation. No production, whether in the animal or vegetable kingdom, which appeared different from his own, escaped notice in his book, which must be looked upon as one of the most remarkable contributions to literature ever made by royalty; for in no age or country will a work be found at once so comprehensive and so simple as the Commentaries of Baber; and this in a region where everything is exaggerated. Whether he depicts a personal encounter, on which his life and prospects hinged, or a battle, which gave him the empire of India, all is in keeping: and when he relates the rewards he bestowed on Mir Mahomed Jaliban, his architect, for successfully executing his noble design of throwing a bridge over the Ganges, "before he had been three years sovereign of Hindustan," and with the same simplicity records his own "introduction of melons and grapes into India," we are tempted to humiliating reflections on the magniloquence with which we paint our own few works of public good, and contrast them unfavourably with those of the Transoxianic monarch, not then twenty-five years of age! Nor let the reader who may be induced to take up the volume, fail to give homage to the translator,¹ whose own simple, yet varied and vigorous mind has transferred the very soul of Baber into his translation.

¹ William Erskine, Esq., of Blackburne, who honours me with his friendship, and has stimulated my exertions to the task in which I am engaged, and another in which I trust to be engaged, some of the Books of the Poet Chund, so often alluded to in this work.

The culture of opium was at first confined to the *do-abeh*, or tract between the Chumbul and Sepra, from their sources to their junction ; but although tradition has preserved the fact of this being the original poppy-nursery of Central India, it has long ceased to be the only place of the poppy's growth, it having spread not only throughout Malwa, but into various parts of Rajpootana, especially Méwar and Harouti. But though all classes, Koombis and Jâts, Baniahs and Brahmins, try the culture, all yield the palm of superior skill to the Koombi, the original cultivator, who will extract *one-fifth more* from the plant than any of his competitors.

It is a singular fact, that the cultivation of opium increased in the inverse ratio of general prosperity ; and that as war, pestilence, and famine, augmented their virulence, and depopulated Rajpootana, so did the culture of this baneful weed appear to thrive. The predatory system, which succeeded Mogul despotism, soon devastated this fair region, and gradually restricted agricultural pursuits to the richer harvests of barley, wheat, and gram ; till at length even these were confined to a bare sustenance for the families of the cultivator, who then found a substitute in the poppy. From the small extent of its culture, he was able to watch it, or to pay for its protection from pillage ; this he could not do for his corn, which a troop of horse might save him the trouble of cutting. A kind of moral barometer might, indeed, be constructed, to show that the *maximum* of oppression in Méwar, was the *maximum* of the culture of the poppy in Malwa. Emigration commenced in S. 1840 (A.D. 1784) ; it was at its height in S. 1856 (A.D. 1800), and went on gradually depopulating that country until S. 1874 (A.D. 1818). Its consumption, of course, kept pace with its production, it having found a vent in foreign markets.

The districts to which the emigrants fled were those of Mundisore, Kachrode, Oncil, and others, situated on the feeders of the Chumbul, in its course through Lower Malwa. There they enjoyed comparative protection and kind treatment, under Appa Saheb and his father, who were long the farmers-general of these fertile lands. It could not be expected, however, that the new settlers should be allowed to participate in the lands irrigated by wells already excavated ; but Appa advanced funds, and appointed them lands, all fertile though neglected, in which they excavated wells for themselves. They abandoned altogether wheat and barley, growing only *mukhi* or 'Indian corn,' for food, which requires no irrigation, and to which the poppy succeeds in rotation ; to these, and the sugar-cane, all their industry was directed.

But to proceed with the process of cultivation. When the crops of Indian corn (*mukhi*) or of hemp (*sunu*) are gathered in, the stalks are rooted up and burned ; the field is then flooded, and, when sufficiently saturated, ploughed up. It is then copiously manured with cow-dung, which is deemed the best for the purpose ; but even this has undergone a preparatory operation, or chemical decomposition, being kept in a hollow ground during the rainy season, and often agitated with long poles, to allow the heat to evaporate. In this state it is spread over the fields and ploughed in. Those who do not keep kine, and cannot afford to purchase manure, procure flocks of goats and sheep, and pay so much a night for having them penned in the fields. The land being ploughed and harrowed at least six or seven times, until the soil is almost pulverised, it is divided

into beds, and slight embankments are formed to facilitate irrigation. The seed is then thrown in, the fields are again inundated ; and the *seventh* day following this is repeated to saturation. On the *seventh* or *ninth*, but occasionally not until the *eleventh* day, the plant springs up : and on the *twenty-fifth*, when it has put forth a few leaves, and begins to look withered, they water it once more. As soon as this moisture dries, women and children are turned into the fields to thin the plants, leaving them about eight inches asunder, and loosening the earth around them with iron spuds. The plant is at this stage about three inches high. A month later, it is watered moderately, and when dry, the earth is again turned up and loosened. The fifth water is given in about ten days more ; two days after which a flower appears here and there. This is the signal for another watering, called ' the flower-watering ' ; after which, in twenty-four or thirty-six hours, all the flowers burst their cells. When about half the petals have fallen, they irrigate the plants sufficiently to moisten the earth, and soon the rest of the flowers drop off, leaving the bare capsule, which rapidly increases in bulk. In a short period, when scarcely a flower remains, a whitish powder collects outside the capsule, which is the signal for immediate application of the lancet.

The field is now divided into three parts, in one of which operations commence. The cutting-instrument consists of three prongs, with delicate points, around which cotton thread is bound to prevent its making too deep an incision, and thus causing the liquid to flow into the interior of the capsule. The wound is made from the base upwards, and the milky juice which exudes coagulates outside. Each plant is thrice pierced, on three successive days, the operation commencing as soon as the sun begins to warm. In cold mornings, when it congeals rapidly, the coagulation is taken off with a scraper. The fourth morning, each plant is once more pierced, to ascertain that no juice remains. On each morning this extract is immersed in a vessel of linseed oil, to prevent it from drying up. The juice being all collected, there remains only the seed. The capsules are therefore broken off and carried to the barn, where they are spread out upon the ground ; a little water is sprinkled over them, and being covered with a cloth, they remain till the morning, when the cattle tread out the seed, which is sent to the oilmen, and the refuse is burnt, lest the cattle should eat them, as even in this stage they are poisonous. Poppy oil is more used for the *cherag'h* (lamp) than any other in Méwar. They calculate a maund (of forty seers, or about seventy-five pounds weight) of seed for every two seers of milk. The price of seed is now twenty rupees per *mani* of one hundred and twelve (*cutcha*) maunds.

One *beega* of Malwa land, of the measure *Shahjéhání* (when the *jureeb*, or rod, is one hundred cubits long) will yield from five to fifteen seers of opium-juice, each seer being forty-five *salimshahi* rupees in weight : the medium is reckoned a good produce. The cultivator or farmer sells it, in the state described, to the speculator, at the price current of the day. The purchaser puts it into cotton bags of three folds, and carries it home. Having obtained the leaves of the poppy, he spreads them in a heap of two or three inches in depth, and thereon deposits the opium, in balls of fifteen rupees' weight each, which are allowed to remain five months for the purpose of evaporation. If the milk has been thin, or treated with oil, seven parts in ten will remain ; but if good and pure, eight. The

beoparris (speculators) then sell it, either for home-consumption in Rajpootana, or for exportation.

From the year S. 1840 (A.D. 1784) to S. 1857 (A.D. 1801), the market-price of the crude opium from the cultivator ran from sixteen to twenty-one *salimshahi* rupees per *durri*, a measure of five *pucka seers*, each seer being the weight of ninety *salimshahi* rupees. I give the price of the drug by the grower in the first stage, as a better criterion than that of the manufacturer in its prepared state. In the year S. 1857, it rose to twenty-five rupees; in S. 1860 to twenty-seven, gradually increasing till S. 1865 (A.D. 1809), when it attained its *maximum* of forty-two, or an advance of one hundred and seventy per cent. above the price of the year A.D. 1784. But some natural causes are assigned for this extraordinary advance; after which it gradually fell, until S. 1870 (A.D. 1814), when it was so low as twenty-nine. In S. 1873 it had again risen to thirty-three, and in S. 1874-5, when its transit to the ports of Sind and Guzerat was unmolested (whence it was exported to China and the Archipelago), it had reached thirty-eight and thirty-nine, where it now (S. 1876, or A.D. 1820) stands.

In Kanthul (which includes Pertabgurh Deola), or the tracts upon the Myhie river, opium is cultivated to a great extent, and adulterated in an extraordinary manner. This being sold in China as Malwa opium, has greatly lessened the value of the drug in that market. The adulteration is managed as follows: a preparation of refined *goor* (molasses) and gum, in equal proportion, is added to half its quantity of opiate coagulum; the mass is then put into cauldrons, and after being well amalgamated by boiling, it is taken out, and when sufficiently dry is well beaten, and put into cotton bags, which are sewn up in green hides, and exported to Muska-Mundi. The Goséns of these parts are the chief contractors for this impure opium, which is reckoned 'peculiarly unwholesome, and is never consumed in Rajpootana. Rumour says that it is transported to the Spice Islands, where it is used as a manure in the cultivation of the nutmeg. The transit-duties on opium, in the native states, are levied on each bullock-load, so that the adulterated pays as much as the pure. The Goséns smuggle great quantities.

Such is the history, and I believe a pretty correct one, of the growth and extension of this execrable and demoralising plant, for the last forty years. If the now paramount power, instead of making a monopoly of it, and consequently extending its cultivation, would endeavour to restrict it by judicious legislative enactments, or at least reduce its culture to what it was forty years ago, generations yet unborn would have just reason to praise us for this work of mercy. It is no less our interest than our duty to do so, and to call forth genuine industry, for the improvement of cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, and other products, which would enrich instead of demoralising, and therefore impoverishing, the country. We have saved Rajpootana from political ruin; but the boon of mere existence will be valueless if we fail to restore the moral energies of her population; for of this fine region and noble race we might say, as Byron does of Greece—

" 'Tis Greece—but living Greece no more! "

or the mind is decayed, and the body often palsied and worn out, in the

very meridian of life. As far as my personal influence went, I practised what I preach; and, as I have already stated, exacted a promise, from the Rana on the throne to the lowest thakoor, that they would never initiate their children in this debasing practice. But as mere declamation can do very little good, I will here insert a portion of the Agrarian customary code of Méwar and Malwa, which may be brought into operation directly or indirectly. The distribution of crops was as follows

To each *churru*, *chursa*, or skin of land, there is attached twenty-five beegas of irrigated land for wheat and barley, with from thirty to fifty beegas more, called *mar*, or *mal*, dependent on the heavens for water, and generally sown with *gram*. Of the twenty-five beegas of land irrigated from the well, the legislature sanctioned *one beega of opium*, and ten to fifteen *biswas* (twenty biswas are a beega) of sugar-cane. But in these days of anarchy and confusion, when every one follows his own view of things, they cultivate *two of opium* and three of cane, and perhaps *two of barley*, instead of twenty-five, to feed the family! What an unnatural state of agricultural economy is this, when the cultivator sometimes actually purchases food for his family, in order that he may bestow his time and labour on this enervating exotic! But should the foreign markets be closed, and famine, as is not unusual, ensue, what must be the consequence, where the finest corn-country in India is converted to a poppy-garden! In Haroutf, they manage these things better; and although its old politic ruler makes use of the districts in Malwa, which he rents from the Mahrattas, for the culture of opium, being himself a trader in it, yet I do not believe he permits its demoralising influence to enter within his proper domain. It is pleasing to see some traces of the legislative wisdom of past days, and old Zalim knows that it is by the more generous productions of the plough that his country must prosper. But our monopoly acted as an encouragement of this vice; for no sooner was it promulgated that the *Compani Sahib* was contractor-general for opium, than prince and peasant, nay, the very scavengers, dabbled in the speculation. All Malwa was thrown into a ferment; like the Dutch tulip-bubble, the most fraudulent purchases and transfers were effected by men who had not a seer of opium in their possession. The extent to which this must have gone may be imagined when, according to the return, the sales, in the first year of our monopoly, exceeded *one million* sterling, in which I rather think we *gained a loss* of some £40,000! It is to be hoped the subject is now better understood, and that the legislature at home will perceive that a perseverance in this pernicious traffic is consistent neither with our honour, our interest, nor with humanity.

If the facts I have collected are confirmed on inquiry, the late measures of Government,¹ in whatever motives originating, will only augment the mischief. Even admitting their expediency in protecting our Patna monopoly, and their justice as affecting the native governments (the contractors and cultivators of the drug), still other measures might have been devised, equally efficacious in themselves, and less pregnant with evil consequences.

¹ It is to be borne in mind, that this was written on the spot, in January, A.D. 1820.

CHAPTER V

Dharéswar—Ruttungurh Kheyri—Colony of Charuns—Little Attoa—Inscription at Paragurh—Doongur Sing—Seo Sing—Law of adoption—Kala Még'h—Omédpoora and its chief—Singolli—Temple of Bhavaní—Tablet of Rana Mokul—Traditionary tales of the Haras—Aloo Hara of Bumáóda—Dangermow—Singular effects produced by the sun on the atmosphere of the Pat'har.

DHARÉSWAR, *February 14*, six miles ; therm. 46° at 5 A.M.—From Kunéroh to Dharéswar there is a gradual descent, perhaps equal to one-third of the angle of ascent of the table-land. For half the distance the surface is a fine rich soil, but the last half is strewn with fragments of the rock. Dharéswar is beautifully situated at the lowest point of descent, with a clear stream, planted with fine timber to the south. The Bhomia rights are enjoyed by some Cuchwaha Rajpoots, who pay a share of the crops to Kunéroh. Passed a few small hamlets in the grey of the morning, and several herd of elk-deer, who walked away from us with great deliberation ; but the surface was too stony to try our horses' mettle.

15th, *Ruttungurh Kheyri*, distance nine miles.—The road over a bare rock, skirting a stream flowing on its surface. Two miles from Dharéswar is the boundary of Kunéroh, and the *chourásti* (eighty-four townships) of Kheyri ; the descent still graduating to Kheyri, which is probably not above one hundred feet higher than the external plains of Méwar. The road was over loose stones with much jungle, but here and there some fine patches of rich black soil. We kept company with the Dharéswar *nulla* all the way, which is well-wooded in its course, and presented a pretty fall at one point of our journey. Passed several hamlets, and a colony of Charuns, whom I found to be some of my friends of Murlah. They had not forgotten their privilege ; but as the ladies were only the matrons of the colony, there would have been no amusement in captivity ; so I dropped five rupees into the brazen *kullas*, and passed on. The cavalcade of the Komasdar of Kheyri was also at hand, consisting of about two hundred horse and foot, having left his castle on the peak to greet and conduct me to my tents. He is a relation of old Lallaji Bellal, and intelligent and polite. Our tents were pitched near the town, to which the Pundit conducted us ; after which act of civility, in the character of the *locum tenens* of my friend Lallaji, and his sovereign Sindia (in whose camp I sojourned twelve long years), he took his leave, inviting me to the castle ; but as it contained nothing antique, I would not give cause for jealousy to his prince by accepting his invitation, and civilly declined.

The *Chourásti*, or eighty-four [townships] of Ruttengurh Kheyri, was in S. 1828 (A.D. 1772) assigned to Madaji Sindia, to pay off a war-contribution ; and until S. 1832, its revenues were regularly accounted for. It was then made over to Bérji Táp, the son-in-law of Sindia, and has ever since remained alienated from Méwar. The treason of the chief of Beygoo, one of the sixteen nobles of the Rana, lost this jewel in his crown, for he seized upon the *Chourásti*, which adjoined his own estate, situated on the skirt of this alpine region. To expel him the Rana called on Sindia, who not only took the *Chourásti*, but Beygoo itself, which was heavily fined, and forty of its best villages, or half his fief, were mortgaged to pay the

mult. The landscape from these heights is very fine ; the pundit, from his aerial abode, can look down on Kheyri, and exclaim with Selkirk—

“ I am monarch of all I survey,”

but I would dispute his right with all my heart, if I could do so with success.

LITTLE ATTOA.—Distance eight miles, thermometer at daybreak 40° , with a cutting wind, straight from the north, which we keenly felt as our party ascended the heights of Ruttungurh. The altitude of this second *steppe* in the plateau is under four hundred feet, although the winding ascent made it by the perambulator five furlongs. The fort is erected on a projection of the mountain, and the works are in pretty good order. They had been adding fresh ones on the accessible side, which the general state of security has put a stop to. In fact, it could not hold out twenty-four hours against a couple of mortars, the whole interior being commanded from a height within easy range. I asked my old guide if the castle had ever stood a storm ; his reply was in the negative : “ She is still a *komari* (a virgin), and all forts are termed *komaris*, until they stand an assault.” We had a superb view from the summit, which is greatly above the level of Kunéroh, whose boundary line was distinct. The stream from Dharéswar was traced gliding through its embankments of black rock, covered with luxuriant young crops, and studded with mango and mowah trees. It is a singular fact, that the higher we ascended, the less mischief had been inflicted on the crops, although the sugar-cane looked prematurely ripe. The wheat fields were luxuriant, but the barley showed in their grizzly beards here and there an evidence of having suffered. I also noted that invariably all the low branches of the mowah trees were injured, the leaves shrivelled and dried up, while the superior ones were not affected. The field-peas (*butloé*) sown with the barley were more or less injured, but not nearly so much as at Kunéroh.

The road was execrable, if road it could be termed, which for many miles was formed for me by the kindness of the pundit, who cut a path through the otherwise impenetrable jungle, the abode of elks and tigers, sufficient to pass my baggage. This route is never passed by troops ; but I had curiosity to indulge, not comfort. About four miles from the castle, we ascended another moderate elevation to the village of Oomur, whence we saw Paragurh on the left, and learning that it contained an inscription, I dispatched one of my pundits to copy it. A mile farther brought us to the extremity of the ridge serving as a landmark to the *Chourási* of Kheyri. From it we viewed another *steppe*, that we shall ascend the day after to-morrow, from which I am told the Pat’har gradually shelves to the banks of the Chumbul, the termination of our journey. As we passed the village of Omédpoora (*Hopetown*), a sub-infeudation of Beygoo, held by the uncle of its chief, we were greeted by the Thakoor, accompanied by two of his kinsmen. They were all well-mounted, lance in hand, and attired in their quilted tunics and deer-skin doublet, of itself no contemptible armour. They conveyed their chief’s compliments, and having accompanied me to my tents, took leave.

CHOOTA, or little Attoa, is also held by a sub-vassal of the same clan, the Méghawuts of Beygoo ; his name Doongur Sing, ‘ the mountain lion,’ now with me, and who long enjoyed the pre-eminent distinction of being chief reiver of the Pat’har. With our party he has the familiar appella-

tion of Roderic Dhú, and without boasting of his past exploits, he never dreams of their being coupled with dishonour. Although he scoured the country far and near to bring blackmail to his mountain-retreat, it was from the Mahrattas chiefly that his wants were supplied ; and he required but the power, to have attained the same measure of celebrity as his ancestor the ' Blackcloud ' (*Kala-meg'h*) of Beygoo. Still, his name was long the bugbear of this region, and the words *Doongur Sing áyá!* ' the mountain lion is at hand ! ' were sufficient to scare the peaceful occupants of the surrounding country from their property, or to arm them for its defence. With the ' Southron ' he had just cause of quarrel, since, but for him, he would have been lord of Nuddowaé and its twenty-four villages, of which his grandfather was despoiled at the same time that this alpine region was wrested by Sindia from his sovereign. This *tuppa*, however, fell to Holcar ; but the father of Doongur, lance in hand, gave the conqueror no rest, until he granted him a lease in perpetuity of four of the villages of his patrimony, two of which were under Holcar's own seal, and two under that of the renter. About twenty years ago, the latter having been resumed, Seo Sing took up his lance again, and initiated the mountain-lion, his son, in the *lex talionis*. He flung away the scabbard, sent his family for security to the Raja of Shapoorá, and gave his mind up to vengeance. The father and son, and many other brave spirits with the same cause of revenge, carried their incursions into the very heart of Malwa, bringing back the spoils to his den at little Attoá. But though his hand was now raised against every man, he forgot not his peculiar feud (*bér*), and his patrimony of Nuddowaé yielded little to the Mahratta. But Seo Sing was surrounded by foes, who leagued to circumvent him, and one day, while driving many a goodly buffalo to his shelter, he was suddenly beset by a body of horse placed in ambush by the Bhow. But both were superbly mounted, and they led them a chase through Mandelgurh, and were within the very verge of security, when, as Seo Sing put his mare to the *nulla*, she played him false and fell, and ere she recovered herself the long lance of the Mahratta was through the rider. Young Doongur was more fortunate, and defying his pursuers to clear the rivulet, bound up the body of his father in his scarf, ascended the familiar path, and burnt it at midnight, amongst the family altars of Nuddowaé. But far from destroying, this only increased the appetite for vengeance, which has lasted till these days of peace ; and, had every chieftain of Méwar acted like Doongur, the Mahratta would have had fewer of their fields to batten on to-day. His frank, but energetic answer, when the envoy mentioned the deep complaints urged against him by the present manager of Nuddowaé, was " I must have bread ! " and this they had snatched from him. But Holcar's government, which looks not to the misery inflicted, carries loud complaints to the resident authorities, who can only decide on the principle of possession, and the abstract view of Doongur's course of life. For myself, I do not hesitate to avow, that my regard for the chiefs of Méwar, is in the ratio of their retaliation on their ' Southron ' foe ; and entering deeply into all their great and powerful grounds for resentment, I warmly espoused the cause of the ' mountain-lion ' ; and as the case (through Mr. Gerald Wellesley) was left by Holcar's government to my arbitration, I secured to the chief a part of his patrimony under their joint seal, and left him to turn his lance into a plough-

share, until fresh causes for just aggression may arise. This settlement gave me another proof of the inalienable right in land granted by the *ryot* cultivator, and its superiority over that granted by the sovereign. There were certain rights in the soil (*bhom*) which Doongur's ancestors had thus obtained, in the township of Nuddowaé, to which he attached a higher value than to the place itself. Doongur's story affords a curious instance of the laws of adoption superseding, if not the rank, the fortune resulting from birthright. Seo Sing and Doulut Sing, both sub-vassals of Beygoo, were brothers; the former had Nuddowaé, the latter Rawurdo. But Doulut Sing, having no issue, adopted Salim Sing, the younger brother of Doongur, who has thus become lord of Rawurdo, of nearly four thousand rupees annual rent, while Doongur's chief place is little Attoá, and the *bhom* of Nuddowaé. Salim Sing is now in high favour with his chief of Beygoo, to whom he is *faujdar*, or leader of the vassals. In personal appearance he has greatly the advantage of Doongur; Salim is tall and very handsome, bold in speech and of gentlemanly deportment; Doongur is compact in form, of dark complexion, rugged in feature, and bluntness itself in phrase, but perfectly good-humoured, frank, and unreserved; and as he rode by my side, he amused me with many anecdotes connected with the scenery around.

SINGOLLI, February 17, eight and a half miles, thermometer 40°.—This town is chief of a *tuppa* or subdivision, containing fifty-two villages, of the district of Antri, a term applied to a defile, or tract surrounded by mountains. The Antri of Méwar is fertilised by the Bhamuni, which finds its way through a singular diversity of country, after two considerable falls, to the Chumbul, and is about thirty miles in length, reckoning from Beechore to the summit of the steppe of the plateau, by about ten miles in breadth, producing the most luxuriant crops of wheat, barley, gram, sugar-cane, and poppy; and having, spread over its surface, one hundred villages and hamlets.

From Beechore, the pass opening from the plains of Méwar, to the highest peak of this alpine Pat'har, the *Kálá Még'h*, or 'black cloud,' of Beygoo, bore sway. From him sprung another of the numerous clans of Méwar, who assumed the patronymic Méghawut. These clans and tribes multiply, for Kálá Még'h and his ancestors were recognised as a branch of the Sangawut, one of the early subdivisions of the Chondawut, the chief clan of Méwar. The descendant of the 'black cloud,' whose castle of Beygoo is near the entrance to Antri, could not now muster above a hundred and fifty men at arms throughout the Pat'har; to which he might add as many more of foreign Rajpoots, as the Hara and Gor, holding lands for service. The head of the Méghawuts has not above twenty villages in his fief of Beygoo, though these might yield twenty-five thousand rupees annually, if cultivated; the rest is still in the hands of the Mahrattas, as a mortgage contracted nearly forty years ago, and which has been liquidated ten times over: they include, in this, even a third of the produce of his own place of residence, and the town itself is never free from these intruders, who are continually causing disturbances. Unhappily for Méwar, the grand principle of the campaign and its political results "that of excluding the Mahrattas from the west bank of the Chumbul," was forgotten in our successes, or all the alienated lands of Méwar as far as the Malwa frontier

would have reverted to the Rana. The hamlets on the Pat'har consist of huts with low mud walls, and tiled roofs; even Omédpoora though inhabited by the uncle of the chief, is no better than the rest, and his house is one which the poorest peasant in England would not occupy. Yet steeped in poverty, its chieftain, accompanied by his son, nephew, and fifteen more of his kin and clan, came "for the purpose of doing himself, his lord paramount of Beygoo, and the British agent, honour." The mountain-chief of Omédpoora affords a fine example, that noble bearing may be independent of the trappings of rank: high descent and proper self-respect appeared in every feature and action. Dressed in a homely suit of *amowah*, or russet green, with a turban of the same (the favourite hunting costume of the Rajpoot); over all the corselet of the skin of the elk, slain by himself; with his bright lance in hand, and mounted on a good strong horse, whose accoutrements like his master's were plain but neat, behold the vassal of Omédpoora equipped for the chase or foray. The rest of his party followed him on foot, gay and unconcerned as the wild-deer of the Pat'har; ignorant of luxury, except a little *uml-pani* when they go to Beygoo; and whose entire wants, including food, raiment, gunpowder, and tobacco, can be amply supplied by about £8 a year each? The party accompanied me to my tents, and having presented brilliant scarlet turbans and scarfs, with some English gunpowder, to the chief, his son, and nephew, we parted mutually pleased at the rencontre.

The descent to Singolli is very gentle, nor are we above eighty feet below the level of Oomur, the highest point of the Pat'har, which I rejoice to have visited, but lament the want of my barometers. Singolli, in such a tract as this, may be entitled a town, having fifteen hundred inhabited dwellings encompassed by a strong wall. The pundit is indebted to his own good management, and the insecurity around him, for this numerous population. In the centre of the town, the dingy walls of a castle built by Aloo Hara strike the eye, from the contrast with the new works added by the pundit; it has a deep ditch, with a *fausse-braye*, and parapet. The circumvallation measures a mile and three-quarters. About a mile to the north-west are the remains of a temple to Vijyáséní Bhavaní, the Pallas of the Rajpoots. I found a tablet recording the piety of the lord paramount of the Pat'har, in a perpetual gift of lights for the altar. It runs thus: "Samvat 1477 (A.D. 1421), the 2d of Asoj, being Friday (*Brigwár*¹),

¹ A name of *Súkrácharyá*, the Regent of the planet Venus. The 'star of eve' is always called *Súkrá*, but presents a most unpoetic idea to the mind, when we learn that this star, the most beautiful of the heavenly host, is named after an immoral one-eyed male divinity, who lost his other orb in an undignified personal collision, from an assault upon *Tará* (the star), the wife of a brother-god. *Súkrácharyá*, notwithstanding, holds the office of *gúrú*, or spiritual adviser, to the whole celestial body—we may add *ex uno disce omnes*: and assuredly the Hindu who takes the mythological biography of his gods *au pied de la lettre*, cannot much strengthen his morality thereby. The classical Hindu of these days values it as he ought, looking upon it as a pretty astronomical fable, akin to the voyage of the Argonauts; but the bulk enter the temple of the "thirty-three millions of gods" with the same firmness of belief as did the old Roman his Pantheon. The first step, and a grand one, has been made to destroy this fabric of Polytheism, and to turn the mind of the Hindu to the perception of his own purer creed, adoration of 'the one, omniscient, omnipotent, and eternal God.' Rammohun Roy has made this step, who "has become a law unto himself," and a precursor, it is to be hoped, of benefit to his race. In the practical effects of Christianity, he is a Christian, though still a devout Brahmin, adoring the

Maharaja Sri Mokul-ji, in order to furnish lights (*jote wasta*) for *Vijyāsēni Bhāvanīji*, has granted one *beega* and a half of land. Whosoever shall set aside this offering, the goddess will overtake him." This is a memorial of the celebrated Rana Mokul of Méwar, whose tragical death by assassination has been recorded in the annals of that state.¹ Mokul was one of the most celebrated of this race; and he defeated, in a pitched battle at Raepoor, a grandson of the emperor of Dehli. He was the father of *Lāl-Bâé*, called 'the Ruby of Méwar,' regarding whom we have related a little scandal from the chronicle of the Bhattis (see p. 204): but the bard of the Kheechies, who says that prince Dheeraj espoused her in spite of the insult of the desert chief, had no cause to doubt the lustre of this gem.

The Pat'har resounds with the traditionary tales of the Haras, who, at a very early period, established themselves in this alpine region, on which they erected twelve castles for its protection, all of them still to be traced existing or in ruins; and although they assumed the title of "lords of the Pat'har," they acknowledged the supremacy of the Ranas of Méwar, whom they obeyed as liege lords at this very time. Of these twelve castles, Ruttungurh is the only one not entirely dismantled; though even the ruins of another, Dilwargurh, had been the cause of a bloody feud between the Méghawut of Beygoo and the Suktawut of Gwalior, also in the Pat'har. That of Paranuggur, or Parolli, lays a short distance from thence, but the most famous of all is Bumâôda, placed upon the western crest of the plateau, and overlooking the whole plain of Méwar. Although some centuries have elapsed since the Haras were expelled from this table-land, the name of Aloo of Bumâôda still lives, and is familiar even to the savage Bhîl, who, like the beasts, subsists upon the wild fruits of the jungles. It is my intention to return by another route across the Pat'har, and to visit the site of Aloo's dwelling; meanwhile I will give one of the many tales related of him by my guide, as I traversed the scenes of his glory.

Aloo Hara, one day, returning homeward from the chase, was accosted by a Charun, who, having bestowed his blessing upon him, would accept of nothing in exchange but the turban from his head. Strange as was the desire, he preferred compliance to incurring the *viserwa*, or 'vituperation of the bard'; who, placing Aloo's turban on his own head, bade him 'live a thousand years,' and departed. The Charun immediately bent his steps to Mundore, the capital of Maroo; and as he was ushered into the presence of its prince and pronounced the *byrd* of the Rahtores, he took off his turban with the left hand, and performed his salutation with the right. The unusual act made the prince demand the cause, when in reply he was

Creator alone, and exercising an extended charity, with a spirit of meekness, toleration, and benevolence, added to manly resistance of all that savours of oppression, which stamps him as a man chosen for great purposes. To these moral, he adds mental qualifications of the highest order: clear and rapid perception, vigorous comprehension, immense industry of research, and perfect self-possession; having, moreover, a classical knowledge, not of our language only, but of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Persian, Arabic, and the 'mother-tongue,' or *langue-mère* of all, the Sanscrit.

¹ By means of this simple tablet, we detect an anachronism in the chronicle. It is stated in p. 230 of the first volume, that Koombho succeeded his father Rana Mokul in S. 1475, or two years anterior to the date of the grant of lights for the goddess. Such checks upon Rajpoot chronology are always falling in the way of those who will read as they run.

told " that the turban of Aloo Hara should bend to none on earth." Such reverence to an obscure chief of the mountains of Méwar enraged the King of the Desert, who unceremoniously kicked the turban out of doors. Aloo, who had forgotten the strange request, was tranquilly occupied in his pastime, when his *quondam* friend again accosted him, his head bare, the insulted turban under his arm, and loudly demanding vengeance on the Rahtore, whose conduct he related. Aloo was vexed, and upbraided the Charun for having wantonly provoked this indignity towards him. " Did I not tell you to ask land, or cattle, or money, yet nothing would please you but this rag ; and my head must answer for the insult to a vile piece of cloth : for nothing appertaining to Aloo Hara shall be insulted with impunity even by the *T'hahoor* of Marwar." Aloo forthwith convened his clan, and soon five hundred " sons of one father " were assembled within the walls of Bumáóda, ready to follow wheresoever he led. He explained to them the desperate nature of the enterprise from which none could expect to return ; and he prepared the fatal *johur* for all those who determined to die with him. This first step to vengeance being over, the day of departure was fixed ; but previous to this he was anxious to ensure the safety of his nephew, who, on failure of direct issue, was the adopted heir of Bumáóda. He accordingly locked him up in the inner keep of the castle, within seven gates, each of which had a lock, and furnishing him with provisions, departed.

The prince of Mundore was aware he had entailed a feud ; but so little did he regard what this mountain-chief might do, that he proclaimed " all the lands over which the Hara should march to be in *dán* (gift) to the Brahmins." But Aloo, who despised not the aid of stratagem, disguised his little troop as horse-merchants, and placing their arms and caparisons in covered carriages, and their steeds in long strings, the hostile caravan reached the capital unsuspected. The party took rest for the night ; but with the dawn they saddled, and the *nakarras* of the Hara awoke the Rahtore prince from his slumber ; starting up, he demanded who was the audacious mortal that dared to strike his drum at the gates of Mundore ? The answer was,—“ Aloo Hara of Bumáóda ! ”

The mother (probably a Choháni) of the King of Maroo now asked her son " how he meant to fulfil his vaunt of giving to the Brahmins all the lands that the Hara passed over ? " but he had the resolution to abide by his pledge, and the magnanimity not to take advantage of his antagonist's position ; and to his formal challenge, conveyed by beat of *nakarra*, he proposed that single combats should take place, man for man. Aloo accepted it, and thanked him for his courtesy, remarking to his kinsmen, " At least we shall have five hundred lives to appease our revenge ! ”

The lists were prepared ; five hundred of the " chosen sons of Séóji " were marshalled before their prince to try the manhood of the Haras ; and now, on either side, a champion had stepped forth to commence this mortal strife, when a stripling rushed in, his horse panting for breath, and demanded to engage a gigantic Rahtore. The champions depressed their lances, and the pause of astonishment was first broken by the exclamation of the Hara chieftain, as he thus addressed the youth : " Oh ! headstrong and disobedient, art thou come hither to extinguish the race of Aloo Hara ? "—" Let it perish, uncle (*háká*), if, when you are in peril, I am not with you ! " replied the adopted heir of Bumáóda. The veteran Rahtore

smiled at the impetuous valour of the youthful Hara, who advanced with his sword ready for the encounter. His example was followed by his gallant antagonist, and courtesy was exhausted on either side to yield the first blow ; till, at length, Aloo's nephew accepted it ; and it required no second, for he clove the Rahtore in twain. Another took his place—he shared the same fate ; a third, a fourth, and in like manner twenty-five, fell under the young hero's sword. But he bore “ a charmed life ” ; the queen of armies (*Vijyáséní*), whose statue guards the entrance of Bumáóda, had herself enfranchised the youth from the sevenfold gates, in which his uncle had incarcerated him, and having made him invulnerable except in one spot (the neck), sent him forth to aid his uncle, and gain fresh glory for the race of which she was the guardian. But the vulnerable point was at length touched, and Aloo saw the child of his love and his adoption stretched upon the earth. The queen-mother of the Rahtores, who witnessed the conflict, dreaded a repetition of such valour, from men in whom desire of life was extinct ; and she commanded that the contest should cease, and reparation be made to the lord of the *Pat'har*, by giving him in marriage a daughter of Mundore. Aloo's honour was redeemed ; he accepted the offer, and with his bride repaired to the desolate Bumáóda. The fruit of this marriage was a daughter ; but destiny had decreed that the race of Aloo Hara should perish. When she had attained the age of marriage, she was betrothed. Bumáóda was once more the scene of joy, and Aloo went to the temple and invited the goddess to the wedding. All was merriment ; and amongst the crowd of mendicants who besieged the door of hospitality was a decrepit old woman, who came to the threshold of the palace, and desired the guard to “ tell Aloo Hara she had come to the feast, and demanded to see him ; ” but the guard, mocking her, desired her to be gone, and “ not to stand between the wind and him : ” she repeated her request, saying that “ she had come by special invitation.” But all was in vain ; she was driven forth with scorn. Uttering a deep curse, she departed, and the race of Aloo Hara was extinct. It was *Vijyáséní* herself, who was thus repulsed from the house of which she was protectress !

A good moral is here inculcated upon the Rajpoot, who, in the fatal example of Aloo Hara, sees the danger of violating the laws of wide-extended hospitality : besides, there was no hour too sacred, no person too mean, for such claims upon the ruler. For the present, we shall take leave of Aloo Hara, and the “ Mother of Victory ” of the *Pat'har*, whose shrine I hope to visit on my return from Haravati ; when we shall learn what part of her panoply she parted with to protect the gallant heir of Bumáóda.

DANGERMOW, *February* 18, eight miles ; thermometer 48°.—A choice of three routes presented itself to us this morning. To the left lay the celebrated Mynál, once the capital of Oopérmál ; on the right, but out of the direct line, was the castle of Bhynsrór, scarcely less celebrated ; and straight before us the pole-star and Kotah, the point to which I was journeying. I cut the knot of perplexity by deviating from the direct line, to descend the table-land to Bhynsrór, and without crossing the Chumbul, nearly retraced my steps, along the left bank, to Kotah, leaving Mynál for my return to Oodipoor. Our route lay through the *antri*, or valley, whose northern boundary we had reached, and between it and the

Bhamuni. The tract was barren but covered with jungle, with a few patches of soil lodged amidst the hollows or otherwise bare rock, over whose black surface several rills had cut a low bed, all falling into the Bhamuni. One of these had a name which we need not translate, *Rani bor-ca-Khâl*, and which serves as a boundary between the lands of the Méghawuts of Antri and the Suktawuts of Bhynsrór.

Dangermow-Borão is a small *putta* of twelve villages, yielding fifteen thousand rupees of annual rent ; but it is now partitioned,—six villages to each of the towns above mentioned. They are Suktawut allotments, and the elder, Sukt Sing, has just returned from court, where he had been to have the sword of investiture (*tulwar bandai*) girt on him as the lord of Borão. Bishen Sing of Dangermow is at Kotah, where he enjoys the confidence of Zalim Sing and is commandant of cavalry. He has erected a castle on the very summit of the third *steppe* of the Pat'har, whose dazzling white walls contrast powerfully with the black and bleak rock on which it stands, and render it a conspicuous object. The Suktawuts of the Pat'har are of the Bansí family, itself of the second grade of nobles of Méwar ; and the rank of both the chiefs of Dangermow and Borão was the third, or that termed *gole* ; but now, having each a *putta* (at least nominally) of above five thousand rupees yearly rent, they are lifted into the *bateesa*, or amongst the ' thirty-two ' of the second class.

The Bhamuni, whose course will carry us to its close at Bhynsrór, flows under the walls of both Dangermow and Borão, and is the cause not only of great fertility but of diversity, in this singular alpine region. The weather has again undergone a very sensible change, and is extremely trying to those, who, like myself, are affected by a pulmonary complaint, and who are obliged to brave the mists of the mountain-top long before the sun is risen. On the second, at daybreak, the thermometer stood at 60°, and only three days after, at 27° ; again it rose to 40° and for several days stood at this point, and 75° at midday. The day before we ascended the Pat'har it rose to 54°, and 94° at noon ; and on reaching the summit, 60° and 90° ; again it falls to 40°, and we now shiver with cold. The density of the atmosphere has been particularly annoying both yesterday and to-day. Clouds of mist rolled along the surface of the mountain, which, when the sun cleared the horizon, and shot about ' spear-high ' in the heavens, produced the most fantastic effects. The orb was clear and the sky brilliant ; but the masses of mist, though merely a thin vapour and close to the spectator, exhibited singular and almost kaleidoscopic changes. There was scarcely a figure that the sun did not assume ; the upper half appearing orbicular, the lower elliptical : in a second, this was reversed. Sometimes it was wholly elliptical, with a perfect change of the axis, the transverse and conjugate changing places—a loaf, a bowl, and at one instant a scollop-shell, then ' round as my shield,' and again a segment of a circle, and thus alternating until its ascension dissipated the medium of this beautiful illusion, the more perfect from the sky being cloudless. The mists disappeared from the mountain long before this phantasmagoria finished.

CHAPTER VI

Bhynsorgurh—Cairn of a Rajpoot—Ragonat'h Sing of Bhynsrór—Castle of Bhynsrór—Passage forced by the Chumbul through the Plateau—Origin and etymology of Bhynsrór—Charuns, the carriers of Rajwarra—The young chief of Mehwo becomes the champion of Méwar—Averages the Rana's feud with Jessulmér, and obtains Bhynsrór—Tragical death of his Thakoorâni, niece of the Rana—He is banished—The Pramár chiefs of Bhynsrór—Cause of their expulsion—Lall Sing Chondawut obtains Bhynsrór—Assassinates his friend the Rana's uncle—Maun Sing, his son, succeeds—Is taken prisoner—Singular escape—Reflections on the policy of the British Government towards these people—Antiquities and inscriptions at Bhynsrór—Dabí—View from the pass at Nasairah—Rajpoot cairns—Tomb of a bard—Sentiments of the people on the effects of our interference—Their gratitude—Cairn of a Bhatti chief—Kurripoor—Depopulated state of the country—Inscriptions at Sontra—Bhil temple—Ruins—The Holi festival—Kotah, its appearance.

FEBRUARY 19, *Bhynsorgurh*, ten miles, four furlongs; thermometer 51° ; atmosphere dense and oppressive, and roads execrable, through a deep forest; but for the hatchets of my friends, my baggage never could have been got on. We passed several hamlets, consisting of a dozen or more huts, the first of which I find belongs to my young friend Morji of Goorah, himself a vassal of the Pramár of Bijolli (one of the sixteen Omras of Méwar), and holding a few *beegas* of *bhom*, as his *vat* or share of the *bápotá* (patrimony) of Boráo. We have elsewhere given a copy of the tenure on which Morji holds a village in the fief of Bijolli.¹ At seven miles from Dangermow, we came to a small shrine of an Islamite saint, who buried himself alive. It is an elevated point, from whence is a wild but lovely prospect. There is a *coond*, or 'fountain,' planted with trees, close to the shrine, which attracts a weekly *méla* or 'fair,' attended by all classes, who cannot help attributing some virtue to a spot where a saint, though a Mooslem, thus expiated his sins. In descending, we heard the roaring of mighty waters, and soon came upon the Bamuni, forming a fine cascade of about fifty feet in height; its furious course during the monsoon is apparent from the weeds it has left on the trees, at least twenty feet above its present level. The fall of the country is rapid, even from this lower spot, to the bed of the Chumbul. Oopérmál must have a considerable elevation above the tableland of Jánápá, where the Chumbul and other streams have their fountains; but of all this we shall by and by form a more correct opinion. We passed the cairn of a Rajpoot who fell defending his post against the Meenas of the Kairar, a tract on the banks of the Bunas, filled with this banditti, in one of their last irruptions which disturbed the peace of this region. Each traveller adds a stone, and I gave my mite to swell the heap.

The *putta* of Bhynsrór is held by Ragonat'h Sing, one of the sixteen great lords of Méwar, having the very ancient title of Rawut, peculiar to Rajpootana, and the diminutive of Rao. Bhynsrór is one of the best fiefs of Méwar, and the lands attached to it are said to be capable of yielding one lakh of annual revenue, equal to £50,000 in the dearest countries of Europe; and when I add that a cavalier can support himself, his steed, etc., on £50, its relative value will at once be understood. He

has also a toll upon the ferries of the Chumbul, though not content therewith, he levied until lately a percentage on all merchandise, besides impositions on travellers of whatever description, under the name of *kote murimut*, or 'repairs of the castle': were we, however, to judge by its dilapidated condition, we should say his exactions were very light, or the funds were misapplied. This is the sole passage of the Chumbul for a great extent, and all the commerce of higher Malwa, Harouti, and Méwar passes through this domain. The class of *bunjarris* (traders) termed Vishnúé, long established at the city of Poor'h in Méwar, frequent no other route in their journey from the salt-lakes of the desert to Malwa or Boondelkhund. Their *tándá* or caravan consists of six thousand bullocks, and they never make less than two, and often three, trips in the year. The duty of the *raj* is five rupees for each hundred head thus laden; but the feudatory, not content with his imposition of "castle repairs" and "bhóm" as lord of the manor, has added a hundred and fifty per cent. to the regular transit duty of the state, which is divided into two items; namely, three rupees and a half for the ferry, and as much for *bolai*, or safe escort through his territory. But as Harouti always afforded protection (which could be said of no other region of independent India), the *ghat* of the Chumbul was much frequented, in spite of these heavy drawbacks to industry. My friend the Rawut has, however, found it expedient to remove all these *war-taxes*, retaining only that portion which has been attached to the frontier post, for protection; and a portion of the ferry-rate granted to this fief nearly two centuries ago. Instead of about fifteen per cent., as heretofore levied, including that of the crown, it amounts to less than one-half, and the revenue has been quadrupled!

The castle of Bhynsrór is most romantically situated upon the extreme point of a ridge, on an almost isolated rib of the Pat'har, from which we have descended. To the east, its abrupt cliff overhangs the placid expanse of the Chumbul, its height above which is about two hundred feet: the level of the river in the monsoon is marked at full thirty feet above its present elevation. The Bamuni bounds Bhynsrór on the west, and by the rapidity of its fall has completely scarped the rock, even to the angle of confluence within which is placed the castle, to whose security a smaller intermediate stream not a little contributes. By mistake it is placed in the map on the wrong side of the Bamuni.

On the north alone is it accessible, and there the hill is scarped; but this scarp, which is about three hundred yards distant, forms a good cover, and a few shells thence played upon the castle would soon compel it to surrender. The rock is a soft, loose, blue schistose slate, which would not retard the miner. The approach from the river, here about five hundred yards wide, would be destruction. It is never fordable, and its translucent sea-green waters are now full forty feet in depth. When in the periodical rains it accumulates at its source, and is fed during its passage by many minor streams from the Vindhya and this *oberland*, its velocity is overwhelming; it rises above the opposing bank, and laying the whole tract to the base of the tableland of Harouti under water, sweeps away in its irresistible course even the rocks. Speculation might here be exhausted in vain attempts to explain how nature could overcome this formidable obstacle to her operations, and how the stream could

effect its passage through this adamantine barrier. The channel cut in the rock is as clean as if performed by the chisel, and standing on the summit of the cliff, which is from three hundred to seven hundred feet in height, one discerns in imagination the marks of union : to use the words of our last great bard, on the Rhone,

" Heights which appear as lovers who have parted
In hate, whose mining depths so intervene,
That they can meet no more, though broken-hearted."

I shall by and by, I trust, obtain a more correct knowledge of the comparative elevation of this *plateau*, and the crest of the Vindhya whence issues the Chumbul ; but although this stream is, of course, much below the level of its source, yet there is little doubt that the summit of this chasm (*oopermál*) is, as its name indicates, the ' highest land ' of Malwa. I say this after making myself acquainted with the general depression of Malwa to this point, in which we are aided by the course of the stream. Under Bhynsrur, the current is never very gentle ; but both above and below there are rapids, if not falls, of thirty to fifty feet in descent. That above the stream is termed the *Chooli*, because full of whirlpools and eddies, which have given a sacred character to it, like the Nerbudda, at ' the whirlpools of the great god,' *Chooli Maheswar*. A multitude of the round stones taken out of these vortices, when they have been rounded by attrition into a perfectly orbicular form, only require consecration and a little red paint to be converted into the representatives of *Bhiroo*, the god of war, very properly styled the elder born of Síva, the destroyer. This is about two miles up the stream ; there is another at Kotrah, about three miles down, with several successive rapids. There is a fall in the vicinity of Rampoorá, and another about five coss north of it, at Choraitagurh, where the river first penetrates the plateau. There, I understand, it is not above seventy yards in breadth, confined between cliffs perfectly perpendicular. There is also said to be another fall or rapid intermediate between Rampoorá and its source in the peak of *Jánápá*, in the neighbourhood of Oneil. If these are all the falls, though only amounting to rapids, we may form a tolerable idea of the difference of level between the base of the *Oopermál* and the highland of the Vindhya, whence the Chumbul issues ; and still we shall see that there are points where the perpendicular cliffs must be some hundred feet above the peak of *Jánápá* ; if so, this chasm was never formed by water.

Méwar still extends east of the river, and the greater part of the estate of Bhynsrur is on the opposite side. A small stream, called the Kurb-cá-Kál, divides the lands of the Haras from those of the Seesodias, and there is a *beejuk-marka*, or landmark inscription, at the *Shésa tallao*, put up centuries ago. To this line, and between it and the Chumbul, is the *putta* of Koondál ; and farther south, towards Rampoorá, is that of Puchail, both containing twenty-four villages attached to Bhynsrur. All that tract farther inland in Upper Malwa, termed Malki-dés, in which are the towns of Chychut and Sukeit, was in old times included geographically in Méwar ; it is yet possessed by the Suktawuts, though subject to Kotah.

Tradition has preserved the etymology of Bhynsrur, and dates its erection from the second century of the era of Vicrama, though others

make it antecedent even to him. Be that as it may, it adds a fact of some importance, namely, that the Charuns, or bards, were then, as now, the privileged carriers of Rajwarra, and that this was one of their great lines of communication. Bhynsrer, therefore, instead of being the work of some mighty conqueror, owes its existence to the joint efforts of Bhynsa Sah, the merchant, and Rora, a Charun and Bunjarri, to protect their *tándás* (caravans) from the lawless mountaineers, when compelled to make a long halt during the periodical rains. How many lines of heroes possessed it before the Haras established themselves among its ruins is unknown, though the "universal Prammar" is mentioned. Its subsequent change of masters, and their names and history, are matters of less doubt; since the altars of the Dodeah, the Prammar, the Rahtore, the Suktawut, the Chondawut,

"—who sought and found, by dangerous roads,
A path to perpetuity of fame,"

are still visible. Of the Dodeah name we have already preserved one wreck, though whether the 'rocket of the moon' was of the family who dwelt upon the whirlpools of the Chumbul, we must leave to conjecture. Not so of his successor, the Rahtore, who was a scion of the house of Mehwo, on the Salt River of the desert, from which, though he was but a vassal of Mundore, the Rana scorned not to take a wife boasting the pure blood of the kings of Canouj. A younger brother accompanied her to the court of Cheetore. Soon after, the Rawul of Jessulmér dared to put an affront upon the Rana, the acknowledged head of the Rajpoot race! The chivalry of Méwar was assembled, and the *beera* of vengeance held up, which the stripling heir of Mehwo, darting forward, obtained. Although but fifteen years of age, entreaties were lost upon him to induce him to renounce the enterprise, which in all probability some border-feud of his paternal house and the Bhattis, as well as *swamdherna*, or fealty, to his sovereign and kinsman, may have prompted. His only request was that he might be aided by two of his intimate friends, and five hundred horse of his own selection. How he passed the desert, or how he gained admittance to the chief of the Bhatti tribe, is not stated; suffice it to say, that he brought the Rawul's head and placed it at the feet of the sovereign of Cheetore, for which service he had a grant of Saloombra; and subsequently (fiefs in those days not being *amovable*) he was removed to Bhynsrer. The young Rahtore continued to rise in favour: he was already by courtesy and marriage the *bhanaij*, or nephew, of his sovereign, who for this action bestowed upon him a young princess of his own blood; an honour which in the end proved fatal. One day, the *thakoor* (chief) was enjoying himself in his baronial hall of Bhynsrer, in the midst of his little court, with a *nautch*, when a fatal curiosity, perhaps instigated by jealousy, induced his Rani to peep out from the lattice above. Offended at this violation of decorum, he said aloud to an attendant, "Tell the *thakoorani*, if she is eager to come abroad, she may do so, and I will retire." The lady disputed the justice of the reprimand, asserting that her lord had been mistaken, and tried to shift the reproach to one of her damsels; but failing to convince him, she precipitated herself from the battlements into the whirlpools beneath: the spot where she fell into the Chumbul still retains the name of *Ranigutta*. When it was reported to the Rana that a false

accusation had caused the suicide of his niece, the sentence of banishment from Méwar was pronounced against the Rahtore, which was afterwards commuted, out of a regard for his former service, to the sequestration of Bhynsrer; and he had the small fief of Neermie and its twenty dependent hamlets, situated upon the *Pat'har*, and not far from Bhynsrer, bestowed upon him.

Beejy Sing, the descendant of the hero of this tale, has just been to see me; a shrewd and stalwart knight, not a whit degenerated by being transplanted from the Looní to the Chumbul; for, though surrounded by Mahratta depredators, by means of the fastnesses in which he dwells, and with the aid of his good lance, with which he repays them in kind, he has preserved his little estate in times so fatal to independence. Had I not entered deeply into the history of the past, I might have been led away by the disadvantageous reports given of these brave men, who were classed with the common freebooters of the hills, and pointed out as meriting similar chastisement; since these associations, both for their own security and retaliation on the vagabond Mahrattas, who usurped or destroyed their birthright, gave a colour to the complaints against them.

The Pramár (*vulg.* Píar) succeeded the Rahtore in the fief of Bhynsrer. How long the former held it is uncertain; but the mode in which the last vassal chieftain lost it and his life together, affords another trait of national manners. Here again the fair, whose influence over the lords of Rajpootana we have elsewhere mentioned, was the cause of the catastrophe. The Prámár had espoused the daughter of his neighbour chieftain of Beygoo, and they lived happily until a game at *pacheesi*, somewhat resembling chess, caused a dispute, in which he spoke slightly of her family, an affront never to be pardoned by a Rajpootní; and the next day she wrote to her father. The messenger had not left his presence with the reply, before the *naharra* beat the assembly for the *khér*. The descendants of the 'black cloud' (*Kalamég'h*) obeyed the summons, and the hamlets on the Bamuní, or the Pat'har, poured forth their warriors at the sound of the tocsin of Beygoo. When the cause of quarrel was explained, it came home to every bosom, and they forthwith marched to avenge it. Their road lay through the forest of Antrí; but when arrived within a few coss of Bhynsrer, they divided their band, and while the chief took the more circuitous route of the pass, the heir of Beygoo followed the course of the Bamuní, took the Prámár by surprise, and had slain him in single combat ere his father joined him. The insult to the Méghawuts being avenged, the Prámárs were about to retaliate; but seeing the honour of her house thus dearly maintained, affection succeeded to resentment, and the Rajpootní determined to expiate her folly with her life. The funeral pile was erected close to the junction of the Bamuní and Chumbul, and she ascended with the body of her lord, her own father setting fire to it. I encamped close to the altars recording the event.

This feud changed the law of succession in the Beygoo estate. The gallantry of the young Méghawut consoled the old chief for the tragical event which lost him a daughter; and in a full council of 'the sons of Kala-még'h,' the rights of primogeniture were set aside in favour of the valorous youth, and the lord paramount (the Rana) confirmed the decision. The subordinate fief of Jthanoh, which formerly comprehended the present district of Jawud, was settled on the elder son, whose descendant,

Tej Sing, still holds a share of it, besides the title of Rawut. Both estates have alike suffered from the Mahrattas, equally with others in Méwar.

The successor of the Prammar was a Chondawut, of the branch Kishenawut, and a younger son of Saloombra ; and it would be well for Lall Sing had he sought no higher distinction than that to which his birth entitled him. But Lalji Rawut was a beacon in the annals of crime, and is still held out as an example to those who would barter a good name here, and the hope of the life to come, for the evanescent gifts of fortune. He purchased the honours of Bhynsrar by shedding the blood of his bosom-friend, the uncle of his sovereign.

Mahraja Náthji was one of the sons of Rana Singram Sing, and brother to the reigning prince Juggut Sing, on whose death, doubts of the legitimacy of his successor Raj Sing being raised, Náthji aspired to the dignity ; but his projects failed by the death of Raj Sing. He left a posthumous child, whose history, and the civil wars engendered by his uncle Ursi, who took possession of the *gadti*, have been fully detailed. Ursi, who was assuredly a usurper, if the pretender was a lawful son of Rana Raj, had suspicions regarding his own uncle Náthji, who had once shown a predilection for the supreme power ; but the moment he heard that his nephew fancied he was plotting against him, he renounced ambition, and sought to make his peace with heaven ; amusing himself with poetry, in which he had some skill, and by cultivating his melons in the bed of the Bunas, which ran under the walls of his castle, Bagore. The fervour of his devotions, and the love and respect which his qualifications as a man and a Rajpoot obtained him, now caused his ruin. In the coldest nights, accompanied by a single attendant, he was accustomed to repair to the lake, and thence convey water to sprinkle the statue of his tutelary divinity, 'the god of all mankind' (*Juggernat'h*). It was reported to the Rana that, by means of these ascetic devotions, he was endeavouring to enlist the gods in his traitorous designs, and, determined to ascertain the truth, Ursi, with a confidential friend, disguised himself, and repaired to the steps of the temple. Náthji soon appeared with his brazen vessel of water, and as he passed, the prince, revealing himself, thus addressed him : "Why all this devotion, this excess of sanctity ? if it be the throne you covet, uncle, it is yours ;" to which Ursi, in no wise thrown off his guard, replied with much urbanity, "You are my sovereign, my child, and I consider my devotions as acceptable to the deity, from their giving me such a chief, for my prayers are for your prosperity." This unaffected sincerity reassured the Rana ; but the chiefs of Deogur'h, Bheendir, and other clans, being dissatisfied with the harsh and uncompromising temper of their sovereign, endeavoured to check his ebullitions by pointing to the Mahraja as a refuge against his tyranny.

To be released from such a restraint, Ursi at last resolved on assassinating his uncle ; but his valour and giant strength made the attempt a service of danger, and he therefore employed one who, under the cloak of friendship, could use the poignard without risk. Lall Sing was the man, the bosom friend of the Mahraja, who, besides exchanging turbans with him, had pledged his friendship at the altar ; a man who knew every secret of his heart, and that there was no treason in it. It was midnight, when his voice broke in upon his devotions, calling on him from the portico by name. No other could have taken this liberty, and the reply, "Con-

in, brother Lalji ; what brings you here at such an hour ? ” had scarcely passed the lips of Náthji, when, as he made the last prostration to the image, he received the dagger of his friend in his neck, and the emblem of Siva was covered with his blood ! For this service, the assassin was rewarded with the fief of Bhynsrar, and a seat amongst the sixteen barons of Méwar ; but as the number cannot be increased, the rights of the Suktawut chief of Bansi were cancelled : thus adding one crime to another, which however worked out its own reward, and at once avenged the murder of Náthji, and laid Méwar in ruins, causing fresh streams of the blood which had already so copiously flowed from the civil wars arising out of the hostility of these rival clans, the Suktawuts and Chondawuts.

Lalji did not long enjoy his honours ; his crime of “ triple dye ” was ever present to his mind, and generated a loathsome, incurable disease : for even in these lands, where such occurrences are too frequent, “ the still small voice ” is heard : worms consumed the traitor while living, and his memory is blasted now that he is dead ; while that of Náthji is sanctified, as a spirit gentle, valorous, and devout.

Maun Sing, the son of this man of blood, succeeded to the honours of Bhynsrar, and was a soldier of no common stamp. At the battle of Oojein, where the Rana of Méwar made the last grand stand for independence, Maun was badly wounded, made captive, and brought in the train of the conquering Mahratta, when he laid siege to Oodipoor. As he was recovering from his wounds, his friends attempted to effect his liberation through that notorious class called the *Bâoris*, and contrived to acquaint him with the plot. The wounded chief was consoling himself for his captivity by that great panacea for *ennui*, a nautch, and applauding the fine voice of a songstress of Oojein as she warbled a *tuppa* of the *Punjab*, when a significant sign was made by a stranger. He instantly exclaimed that his wounds had broken out afresh, staggered towards his pallet, and throwing down the light, left all in confusion and darkness, which favoured the *Bâori*'s design ; who, while one of his friends took possession of the pallet, wrapped the sick chief in a *chadur* (sheet), threw him on his back, and carried him through the camp of the besiegers to the city. The Rana, rejoiced at his liberation, commanded a salute to be fired, and the first intelligence the Mahratta leader had of his prisoner's escape was in answer to the question as to the cause of such rejoicing : they then found one of the vassal substitutes of Maun still occupying the bed, but the sequel does not mention how such fidelity was repaid. The cenotaph (*chetri*) of this brave son of an unworthy sire is at the *Tribéni*, or point of confluence of the *three* streams, the Chumbul, the Bamuni, and the Khál ; and from its light and elegant construction, adds greatly to the picturesque effect of the scenery. The present chief, Ragonat'h Sing, who succeeded Maun, has well maintained his independence throughout these perilous times. Bapoo Sindia, whose name will long be remembered as one of the scourges of these realms, tried his skill upon Bhynsrar, where the remains of his trenches, to the north-west of the town, are still conspicuous ; but he was met with sortie after sortie, while the hill-tribes were nightly let loose upon him, until he was forced to make a precipitate retreat.

v. I cannot conclude the annals of this family without a passing remark. Th the great moral change effected since the power of Britain has penetrated into these singular abodes. It was my habit to attend on any of

the chieftains who honoured me by an invitation to their family *jêtes*, such as their *sâlgîrâs*, or 'birthdays'; and on these occasions I merged the Agent of the British Government entirely in the friend, and went without ceremony or parade. Amongst my numerous *pagri budul bhâê*, or 'adopted brothers' (as well as sisters), was the Maharaja Sheodan Sing, the grandson and possessor of the honours and estates of Náthji, who still enjoys the domain of Bagore, and from whom I used to receive a share of its melons, which he cultivates with the same ardour as his grandsire. The 'annual knot' (*sâlgîrá*) of my friend was celebrated on the terraced roof of his palace, overhanging the lake of Oodipoor, and I was by his side listening, in the intervals of the song, to some of his extemporaneous poetical effusions (on which my friend placed rather too high a value), when amongst the congratulatory names called aloud by the herald, I was surprised to hear, "*Maharaja Salamut, Rawut Raghúnat'h Sing-ji-ca moojra leejo!*" or, "Health to the Maharaja, and let him receive the compliments of Rawut Raghúnat'h Sing": the grandson of the murderer come to pay his respects to the grandson of the murdered, and to press with his knee the *gadî* on which he sat! With justice may we repeat their powerful metaphor, on such anomalies in the annals of their feuds—*bhêr aur bakrî êkî t'hâlt sa piâ*, 'the wolf and the goat drink from the same platter.' We might thus, by a little attention to the past history and habits of these singularly interesting races, confer signal moral benefits upon them; for it must be evident that the germs of many excellent qualities require only the sunshine of kindness to ripen into goodly fruit; and for the sake of our own welfare, as well as that of humanity, let not the protecting power, in the exercise of patronage, send amongst them men who are not imbued with feelings which will lead them to understand, to appreciate, and to administer fitting counsel, or correction where necessary. The remembrance of these injuries is still fresh, and it requires but the return of anarchy again to unsheath the poniard and drug the cup; but if we consult their real good, the recollection will gradually grow fainter.

Before, however, we altogether quit the wilds of the Chumbul, we must record that Bhynsrar had been visited by another man of blood, the renowned Alla-o-dîn, in whose epithets of *khounî*, or 'the sanguinary,' and *Secunder Sanî*, or 'the second Alexander,' by which history has given him perpetuity of infamy, we recognise the devastating and ferocious Ghilji king, who assailed every Hindu prince in India. Obedient to the letter of the law, he had determined to leave not one stone upon another of the temples or palaces of Bhynsrar. Everywhere we searched for memorials of the *Hoon*, whose name is also connected with the foundation of Bhynsrar; of the Pramâr, or the Dodeah; but in vain. The vestiges of these ages had disappeared, or been built up in the more modern fortifications. Two such inscriptions we indeed discovered, reversed and applied as common building materials in the walls around the town: one was dated S. 1179 (A.D. 1123), but being in the old ornamented Jain character, would have required time and labour to decipher. The other is also anterior to Alla, and the ornaments in this are decidedly Jain; its purport is as follows: "On the *purb* (full moon) of *Scorâtrî* (the birthday of *Sîva*), *Mâhâ Raé'an Derâc Râc Sing Deo* bestowed, in the name of *Râmésvar*, the village of *Tuttagurh* in *poon* (religious gift). Those who maintain

the grant will enjoy the fruits resulting therefrom": or, in the words of the original :

" *Jissa jissá jidhu bhomt,
Tissa, tissá tidhú phullung.*"

"Samvat 1302 (A.D. 1246)." This form of *sásun*, or religious charity, is peculiar, and styled *sásun Udyadit*, which proves that the Prámár, of whom this is a memorial, was a feudatory of the prince of Dhár, whose era has been fixed. These discoveries stimulated our research, and my revered friend and *gúrú*, who is now deeply embued with antiquarian enthusiasm, vainly offered a large reward for permission to dig for the image of Pársvánat'h, his great pontiff, of whose shrine he has no doubt the first inscription is a memorial. When about to leave this place (indeed our baggage had gone on), we were informed of some celebrated temples across the river at a place called Barollí, anciently Dholpoor. The shrine is dedicated to Gutésvara Mahadéva, with a *lingam* revolving in the *yoní*, the wonder of those who venture amongst its almost impervious and unfrequented woods to worship. As I could not go myself, I despatched the *gúrú* to hunt for inscriptions and bring me an account of it.

DABÍ, February 20, eleven miles; thermometer 48°.—Re-ascended the third *steppe* of our miniature Alp, at the Nasairah pass (*ghát*), the foot of which was exactly five miles from Bhynsrór, and three and a half furlongs more carried us to its summit, which is of easy ascent, though the pathway was rugged, lying between high peaks on either side. This alone will give a tolerable idea of the height of the Pat'har above the level of the river. Majestic trees cover the hill from the base to its summit, through which we could never have found a passage for the baggage without the axe. Besides some noble tamarind (*imli*) trees, there was the lofty *semul*, or cotton-tree; the knarled *sakoo*, which looks like a leper amongst its healthy brethren; the *taindoo*, or ebony-tree, now in full fruit, and the useful *dhó*, besides many others of less magnitude. The landscape from the summit was grand: we looked down upon the *Chirmitti* (*vulg.* Chumbul) and the castle of Raghonat'h; while the eye commanded a long sweep of the black Bamuní gliding through the vale of Antrí to its termination at the tombs of the Suktawuts. The road to Dabí was very fair for such a tract, and when within four miles of our tents, we crossed a stream said to have its fountain at Mynál, which must consequently be one of the highest points of Oopermál. This rill afforded another means of estimating the height of our position, for besides the general fall to the brink of the chasm, it precipitates itself in a fine cascade of three hundred feet. Neither time nor place admitted of our following this rill to its termination, about six miles distant, through a rugged woody tract. From the summit of the pass of Nasairah, we had a peep at the tomb of a Mooslem saint, whence the ground gradually shelved to the end of our journey at Kotah.

Dabí is the line of demarcation between Méwar and Boondí, being itself in the latter state, in the district of Loecha,—dreary enough! It produces, however, rice and *mukhi*, or Indian corn, and some good patches of wheat. We passed the *cairns*, composed of loose stones, of several Rajpoots slain in defending their cattle against the Meenas of the Káirár. I was particularly struck with that of a Charun bard, to whose memory they have set up a *pallia*, or tombstone, on which is his effigy, his lance at rest, and

shield extended, who most likely fell defending his *tándá*. This tract was grievously oppressed by the banditti who dwell amidst the ravines of the Bunas, on the western declivity of the plateau. "Who durst," said my guide, as we stopped at these *tumuli*, "have passed the Pat'har eighteen months ago? they (the Meenas) would have killed you for the cakes you had about you; now you may carry gold. These green fields would have been shared, perhaps reaped altogether, by them; but now, though there is no superfluity, there is 'play for the teeth,' and we can put our turban under our heads at night without the fear of missing it in the morning. *Atul Ráj!* may your sovereignty last for ever!" This is the universal language of men who have never known peaceful days, who have been nurtured amidst the elements of discord and rapine, and who, consequently, can appreciate the change, albeit they were not mere spectators. "We must retaliate," said a sturdy Chohan, one of Morji's vassals, who, with five besides himself, insisted on conducting me to Bhynsrar, and would only leave me when I would not let them go beyond the frontier. I was much amused with the reply of one of them whom I stopped with the *argumentum ad verecundiam*, as he began a long harangue about five buffaloes carried off by the Thakoor of Neemrie, and begged my aid for their recovery. I said it was too far back; and added, laughing, "Come, Thakoor, confess; did you never balance the account elsewhere?"—"Oh, Mahraja, I have lost many, and taken many, but *Ram-doháé!* if I have touched a blade of grass since your *raj*, I am no Rajpoot." I found he was a Hara, and complimented him on his affinity with Aloo, the lord of Bumaóda, which tickled his vanity not a little. In vain I begged them to return, after escorting me so many miles. To all my solicitations the Chohan replied, "You have brought us comfort, and this is *mun ca chakrie*, 'service of the heart.'" I accepted it as such, and we "whiled the gait" with sketches of the times gone by. Each foot of the country was familiar to them. At one of the *cairns*, in the midst of the wood, they all paused for a second; it was raised over the brother of the Bhatti thakoor, and each, as he passed, added a stone to this monumental heap. I watched, to discern whether the same feeling was produced in them which the act created in me; but if it existed, it was not betrayed. They were too familiar with the reality to feel the romance of the scene; yet it was one altogether not ill-suited to the painter.

KURRIPOOR, *February* 21, 9½ miles.—Encamped in the glen of Kurripoora, confined and wild. Thermometer 51°, but a fine, clear, bracing atmosphere. Our route lay through a tremendous jungle. Half-way, crossed the ridge, the altitude of which made up for the descent to Dabí, but from whence we again descended to Kurripoora. There were many hamlets in this almost impervious forest; but all were desolate, and the only trace of population was in the altars of those who had defended to the death their dreary abodes against the ruthless Meena of the Káirâr, which we shall visit on our return.

About a mile after we had commenced our march this morning, we observed the township of Sontra on our right, which is always conjoined to Dabí, to designate the *tuppa* of Dabí-Sontra, a subdivision of Loecha. Being informed by a scout that it contained inscriptions, I requested my *gúrú* and one of my Brahmins to go there. The search afforded a new proof of the universality of the Pramár sway, and of the conquests of another

"Lord of the world and the faith," Alla-o-dīn, the second Alexander. The Yati found several altars having inscriptions, and many *pallias*, from three of which, placed in juxtaposition, he copied the following inscriptions :—

"Sāmvat 1422 (A.D. 1366). Pardī, Teza, and his son, Deola Pardī, from the fear of shame, for the gods, Brahmins, their cattle, and their wives, sold their lives."

"S. 1446 (A.D. 1390). In the month of Asár (*badi ekum*): Monday, in the castle of Sontra (*Sutrawan doorg*), the Prámár Ooda, Kula, Bhoona, for their kine, wives, Brahmins, along with the pútra Chonda, sold their existence."

"S. 1466 (A.D. 1410), the 1st Asár, and Monday, at Sontragram, Roogha, the Châora, in defence of the gods, his wife, and the Brahmins, sold his life."

The following was copied from a *coond*, or fountain, excavated in the rock :—

"S. 1370 (A.D. 1314), the 16th of Asár (*súdi ekum*), he, whose renown is unequalled, the king, the lord of men, Maharaja Adheraj, Sri Allá-o-dīn, with his army of three thousand elephants, ten lakhs of horse, war-chariots and foot without number, conquering from Sambhur in the north, Malwa, Kurnât, Kanor'h, Jhalore, Jessulmér, Deogir, Tylung, even to the shores of the ocean, and Chandrapoori in the east; victorious over all the kings of the earth, and by whom Sutrawan Doorg, with its twelve townships, have been wrested from the Prámár Maunsi; by whose son, Beelaji, whose birthplace (*oot-pat*) is Sri Dhâr, this fountain was excavated. Written and also engraved by Sydeva the stone-cutter (*sootra'd'har*)."

Beneath the surface of the fountain was another inscription, but there was no time to bale out the water, which some future traveller over the Pat'har may accomplish. Sontra, or as classically written, Sutroodoorg, "the inaccessible to the foe," was one of the castles of the Prammar, no doubt dependent on Cheetore when under the Mori dynasty; and this was only one of the subdivisions of Central India, which was all under Prammar dominion, from the Nerbudda to the Jumna: an assertion proved by inscriptions and traditions. We shall hear more of this at Mynâl and Bijollî on our return over Oopermâl, which I resolve to be thoroughly acquainted with.

KOTAH, February 22, eleven miles to the banks of the Chumbul. Although not a cloud was to be seen, the sun was invisible till more than spear-high, owing to a thick vapoury mist, accompanied by a cold piercing wind from the north-west. The descent was gradual all the way to the river, but the angle may be estimated from the fact that the pinnacle (*kullus*) of the palace, though one hundred and twenty feet above the level of the Chumbul, was not visible until within five miles of the bank. The barren tract we passed over is all in Boondî, until we approach Kotah, where the lands of Nandta intervene, the personal domain of the regent Zalim Sing, and the only territory belonging to Kotah west of the Chumbul. Kurripoorâ, as well as all this region, is inhabited by Bhîls, of which race a very intelligent individual acted this morning as our guide. He says it is called by them *Bâbâ ca noond*, and that they were the sovereigns of it until dispossessed by the Rajpoots. We may credit them, for it is only fit for Bhîls or their brethren of the forest, the wild-beasts. But I rejoiced at having seen it, though I have no wish to retrace my steps over this

part of my journey. Half-way, we passed a roofless shed of loose stones, containing the divinity of the Bhills: it is in the midst of a grove of thorny tangled brushwood, whose boughs were here and there decorated with shreds of various coloured cloth, offerings of the traveller to the forest divinity for protection against evil spirits, by which I suppose the Bhills themselves are meant.¹

We must not omit (though we have quitted the Pat'har) to notice the 'Maypoles' erected at the entrance of every village in the happy *vassant* or spring, whose concluding festival, the Holī or Saturnalia, is just over. This year the season has been most ungenial, and has produced sorrow rather than gladness. Every pole has a bundle of hay or straw tied at the top, and some have a cross stick like arms and a flag flying; but in many parts of the Pat'har, the more symbolic plough was substituted, dedicated to the goddess of fruition, and served the double purpose of a *Spring*-pole, and frightening the deer from nibbling the young corn.

The appearance of Kotah is very imposing, and impresses the mind with a more lively notion of wealth and activity than most cities in India. A strong wall with bastions runs parallel to, and at no great distance from, the river, at the southern extremity of which is the palace (placed within a castle separated from the town), whose cupolas and slender minarets give to it an air of light elegance. The scene is crowded with objects animate and inanimate. Between the river and the city are masses of people plying various trades; but the eye dwells upon the terminating bastion to the north, which is a little fort of itself, and commands the country on both banks. But we shall have more to say regarding this during our halt, which is likely to be of some continuance.

CHAPTER VII

Unhealthiness of the season at Kotah—Eventful character of the period of the author's residence there—The cuckoo—Description of the encampment—Cenotaphs of the Haras—Severe tax upon the curiosity of travellers in Kotah—General insalubrity of Kotah—Wells infected—Productive of fever—Taking leave of the Maharao and Regent—The Regent's sorrow—Cross the Chumbul—Restive elephant—Kunarie—Regent's patrimonial estate—Nandta—Author's reception by Madhū Sing—Rajpoot music—The *Punjābī tuppā*—Scene of the early recreations of Zalim Sing—Talera—Noagong—Approach of the Rajah of Boondi—Splendour of the *cortège*—Boondi—The castellated palace, or *Boondi ca mahl*—Visit to the Rajah—Illness of our party—Quit Boondi—Cenotaphs in the village of Sitor—The tutelary deity, *Asápurnā*—Temple of Bhavani—Banks of the Maij—Thanoh—Inscriptions—Jehajpoor—Respectable suite of the Bussie chief.

NANDTA, September 10, 1820.—A day of deliverance, which had been looked forward to by all of us as a new era in our existence. The last four months of our residence at Kotah was a continued struggle against cholera and deadly fever: never in the memory of man was such a season known. This is not a state of mind or body fit for recording passing events; and although the period of the last six months—from my arrival at Kotah in February last, to my leaving it this morning—has been one of the most eventful of my life, it has left fewer traces of these events upon

¹ The same practice is described by Park as existing in Africa.

my mind for notice in my journal than if I had been less occupied. The reader may be referred, for an abstract of these occurrences, to Chapter VI., which will make him sufficiently acquainted with the people amongst whom we have been living. To try back for the less important events which furnish the thread of the Personal Narrative, would be vain, suffering, whilst this journal is written, under fever and ague, and all my friends and servants in a similar plight. Though we more than once changed our ground of encampment, sickness still followed us. We got through the hot winds tolerably until the dog-days of June; but, although I had experienced every vicissitude of temperature in every part of India, I never felt anything to be compared with the few days of June at Kotah.

It was shortly after we had shifted the camp from the low paddy-fields to the embankment of the Kishore *sagur*, or 'lake,' immediately east of the city, the sky became of that transparent blue which dazzles the eye to look at. Throughout the day and night, there was not a zephyr even to stir a leaf, but the repose and stillness of death. The thermometer was 104° in the tent, and the agitation of the *punka* produced only a more suffocating air, from which I have fled, with a sensation bordering on madness, to the gardens at the base of the embankment of the lake. But the shade even of the tamarind or cool plantain was still less supportable. The feathered tribe, with their beaks opened, their wings flapping or hanging listlessly down, and panting for breath, like ourselves, sought in vain a cool retreat. The horses stood with heads drooping before their untasted provender. Amidst this universal stagnation of life, the only sound which broke upon the horrid stillness, was the note of the cuckoo; it was the first time I had ever heard it in India, and its cheerful sound, together with the associations it awakened, produced a delightful relief from torments which could not long be endured. We invariably remarked that the bird opened his note at the period of greatest heat, about two o'clock in the day, and continued during intervals for about an hour, when he changed his quarters and quitted us. I afterwards became more familiar with this bird, and every day in the hot weather at Oodipoor, when I resided in one of the villas in the valley, I not only heard but frequently saw it.¹

The reader can easily conceive the scene of our encampment; it was at the north-eastern angle of the lake, having in front that little fairy islet with its light Saracenic summer abode. Gardens fringed the base of the embankment, which was bordered with lofty trees; the extended and gigantic circumvallation, over the parapets of which peeped the spires and domes of temples or mosques, breaking the uniformity, and occasionally even showing the distant and elevated land beyond the Chumbul. We had also close to us a spot sacred to the *manes* of the many heroes of this noble family. I frequented the cenotaphs of the Haras, which, if less magnificent than those of Marwar or Méwar, or even of the head of their line of Boondí, may vie with them all in the recollections they conjure up of patriotism and fealty, and of the deadly rancour attendant on civil strife. This cluster of monuments approaches near to the city wall, but is immediately under the dam of the lake, and being enveloped in foliage, almost escapes observation. I was rejoiced to see the good order in which they were maintained, which was another of the

¹ In almost every respect like a sparrow-hawk; perhaps a little more elongated and elegant in form; and the beak, I think, was straight.

anomalies in the Regent's character : for what can so much keep alive the proud spirit of the Haras as these trophies of their sires ? But whatever the motive of the act, it is a tribute to virtue ; nor could I resist an exclamation of respect to the veteran Regent, who is raising a monument to the last prince, which, if it survive to distant times, will afford room to some future traveller to say, that, with Maharao Oméd Sing, Kotah appears to have attained the summit of its power. Nor should I deny myself the praise of having something to do with this harmless piece of vanity ; for I procured for the Regent free permission from the Rana of Méwar to take from the marble quarry at Kankerowli whatever suited his purpose, without price or duty : a request he was too proud to make himself since their ancient quarrel. We had also the range of Madhú Sing's magnificent gardens, of many acres in extent, abounding in exotic flowers and fruits, with parterres of rose-trees, each of many roods of land. But what were all these luxuries conjoined with cholera morbus, and *tup-tezarra*, 'tertian fever,' and every other fever, around us ? But even these physical ills were nothing compared to the moral evils which it was my duty to find remedies for or to mitigate ; and they were never adverted to in the many despatches addressed, during our residence in this *petit enfer*, to supreme authority.

The enthusiast may imagine how delightful travelling must be amongst such interesting races ; to visit the ruins of ancient greatness, and to read their history in their monuments ; to march along the margin of such streams as the Chumbul or the Bhamuní ; to be escorted by these gallant men, to be the object of their courtesy and friendship, and to benefit the condition of the dependant class ; but the price of this enjoyment was so high that few would voluntarily pay it, namely, a perpetuity of ill-health. Fortunately, however, for ourselves and our country, if these offices are neither sinecures nor beds of roses, we do not make them beds of thorns ; there is a heart-stirring excitation amidst such scenes, which keeps the powers of mind and body alert : a feeling which is fortunately more contagious than cholera, and communicable to all around. How admirably was this feeling exemplified this morning ! Could my readers but have beheld the soldiers of my escort and other establishments, as they were ferried over the Chumbul, he would have taken them for ghosts making the *trajet* of the Styx ; there was not one of them who had not been in the gripe of pestilential fever or ague. Some of them had had cholera, and half of them had enlarged spleens. Yet, although their muskets were too heavy for them, there were neither splenetic looks nor peevish expressions. It was as delightful as it was wonderful to see the alacrity, even of the bed-ridden, to leave their ills behind them east of the Chumbul.

Scarcely any place can be more unhealthy than Kotah during the monsoon. With the rise of the Chumbul, whose waters filtrate through the fissures of the rock, the wells are filled with mineral poison and the essence of decomposed vegetation. All those in the low ground at our first encampment were overflowed from this cause ; and the surface of each was covered with an oily pellicle of metallic lustre, whose colours were prismatic, varying, with position or reflection, from shades of a pigeon's breast (which it most resembled), to every tint of blue blending with gold. It is the same at Oodipoor during the periodical rains, and with similar results, intermittent and tertian fevers, from which, as I said, not a man,

European or native, escaped. They are very obstinate, and though not often fatal, are difficult to extirpate, yielding only to calomel, which perhaps generates a train of ills.

The last few days of our stay were passed in the ceremonials of leave-taking. On the 5th, in company with the Regent, I paid my last visit to the Maharao, who with his brothers returned my farewell visit the day following; and on the 8th and 9th the same formalities were observed with the Regent. The man who had passed through such scenes as the reader has perused, now at the very verge of existence, could not repress his sorrow. His orbless eyes were filled with tears, and as I pressed his palsied hands which were extended over me, the power of utterance entirely deserted him. I would expunge this, if I did not know that vanity has no share in relating what I consider to be a virtue in the Regent. I have endeavoured to paint his character, and could not omit this trait. I felt he had a regard for me, from a multitude of kind expressions, but of their full value was always doubtful till this day.

I did not get down to the point of embarkation for some hours after my suite, having been detained by the irresistible hold of ague and fever, though I started before the hot-fit had left me. The Regent had prepared the grand barge, which soon landed me on the opposite bank; but *Futtéh Bahadoor*, my elephant, seemed to prefer his present quarters to Oodipoor: after his *howda*, pad, and other gear, had been taken off and put into the boat, he plunged into the Chumbul with delight, diving in the deepest water, and making a water-spout of his proboscis. He had got a third of the way across, when a new female elephant, less accustomed to these crossings, turned back, and *Futtéh Bahadoor*, regardless of his master, was so gallant as to go after her. In vain the *mahout* (driver) used his *fursi*, digging it into his head behind the ear; this only exasperated the animal, and he made one or two desperate efforts to shake off his pigmy driver. Fortunately (being too weak to mount a horse), I found a baggage-elephant just beginning to be loaded; I put my *howda* upon her, and the 'victorious warrior' suffered the indignity of carrying a load.

We passed the town of Kunarie, belonging to Raj Golaub Sing, Jhala, a relation of the Regent, and one of the Omras of Kotah. It is a thriving comfortable place, and the pinnacled mahl of the Raj gave to it an air of dignity as well as of the picturesque. Our route to Nandta was over a rich and highly cultivated plain, studded with mango-groves; which do not surprise us, since we know it is the family estate of the Regent. The patrimonial abode is, therefore, much cherished, and is the frequent residence of his son Madhú Sing, by whom I was met half-way between Kunarie, and conducted to the family dwelling.

Nandta is a fine specimen of a Rajpoot baronial residence. We entered through a gateway, at the top of which was the *nobut-khaneh*, or saloon for the band, into an extensive court having colonnaded piazzas all round, in which the vassals were ranged. In the centre of this area was a pavilion, apart from the palace, surrounded by orangeries and odoriferous flowers, with a *jet-d'eau* in the middle, whence little canals conducted the water and kept up a perpetual verdure. Under the arcade of this pavilion, amidst a thousand welcomes, thundering of cannon, trumpets, and all sorts of sounds, we took our seats; and scarcely had congratulations passed and the area was cleared of our escorts, when, to the sound of the tabor and

saringí, the sweet notes of a Punjābī *tuppa* saluted our ears. There is a plaintive simplicity in this music, which denotes originality, and even without a knowledge of the language, conveys a sentiment to the most fastidious, when warbled in the impassioned manner which some of these syrens possess. While the Mahratta delights in the dissonant *droopud*, which requires a rapidity of utterance quite surprising, the Rajpoot reposes in his *tuppa*, which, conjoined with his opium, creates a paradise. Here we sat, amidst the orange-groves of Nandta, the *jet-d'eau* throwing a mist between us and the group, whose dark tresses, antelope-eyes, and syren-notes, were all thrown away upon the Frank, for my teeth were beating time from the ague-fit.

It was in this very area, now filled with the youth and beauty of Kotah, that the Regent exhibited his wrestlers; and it was from the very seat I occupied, that Sri-ji of Boondí challenged these ruffians to the encounter related in the annals. Having sat a quarter of an hour, in obedience to the laws of etiquette, and in courtesy to the son of the Regent, who had come thus far to escort me, we took leave and hastened to get a cup of tea.

TALERA, *September 11*.—Two miles north-west of Nandta we passed the boundary of the Regent's estate and the Boondí territory. The roads were good, over a well-cultivated and well-wooded plain, the cotton particularly thriving. Talera is a large village on the margin of a fine clear stream, its banks delightfully wooded, abounding in fish, which even tempted my invalid friends to try their luck. Talera is in the *jageer* of the vakeel who attends me on the part of the Boondí Raja, but is still a heap of ruins, and being on the high road, is open to parties of troops.

NOAGONG, *September 12*.—The road very fair, though a little winding, to avoid some deep ravines. The land rich, well-watered, and too much wooded; but man is wanting to cultivate the fertile waste. The encamping ground afforded not a single tree to screen us from a scorching sun. We passed two cenotaphs, where Rajpoots had fallen; but there was no inscription, and no one could reveal their history.

BOONDÍ, *September 13*.—The country and roads, as usual, flat, with an apparent descent from Talera to the base of the Boondí range, whose craggy and unequal summits showed it could be no buttress to the table-land with which it unites. The general direction of the range is east-north-east, though there are diverging ridges, the course of which it is impossible to delineate.

As we neared the capital of the Haras, clouds of dust, gradually obscuring the atmosphere, were the first signal of the Raja's approach: soon the sound of drums, the clangour of trumpets, and tramping of steeds, became audible, and at length the *Sándní-aswars*, or camel-messengers, announced the Raja's presence. He was on horseback. Instantly I dismounted from my elephant, and although too weak to contend with the fire of my steed Javadía, it would have been an unpardonable sin against etiquette to have remained elevated above the prince. All Javadía's warlike propensities were awakened at the stir of this splendid retinue, from which ever and anon some dashing young Hara issued, "witching the world with noble horsemanship"; and as, in all the various evolutions of the *manège*, there was not a steed in Rajwarra could surpass mine, to my vast inconvenience and no small danger, he determined on this occasion to show them off. In one of his furious bounds, he had his fore-feet on the broken parapet of a

reservoir, and as I turned him short, he threw up his head, which came in contact with mine, and made my *Chabookswar* exclaim, "*Ali mudat !*" "The help of Ali !" and a few more bounds brought me in contact with my friend, the Rao Raja, when we dismounted and embraced. After going through the same ceremony with the principal chiefs, he again gave me three fraternal hugs to prove the strength of his friendship, as he said, with blunt sincerity, "This is your home, which you have come to at last." With other affectionate welcomes, he took leave and preceded me. His retinue was striking, but not so much from tinsel ornament, as from the joyous feeling which pervaded every part of it. As my friend twirled his lance in the midst of about eight hundred cavaliers and fifteen hundred foot, I thought of the deeds his ancestors had performed, when leading such a *gole*, to maintain their reputation for fealty. It recalled his words on the formation of the treaty, when the generosity of Britain again restored his country to independence. "What can I say, in return for the restoration of my home ? My ancestors were renowned in the time of the kings, in whose service many lost their lives ; and the time may come when I may evince what I feel, if my services should be required : for myself, my chiefs, are all yours !" I would pledge my existence that performance would not have lagged behind his promise. We allowed a quarter of an hour to elapse, in order to avoid the clouds of dust which a Rajpoot alone can breathe without inconvenience ; and accompanied by my worthy and dignified old friend, the Mahraja Bikramajeet, we proceeded to our tents, placed upon the bank of a tank beyond the town.

The *coup d'œil* of the castellated palace of Boondí, from whichever side you approach it, is perhaps the most striking in India ; but it would require a drawing on an extremely large scale to comprehend either its picturesque beauties or its grandeur. Throughout Rajwarra, which boasts many fine palaces, the "Boondí-ca-mahl" is allowed to possess the first rank ; for which it is indebted to situation, not less than to the splendid additions which it has continually received : for it is an aggregate of palaces, each having the name of its founder ; and yet the whole so well harmonises, and the character of the architecture is so uniform, that its breaks or fantasies appear only to rise from the peculiarity of the position, and serve to diversify its beauties. The Chutter-mahl, or that built by Raja Chuttersál, is the most extensive and most modern addition. It has two noble halls, supported by double ranges of columns of serpentine from his own native quarries, in which the vassals are ranged, and through whose ranks you must pass before you reach the state apartments ; the view from which is grand. Gardens are intermingled with palaces raised on gigantic terraces. In one of these I was received by the Raja, on my visit the next day. Whoever has seen the palace of Boondí, can easily picture to himself the hanging-gardens of Semiramis. After winding up the zig-zag road, I passed by these halls, through a vista of the vassals, whose contented manly looks delighted me, to the inner palace ; when, having conversed on the affairs of his country for some time, the Raja led the way to one of the terraces, where I was surprised to find a grand court assembled, under the shade of immense trees, trellised vines, and a fine marble reservoir of water. The chiefs and retainers, to the number of at least a hundred, were drawn up in lines, at the head of which was the throne. The prospect was fine, both for near and distant views, as it includes the

lakes called the Jeit Sagur and Prem-Sagur, with the gardens on their margins, and in the distance the city of Kotah, and both banks of the Chumbul ; and beyond these successive terraces and mahls, to the summit of the hill, is seen the cupola of the *Dhabhâé's* tomb, through the deep foliage, rising above the battlements of Tarragurh. This terrace is on a grand bastion, which commands the south-east gorge of the valley leading to the city ; and yet, such is the immense mass of building, that from the town one has no idea of its size.

It were vain to attempt a description of Boondí, even were I inclined. It was the traitor of Kurwar who raised the walls of Tarragurh, and it was Raja Boodh Sing who surrounded the city with walls, of which Oméd Sing used to say " they were not required against an equal foe, and no defence against a superior—and only retarded reconquest if driven out of Boondí, whose best defence was its hills."

September 21.—Partly by business, partly by sickness, we were compelled to halt here a week. Our friend the doctor, who had been ailing for some time, grew gradually worse, and at length gave himself up. Cary found him destroying his papers and making his will, and came over deeply affected. I left my bed to reason with my friend, who refused all nourishment, and was sinking fast ; but as much from depression of spirits as disease. In vain I used the common arguments to rouse him from his lethargy ; I then tried, as the last resort, to excite his anger, and reviled him for giving way, telling him to teach by example as well as precept. By this course, I raised a tinge of blood in my poor friend's cheek, and what was better, got a tumbler of warm jelly down his throat ; and appointing the butler, Kali Khan, who was a favourite and had great influence, to keep rousing and feeding him, I left him. No sooner was *he* a little mended, than Cary took to his bed, and nothing could rouse him. But, as time passed, it was necessary to get on ; and with litters furnished by the Raja we recommenced our journey.

Banks of the Maij River, September 26, distance ten miles.—I this day quitted my hospitable friend, the Rao Raja. As I left my tent, I found the Mahraja of Thanoh, with the Dublana contingent (*zabta*), amounting to a hundred horse, appointed to escort me to the frontier. Our route lay through the *Banda-ca-nál*, 'the valley of Banda,' whose gorge near the capital is not above four hundred yards in breadth, but gradually expands until we reach Sitoor, about two miles distant. On both sides of this defile are numerous gardens, and the small temples and cenotaphs which crown the heights, in many places well-wooded, produce a most picturesque effect. All these cenotaphs are perfectly classical in form, being simple domes supported by slender columns ; that of Sooja Baé is peculiarly graceful. As we reached Sitoor, the valley closed our last view of the fairy palace of the Haras, rearing its domes and gilded spires half-way up the mountain, the *kapgras* of Tarragurh encircling it as a diadem, whilst the isolated hill of Meeraji, at the foot of which was the old city, terminates the prospect, and makes Boondí appear as if entirely shut in by rocks. Sitoor is a sacred spot in the history of the Haras, and here is enshrined their tutelary divinity, fair Hope (*Asúpúrná*), who has never entirely deserted them, from the *sácá* of Así, Gowalcoond, and Asér, to the present hour ; and though the enchantress has often exchanged her attributes for those of *Kálmá*, the faith of her votaries has survived every metamorphosis.

A high antiquity is ascribed to Sitoor, which they assert is mentioned in the sacred books ; if so, it is not in connection with the Haras. The chief temple is dedicated to Bhávání, of whom Asapurna is an emanation. There is nothing striking in the structure, but it is hallowed by the multitude of sacrificial altars to the *manes* of the Haras who have ' fallen in the faith of the Chetrf.' There were no inscriptions, but abundance of lazy drones of Brahmins enjoying their ease under the wide-spreading burr and peepul trees, ready, when well paid, to prepare their incantations to Bhávání, either for good or for evil : it is chiefly for the latter purpose, that Sitoor-ca-Bhávání is celebrated. We continued our journey to Nogong, a tolerable village, but there being no good encamping ground, our tents were pitched a mile farther on, upon the bank of the Maij, whose turbid waters were flowing with great velocity from the accumulated mountain-rills which fall into it during the equinoctial rains.

THANOH, September 27.—This is the seat of Maharaja Sawunt Sing, the eldest son of my friend Maharaja Bikramajeet of Kheenee. He affords another instance in which the laws of adoption have given the son precedence of the father, who, while he receives homage in one capacity, must pay it in another ; for young Sawunt was raised from the junior to the elder branch of Thanoh. The castle of Sawunt Sing, which guards the western frontier, is small, but of solid masonry, erected on the crest of a low hill. There are only six villages besides Thanoh forming his fief, which is burdened with the service of twenty-five horse. In Boondí, ' a knight's fee,' or what should equip one cavalier, is two hundred and fifty rupees of rent. In the afternoon the Maharaja brought his son and heir to visit me, a fine little fellow six years of age, who with his sword buckled by his side and miniature shield on his back, galloped his little steed over hill and dale, like a true Rajpoot. I procured several inscriptions, but none above three hundred years old.

JEHAJPOOR, September 28.—At daybreak I again found the Maharaja at the head of his troop, ready to escort me to the frontier. In vain I urged that he had superabundantly performed all the duties of hospitality ; " Such were his orders, and he must obey them." I well know the laws of the Medes were not more peremptory than those of Bishen Sing ; so we jogged on, beguiling the time in conversation regarding the semi-barbarous race of the tract I was about to enter, the Meenas of Jehajpoor and the Kirâr or fastnesses of the Bunas, for ages the terror of the country, and who had studded the plains with cenotaphs of the Haras, fallen in defending their goods and chattels against their inroads. The fortress of Jehajpoor was not visible until we entered the pass, and indeed had nearly cleared it, for it is erected on a hill detached from the range but on its eastern face, and completely guards this important point of ingress to Méwar. This district is termed *Chourasí*, or consisting of eighty-four townships, a favourite territorial subdivision : nor is there any number intermediate between this and three hundred and sixty. Jehajpoor, however, actually contains above a hundred townships, besides numerous *poorwas*, or ' hamlets.' The population consists entirely of the indigenous Meenas, who could turn out four thousand *kumptas*, or ' bowmen,' whose aid or enmity were not to be despised, as has been well demonstrated to Zalim Sing, who held the district during fifteen years. Throughout the whole of this extensive territory, which consists as much of land on the plains as in the

hills; the Meena is the sole proprietor, nor has the Rana any property but the two tanks of Bood Lohari, and these were wrested from the Meenas by Zalim Sing during his tenure.¹

I was met at the frontier by the *tyñāti* of Jehajpoor, headed by the old chief of Bussie and his grandson Urjoon, of whom we have spoken in the journey to Kotah. It was a very respectable troop of cavalry, and though their appointments were not equal to my Hara escort, it was satisfactory to see assembled, merely at one post, a body which the Rana two years ago could not have collected round his own person, either for parade or defence: as a beginning, therefore, it is good. Received also the civil manager, Sobharam, the nephew of the minister, a very good man, but without the skill to manage such a tract. He was accompanied by several of the Meena *naigues*, or chiefs. There is much that is interesting here, both as matter of duty and of history; we shall therefore halt for a few days, and rest our wearied invalids.

CHAPTER VIII

Extraordinary attack of illness in the author—Suspicion of poison—Journey to Mandelgurh—The *Kirār*—Tranquil state of the country—The Meenas subsiding into peaceful subjects—Scenery in the route—*Sahsun*, or ecclesiastical lands—Castle of Amergurh—Kachowra—Its ancient importance—Our true policy with regard to the feudatories in these parts—Damnioh—Manpoora—Signs of reviving prosperity—Arrival at Mandelgurh—The *Duscra*—Sickness of the party left behind—Assembly of the Bhomias and Patéls—Description of Mandelgurh—Rebuilt by one of the Takshac race—Legend of Mandelgurh—Genealogical tablet of stone—Pedigrees of the tribes—Mandelgurh granted to the Rahtores by Arungzéb—Recovered by the Rana—Taxes imposed—Lavish grants—Bageet—The author rejoins his party—Birslabâs—Akolah—Desolation of the country—Inscriptions—Hamirgurh—Seânoh—Superb landscape—Mirage—Testimony of gratitude from the elders of Poorh—Thriving state of Morowlee—Rasmy—Antiquities—Curious law—Jassmoh—Waste country—Inscriptions—Copper mines—Sunwâr—Trivenî, or point of junction of three rivers—Temple of Parswanath—Deserted state of the country—Kurairah—Mâowlee—Barren country—Hunting seat of Nahra-Muggra—Heights of Toos and Mairta—End of second journey.

JEHAJPOOR, October 1.—My journalising had nearly terminated yesterday. Duncan and Cary being still confined to their beds, my relative, Captain

¹ The indigenous Meena affords here an excellent practical illustration of Menu's axiom, that "the right in the soil belongs to him who first cleared and tilled the land." The Rajpoot conqueror claims and receives the tribute of the soil, but were he to attempt to enforce more, he would soon be brought to his senses by one of their various modes of self-defence—incendiarism, self-immolation, or abandonment of the lands in a body. We have mystified a very simple subject by basing our arguments on the arrangements of the Mahomedan conqueror. If we mean to follow his example, whose doctrine was the law of the sword, let us do it, but we must not confound might with right: consult custom and tradition throughout India, where traces of originality yet exist, and it will invariably appear that the right in the soil is in the cultivator, who maintains even in exile the *huk bapota-ca-bhom*, in as decided a manner as any freeholder in England. But Colonel Briggs has settled this point, to those who are not blinded by prejudice.

Waugh, sat down with me to dinner ; but fever and ague having destroyed all appetite on my part, I was a mere spectator. I had, however, fancied a cake of *mukhi* flour, but had not eaten two mouthfuls before I experienced extraordinary sensations ; my head seemed expanding to an enormous size, as if it alone would have filled the tent ; my tongue and lips felt tight and swollen, and though I underwent no alarm, nor suffered the slightest loss of sense, I deemed it the prelude to one of those violent attacks, which have assailed me for several years past, and brought me to the verge of death. I begged Captain Waugh to leave me ; but he had scarcely gone before a constriction of the throat came on, and I thought all was over. I rose up, however, and grasped the tent-pole, when my relative re-entered with the surgeon. I beckoned them not to disturb my thoughts, instead of which they thrust some ether and compounds down my throat, which operated with magical celerity. I vomited violently ; the constriction ceased ; I sunk on my pallet, and about two in the morning I awoke, bathed in perspiration, and without a remnant of disease. It was difficult to account for this result : the medical oracle fancied I had been poisoned, but I was loth to admit it. If the fact were so, the poison must have been contained in the cake, and as it would have been too great a risk to retain the person who prepared it, the baker was discharged. It was fortunate that the symptoms were such as to induce Captain Waugh to describe them so fully, and it was still more fortunate for me that the doctor was not able to go out with his fishing-rod, for the whole transaction did not last five minutes. This is about the fourth time I have been "upon the brink" (*canari ponchā*) since I entered Méwar.

KUJOORI, October 2.—Left my sick friends this morning to nurse each other, and having an important duty to perform at Mandelgurh, which is out of the direct route, appointed a rendezvous where I shall meet them when this work is over. I was for the first time compelled to shut myself up in my *palki* ; incessant fever and ague for the last two months have disorganised a frame which has had to struggle with many of these attacks. We are now in what is termed the *Kirār*, for so the tract is named on both banks of the Bunas to the verge of the plateau ; and my journey was through a little nation of robbers by birth and profession : but their *kumplas* (bows) were unstrung, and their arrows rusting in the quiver. Well may our empire in the east be called one of opinion, when a solitary individual of Britain, escorted by a few of Skinner's Horse, may journey through the valley of Kujoori, where, three short years ago, every crag would have concealed an ambush prepared to plunder him ! At present, I could by signal have collected four thousand bowmen around me, to protect or to plunder ; though the Meenas, finding that their rights are respected, are subsiding into regular tax-paying subjects, and call out with their betters "*Utul Raj !*" ("May your sway be everlasting !") We had a grand convocation of the Meena *Naiques*, and, in the Rana's name, I distributed crimson turbans and scarfs ; for as through our mediation the Rana had just recovered the district of Jehajgurh, he charged me with its settlement. I found these Meenas true children of nature, who for the first time seemed to feel they were received within the pale of society, instead of being considered as outcasts. "The heart must leap kindly back to kindness," is a sentiment as powerfully felt by the

semi-barbarians of the Kīrār as by the more civilised habitants of other climes.

Our route was through a very narrow valley, little susceptible of cultivation, though a few patches were visible near the hamlets, scattered here and there. The scene was wild, and the cool morning air imparted vigour to my exhausted frame. The slopes of the valley in many places are covered with trees to the very summit of the mountains, on which the *koorkeroo* or wild cock was crowing his matins, and we were in momentary expectation of seeing some bears, fit associates of the Meenas, in their early promenades. As we approached Kujoori, the valley widened, so as to admit of its being termed a township of fifty-two thousand beegas, which afforded another proof of ancestral wisdom, for it was in *sahsun*, or grant to the Brahmīns : but the outlaws of the Kīrār, though they sacrifice a tithe of their plunder to 'our Lady of the Pass' (*Ghatta Rānt*), have little consideration for the idlers of the plains. This feeling is not confined to the Meenas ; for the Bhomia Rajpoots, despising all the anathemas of the church, have seized on the best lands of Kujoori. But only a small portion of the *bawuna* (fifty-two thousand), about seventeen thousand English acres, is arable.

KACHOLA, or KACHOWRA, October 3.—Execrable roads ! Our route continued through the same valley, occasionally expanding to the westward. Half-way, we passed the baronial castle of Amergurh, whose chief, Rawnt Dulleel Sing, is now on duty with his quota at Jehajpoor, but his uncle Pahār Sing, who is a great favourite with our party (by whom he is known as 'the mountain-lion'), came to meet and conduct me to the castle. But I was too unwell, or should on many accounts have desired to visit this somewhat celebrated abode of one of the Bábās (*infants*) of Méwar, whose feud I maintained for him against his potent neighbour of Shapoora, which has elsewhere been related.¹ It is quite unassailable, being built on an isolated rock, and, except by a circuitous path on one side, there is no passage through the dense jungle that surrounds it : a mode of fortifying recommended by Menu, but which, if universally followed in this land so studded with fortresses, would waste no small portion of the sovereignty. I was quite satisfied with this view of the castle of Dulleel, and enjoyed from the point of descent a noble prospect. In the foreground is the cenotaph of Rana Ursī, in the centre of the valley, which extended and gradually opened towards Mandelgurh, whose blue ridge was distinctly visible in the distance. The hills to the right were broken abruptly into masses, and as far as the eye could stretch on every side, were disordered heaps of gigantic rocks. To reclaim this district, the largest in Méwar, I am now intent, having convoked all the Bhomias and Patēls of its three hundred and sixty townships at the chief city, Mandelgurh. My friend, Pahār Sing, as *locum tenens* of his uncle, expended powder on the occasion ; and must have charged his *patereroes* to the muzzle. Pahār-ji joined me on his *Panch-Kalān* (so they term a horse with four white legs and a white nose), and determined to escort me to Mandelgurh ; a service, as he said, not only due from his family, but in accordance with the commands of his sovereign the Rana, of whom Pahār was a faithful, zealous, and valiant supporter during his adversity. The Bhomias of Mandelgurh, in fact, generally deserve the praise of having

¹ See vol. i. p. 147.

maintained this stronghold without either command or assistance throughout the whole period of his misfortunes.

Kachowra is a township rated at six thousand rupees of annual revenue in the rent-roll of Méwar, but is now an inconsiderable village. In former times, it must have been a place of importance, for all around, to a considerable distance, the ground is strewn with fragments of sculpture of a superior character, and one spot is evidently the site of the cenotaphs of the family. The town had stood on the western bank of an immense lake, which through neglect is now a swamp; and, half-way up the hill, are disclosed, amidst the brushwood of the *dhó*, the ruins of a temple: but tradition has perished with the population, who were subjected at once to the curse of constant foreign invasion and the inroads of the Meenas of the Kírār. Thus a soil, whose richness is apparent from the luxuriance of its meadows, is in a state of entire desolation. Kachowra forms the *putla* of Shapoorá in this district, whose chief has to serve two masters, for he is a tributary of Ajmér for Shapoorá, itself a fief of Méwar, and holds an estate of about forty thousand rupees of annual rent in Mandelgurh, which has been two years under sequestration for his refusal to attend the summons to Oodipoor, and for his barbarous murder of the chief of Amergurh.¹ This is a state of things which ought not to exist. When we freed these countries from the Mahrattas, we should have renounced the petty tributes imposed upon the surrounding chiefs *not within* the limits of the district of Ajmér, and the retention of which is the source of irritating discussions with these princes through the feudatories. Presuming on this external influence, the Shapoorá Raja set his sovereign's warrant at defiance, and styled himself a subject of Ajmér; nor was it until he found he was bound by a double tie of duty, that he deigned to appear at the capital. The resumption of the estate in Mandelgurh alone overcame the inertness of the chief of Shapoorá; he has already too much in the *Chourasi*, or eighty-four townships of Shapoorá, for such a subject as he is, who prefers a foreign master to his legitimate lord. I would recommend that the Rahtore chiefs of Marwar, beyond the Aravulli hills, now tributary to Ajmér, and who consequently only look to that state, should be replaced under their proper head: the sacrifice is of no moment to us, and to them it will be a boon.

DAMNIOH, October 9.—I was detained at Kachowra by a violent accession of fever and ague, as well as spleen, increased no doubt by the unhealthiness of the position amidst swamps and jungle. This is a fine healthy spot, where I should like to convene the *bhomias* and ryots, to endeavour to remove the reproach of so beautiful a land remaining waste. Damnioh, which is in the sequestered *putla* of Shapoorá, is a town of two thousand houses; a universal ruin!

MANPOORA, 15.—After a week's halt, reached this spot, about a mile south-west of the town, and on the bank of the Bunas.² The entire population of Manpoora turned out to receive me; the damsels with their brazen vessels of water on their heads; but the song of the *Suhaslea* had ceased to charm, and my ague made me too ill even to return their kindness. To-day it has abated, and to-morrow, with another respite, I will try to get through the work which brought me here. Mandelgurh is three

¹ See vol. i. p. 148.

² By mistake, Manpoora is not rightly placed in the map.

cess from hence. I was rejoiced to see the signs of reviving prosperity about Manpoora ; some fine patches of sugar-cane were refreshing sights.

MANDELGURH, 16 and 17.—Proceeded up the valley and encamped within half a mile of the city, from which the governor and his cortège came to meet and welcome me ; but I was too enfeebled to ascend the fort, which was a subject of regret. It is by no means formidable, and may be about four furlongs in length, with a low rampart wall, and bastions encircling the crest of the hill. The governor's residence appears on the west side, at which spot the Regent of Kotah was compelled to abandon his ladders, which they retain as a trophy. This is the festival of the *Dussera*, the day sacred to Rama ; but feasting is lost upon me, for this is the ninth day of abstinence from dinner. Captain Waugh rejoined me yesterday, looking very ill, and giving a poor account of my friends, especially Cary, who is sinking rapidly. He left them encamped at Bageet, the point of rendezvous in the Bunas where I shall join them to-morrow. He found me on my *charpâê* (pallet), with some threescore leeches (which I had got from Mandelgurh) on my left side,¹ while I was attending to and noting down the oral reports of the Bhomias and Patéls of the district, who filled my tent, many remaining in groups outside. I notwithstanding got through the work to my satisfaction, and have obtained a thorough insight into the agricultural details of this fine tract, which I may touch upon, if I am able, the first halt.

Mandelgurh was rebuilt by a chief of the Bâlnote tribe, one of the ramifications of the Solanki or Chalook race, which furnished a splendid dynasty of kings to Anhalwarra (Nehrwalla) Patun, who ruled over the western maritime provinces of India from the tenth to the fourteenth century. They were of the great Takshac or Ophite race, which, with three other tribes, became converts to Brahminism. The Bâlnote of Mandelgurh was a branch of the family which occupied Tonk-Thoda on the Bunas, recognised in their additional poems as Takshac, or, in the dialect, Takitpoora, 'city of the takshac, or snake.'² Although tradition asserts that the Solanki of Thoda migrated from Patun during the religious wars in the twelfth century, it is more probable that the branch fixed itself here during their progress from the north in search of settlements ; for, their genealogical creed assigns Lokote, in the Punjâb, as the cradle of their power. It is indeed a curious fact, amounting to demonstration of the Indo-Scythic origin of the Agnicûla races, that they all lay claim to this northern origin, in spite of their entrance into the world through the medium of fire (*agni*) : in fact, the glorious egotism of the Brahmin is never more conspicuous than when he asserts the superiority of the Chohans over the more ancient races of Surya and Soma ; that " these

¹ Enlargement of the spleen appears an invariable accompaniment of protracted fever and ague, arising from such causes as afflicted us. I could feel the spleen at the very pit of the stomach, as hard as a stone. The bleeding reduced it, as it did generally in my case ; for the leeches were enormous, and must have each drained half an ounce of blood ; but I had only the choice of them or the actual cautery, which was strongly recommended by my native friends : of two evils I chose what appeared to me the least.

² Tonk-Thoda is well worth visiting. The artist might fill a portfolio with architectural and picturesque sketches. Moreover, topazes of a good quality are found in its hills. The sacred cave of Gokurna, celebrated in the history of the great Chohan king, Beesildeo of Ajmér, is also worth notice.

were born of woman, but they were made by the Brahmins": a proof of conversion which requires no comment. In spite of this fabled birth at the fountain-head, the Anhulcoond of Aboo, tradition negatives the assumed pedigree of the Brahmins, and brings them all from the north. Be this as it may, the branch which fixed itself at Mandelgurh, gave its name to the tract, which is still recognised by some as Bâlnote. The first possession the founder had was Larpoora, a town of great antiquity. He had in his service a Bhîl, named Mandoo, who, while guarding the sugar-cane from the wild hog, came upon one sound asleep. To ensure his arrow piercing the animal, he began to sharpen it upon a stone; and, to his astonishment, found it transmuted to gold. He repaired to his master, who returned with Mundoo, and found the stone, with the hog still asleep beside it; but no sooner had he seized upon his prize, than *Baraha* disappeared. With the possession of the *pâris-putter*, the 'philosopher's stone,' he raised the walls of Mandelgurh, which was so named after the fortunate Bhîl. By an act of injustice to one of his subjects, he forfeited Mandelgurh to a descendant. This subject was a Jogi, who had a mare of such extraordinary speed as to be able to run down an antelope. Whether the Bâlnote prince thought the sport unsuitable to an ascetic we are not told; but he forcibly took away the mare. The Jogi complained to the king, who sent a force and expelled the Bâlnote from Mandelgurh, and his descendants are petty Bhomias at Jawul and Kachrode, retaining, though mere peasants, the distinctive title of Rao. The numerous stories of this kind, common throughout Rajwarra, accounting for the foundation of many ancient places, may merely record, in this manner, the discovery of mineral wealth; from the acquisition and the loss of which the legendary moralist has constructed his tale.

I discovered in the remains of a marble *bâwari*, or reservoir, at Kachowra, two large tablets, containing the pedigree of the Solanki family, which will require time to decipher. Tradition, however, is busy with the name of Raja Bheem, and his son Burrun of Anhulwarra, from whom many tribes branched off; and although, from the first, only royal houses were founded, the other claims a greater celebrity from originating a heterogeneous breed, which descended into the third and fourth great classes, the *Vaisya* and *Sudra*. From him the Bhagairwal Mahajins, who became converts to the Jain faith, claim descent, as well as the Goojurs of Sontekatorioh; the *Soonârs*, or goldsmiths, of Bonkun; the Bhîl communities of Oguna-Panora (or Méwar); and likewise those of Mow-Maidana, in Kotah. Whether from Burrun and his degenerate offspring originated the name of *burrin-sunkur*, applied to the mixed classes, I am not informed. The Bhagairwal is one of the "twelve and a half (*sâri bâra nyât*) castes of Mahajins," or mercantile tribes, subdivided into innumerable families, the greater portion of whom profess the Jain creed, and nearly all are of Rajpoot ancestry: an important fact in the pedigree of this considerable part of the population. The lineal descendant of the Thoda Rao still resides at Bussie in a small village; and two other branches, who held large possessions at Thodri and Jehajpoor retain the villages of Mircheakhaira and Butwarro, both in Cheetore; they have preserved the title of Rao amidst all the revolutions that have deprived them of their estates; nor would any prince of Rajwarra deem himself degraded by their alliance. Such is the virtue of pedigree in these regions. I should

imagine that the Bálnotes held of the Ranas of Méwar, as Mandelgurh has been an integral portion of that state during the most flourishing period of the Anhulwarra dynasty, although the inscription of Cheetore savours of conquest ; in which case we have at once a solution of the question, and proof that the Bálnote was inducted into Mandelgurh by his superior, Komarpal.¹

In S. 1755 (A.D. 1699) the tyrant Arungzéb granted Mandelgurh to the Rahtore chief of Pisangun, named Doodaji, who subdivided it into allotments for his brethren, leaving no revenue for the duties of the civil administration and repairs of the castle. To remedy this, he imposed a tax, called *dâotrâ* or *dasotrâ*, or 'tenth' of the net value of each harvest, upon his Bhomia brethren. When the Rana succeeded in expelling the royal garrison, he found it a work of some difficulty to get rid of the Rahtore feudatories ; and he gave them regular *puttas* for their estates, subject to the payment of *dasotrâ* ; but as he found it led to interference, in the inspection of crops, and to fluctuation and appeals in bad seasons, he commuted the tax for service of one horseman and one foot-soldier for each five hundred rupees of rent, and a certain small sum annually to mark their tributary condition.

In these times of turbulence, other impositions were laid on the Bhomias of his own kindred, the Ranawuts, Kanawuts, and Suktawuts, who established their rights with their swords when the district was subjected to the emperor. In the same manner as with the Rahtores, the Rana confirmed their acquisitions on the payment of certain fines called *bhom-burrur*, which were either *burzhar* and *trisólâ*, or 'annual' and 'triennial' ; the first being levied from the holders of single villages, the latter from those who had more than one. Thus, Amergurh was fixed at two thousand five hundred rupees ; Amuldoh, fifteen hundred ; Teentoro, thirteen hundred ; Jhoonjrâlo, fourteen hundred, etc., triennially, having obtained their lands by main force. They also, when Mandelgurh was threatened, would repair with their vassals and defend it during *ten days* at their own expense, after which they received rations from the state. There were various other fines collected from the Bhomia vassalage, such as *loâsma*, or for the support of the *Nakarchis* (kettle-drummers), the mace, standard, and even the torch-bearers attached to each garrison. There was also *khur-lakur*, for wood and forage, which has been elsewhere explained ; *hal-burra*, or 'plough-tax,' and *ghasmâli*, or 'pasturage,' the rates of which are graduated, and vary in amount with the power of enforcing their collections. But owing to these circumstances, the best land in Mandelgurh belongs to the Bhomia chieftains.

It was about this time, in the reign of Juggut Sing II., that Oméda Sing of Shapoora had the grant of seventy-three villages in Mandelgurh, one-fifth of the whole district, subject only to the fine of three thousand two hundred and fifty rupees annually for *ghasmâli*, with five hundred more to the deputy governor, and two hundred to the *Choudri*, or territorial head of the district. In this lavish manner were estates disposed of. This family continued to hold it until S. 1843, when the minister Somji, in order to obtain his support during the Chondawut rebellion, gave him a formal acquittance for this service, and in addition to these lands, the two subordinate fiefs of Dangermow and Borwah on the Plateau, and the rich

¹ See Inscription, vol. i. p. 623.

estate of Ageoncha on the Khari; in return for which, he exacted a stipulation to serve with four hundred horse: a contract fulfilled only by one chief of the family, who fell leading his contingent at the battle of Oojein. His descendants seem to have claimed immunity on the score of his service; and the present incumbent is a madman. Great changes, however, have recently been made in the condition of the Bhomias, and these desultory fines have all merged into a duty more accordant with the character of the Rajpoot: service in the garrisons of Mandelgurh and Jehajpoo, and a fixed annual sum from those who are too poor to command even a single horse.

BAGEET, 18th, eight miles.—A large village on the west of our own stream, the Bairs, coming from the Oodisagur. Our road lay over a rich soil, as usual overgrown with grass. Here I rejoined my sick friends, all very ill; the doctor better, but Cary in a very precarious condition.

BIRSLABÂS, 19th.—The route over the most fertile plains of Méwar; but one continuous mass of jungle and rank grass. The Maharaja came out to meet me, a courteous, polished Rajpoot. He is of the Ranawut clan, descended from Rana Umra Sing, and the elder branch of the Shah-poorâ family. Both his father and grandfather fell defending the cause of Shah Jehan against the usurper Arungzêb, which lost him his birthright; but he has five villages left attached to Birslabâs. Encamped near the altars of his heroic ancestors.

AMBAH, 21st, six and a half miles.—The route over a scene of desolation; fine fields, fruitful of grass and ruins. Sent one of my Brahmins to the town of Akolah, two coss distant, and had several inscriptions copied; they were all immunities or grants of privileges to the printers of that town, thence called *Cheepâ-câ-Akolah*, to distinguish it from another of the same name. I halted at Birslabâs, received several visits, and held interesting conversations with the Maharaja; but fever and ague leave the mind in a sorry state. I can pay no attention to barometer or perambulator; of the latter Baboo Mohés keeps a diary, and on his intelligence I can depend.

HAMIRGURH, 22nd.—This town belongs to Beerumdeo, Ranawut, the son of Dheeruj Sing, who was the chief adviser of the Saloombra princes in the rebellion of S. 1843, during which he obtained it. The present chief is an oaf, always intoxicated; and as he did not discharge the *bâôris*, or professional thieves in his service, on the return of these days of peace, he was deprived of two towns amounting to seven thousand rupees annual rent. He ought, indeed, by the treaty of A.D. 1818, to have lost Hamirgurh, but he contrived by various indirect means to elude it, and to retain this, one of the most thriving places in Méwar. It contains about eight hundred inhabited houses, tenanted chiefly by manufacturers of chintz and *dopattis*, or 'scarfs,' such as are worn by all the Rajpootnis. It has a fine lake, filled with a variety of wild duck, which live unmolested amidst the *sangara* and *lotos*. The more ancient name of this place is Bakrole, as I found by two inscriptions, which again furnish specimens of sumptuary legislation.

SEÂNÔH, 23rd, eight miles and three furlongs.—We are now in the very heart of Méwar, plains extending as far as the eye can reach. Traces of incipient prosperity are visible, but it will require years to repair the mischief of the last quarter of a century. Passed through Ojhanoh, Amlee, Nereoh—all surrendered in consequence of the treaty of 1818: the last-

mentioned, together with Scánoh, from the "Red Riever," as we have nicknamed the chieftain of Bhadaisir. The prospect from this ground is superb: the Oodipoor hills in the distance; those of Poorh and Goorlah, with their cupolas, on our right; the fantastic peak of Burruk rising insulated from the plain. We are now approaching a place of rest, which we all much require; though I fear Cary's will be one of perpetuity. Saw a beautiful mirage (*see-kote*) this morning, the certain harbinger of the cold season. The ridge of Poorh underwent a thousand transformations, and the pinnacle of Burruk was crowned with a multitude of spires. There is not a more delightful relaxation than to watch the changes of these evanescent objects, emblems of our own ephemeral condition. This was the first really cold morning. The *punchaet*, or elders of Poorh, with several of the most respectable inhabitants to the number of fifty, came all this way to see me, and testify their happiness and gratitude! Is there another nook in the earth where such a principle is professed, much less acted on? Hear their spokesman's reply to my question, "Why did they take the trouble to come so far from home?" I give it *verbatim*: "Our town had not two hundred inhabited dwellings when you came amongst us: now there are twelve hundred: the Rana is our sovereign, but you are to us next to *Purméswar* (the Almighty); our fields are thriving, trade is reviving, and we have not been molested even for the wedding-portion.¹ We are happy, and we have come to tell you so; and what is five coss, or five hundred, to what you have done for us?" All very true, my friends, if you think so. After a little wholesome advice to keep party feuds from the good town of Poorh, they took leave, to return their ten miles on foot.

Since the town council left me, I have been kept until half-past seven by the Baba of Mungrope, and the Thakoor of Rawurdoh, whose son I redeemed from captivity in the fortress of Ajmér. Worn out; but what is to be done? It is impossible to deny one's self to chiefs who have also come miles from the best motives. Now for coffee and the *charpâé*.

RASMY, October 23.—The direct or usual route is thirteen and a half miles, but as I made a circuit by Morowlee, it was fifteen. Had I taken the common route, I should have followed the Bunas the whole way; as it was, for the last half I skirted its low banks, its limpid stream flowing gently to the north-east. Found the cultivation considerably increased compared with last year; but it is still a desert, overgrown with grass and brushwood, in which these little cultivated oases are "few and far between." Morowlee was thriving in the midst of ruin, with fifty-seven ploughs at work; there were but twelve when I entered Méwar. Rasmy has also seventy families instead of the twenty I found; and in a few years I hope to see them greatly increased. We had some delicious trout from the Bunas, some of them equal to what we caught last year at Pahona, the largest of which weighed seventy-three rupees, or about two pounds, and near seventeen inches long by nine in girth. My friend Tom David Steuart was more successful than we were in getting them to rise at the fly; in revenge we took them, unsportsmanlike, in a net. This appears to be the season for eating them.

Rasmy is a place of considerable interest, and tradition is at work to

¹ When the Rana was about celebrating simultaneously the marriage of two daughters and a granddaughter to the princes of Jessulmér, Bikanér, and Kishengurh, his subjects were called on for the "tenth."

establish its antiquity, connecting it with the name of Raja Chund; but whether the Prámár of Chunderavati, or the Chohan of Abhanair, I cannot learn. There were vestiges of past days; but even in these regions, where to a certain extent they respect antiquity, I find the ruined temples are despoiled, and appropriated to modern fabrics. Amongst the groves of Rasmy I found some fragments of patriarchal legislation, prohibiting "the ladies from carrying away under their *ghagra* (petticoats) any portion of the *sad*, or village-feast!" I also discovered a tablet raised by the collective inhabitants of Rasmy, which well illustrates the truth, that they had always some resort against oppression. It runs as follows: "Written by the merchants, bankers, printers, and assembled *punchaet* of Rasmy: Whereas the collector of town-duties oppressed the merchant by name Pakur, and exacted exorbitant duties on grain and *reza* (unbleached cloth), for which he abandoned the place; but the government-officer having forsworn all such conduct for the future, and prevailed on him to return, and having taken the god to witness—we, the assembled *punch*, have set up this stone to record it. Asár the 3rd, S. 1819."

Fourteen years have elapsed since I first put my foot in Méwar, as a subaltern of the Resident's¹ escort, when it passed through Rasmy. Since that period, my whole thoughts have been occupied with her history and that of her neighbours.

JASSMOH, 24th; distance fourteen miles, but not above twelve direct.—This in past times was a township of celebrity, and in the heart of the finest soil in India, with water at hand; but it had not a single habitation when we entered the country; now, it has eighty families. Our way for fourteen miles was through one wide waste of untrodden plain; the Bunas continued our companion half way, when *she* departed for Guloond to our right. Saw many inscriptions, of which we shall give an account hereafter. Passed the copper-mines of Dureeba; but they are filled with water, and the miners are all dead.

SUNWÂR, 25th; distance twelve and a half miles by the direct route through Loneroh; but I made a circuit to visit the celebrated field of battle between Rawul Samarsi, of Chêetore, and Bholá Bheem, of Anhul-warra Patun, recorded by the bard Chund in his *Rásá*. This magnificent plain, like all the rest of this once garden of Méwar, is overgrown with the *kesoola* or *plás*, and lofty rank grass; and the sole circumstance by which it is known is the site. The bard describes the battle as having occurred in *Khêt-Kuraira*, or field of Kuraira, and that the Solankhi, on his defeat, retreated across the river, meaning the Bairis, which is a few miles to the south. A little way from hence is the *Sungum*, or point of junction of the Bairis and Bunas, which, with a third small stream, forms a *triveni*; at their point of confluence there is an altar to Mahadeo.

At Kuraira there is a temple of some celebrity, dedicated to the twenty-third of the Jain apostles, Parswanat'h. I found several inscriptions recording its foundation in S. 11 . ., and several from 1300 to 1350. We must supply the figures wanting in the first. The priests are poor and ignorant; but they are transcribing its history, and such as it is it shall be given. The temple is imposing, and though evidently erected in the decline of the arts, may be considered a good specimen for the twelfth century. It consists of two domes, supported by numerous massive

¹ My esteemed friend, Mr. Græme Mercer, of Mævisbank.

columns of a species of porphyry, of close texture, excessively hard, and taking a fine polish. The capitals of the columns are filled with Jain figures of their pontiffs. The domes are of nearly equal diameters, about thirty feet each, and about forty in height ; under the further one is the sanctum of Parswa, and the other within the votaries. There is a splendid colonnaded vestibule at the entrance, richly sculptured, which gives a very grand appearance to the whole edifice ; but it stands in the midst of desolation. Even thirty years ago, these plains were covered with crops of *joâr*, in which an elephant would have been lost ; now there is scarcely the trace of a footpath, and with some difficulty did I make way in my *palki* (for I am unable to mount my horse) through the high grass which completely overtopped it, and the *babool* trees, the thorns of which annoyed us. Kuraira, which formerly contained six hundred houses, has now only sixty ; and more than half of these have been built since we came amongst them. The damsels of Kuraira came out to welcome me with the 'song of joy,' and bringing water. The distance is seven miles from Rasmy to Kuraira, and nine thence to Sunwâr. The latter belongs to one of the infants (*babâs*) of Méwar, the Mahraja Dowlet Sing, now killehdar or commandant of Kûmulmér. This chief town of the estate of my friend the Mahraja is but small, and in no flourishing condition. There is a small fort, in which he contrived to maintain himself against the savage bands who long prowled over the country. Transcribed an inscription, and found it to be the abolition of a monopoly of tobacco, dated S. 1826.

MÂOWLEE, 26th ; seven and a half miles.—As usual, all was barren between Sunwâr and Mâowlee ; though at each are the traces of reviving industry. This was formerly a considerable town, and rated in the books at seven thousand rupees annual rent ; but now it yields not seven hundred. Its population consists of about eighty families of all classes, half of which have been recalled from their long exile in Malwa and Candeish, and have already given a new aspect to Mâowlee in its sugar-canes. Her highness' steward, however, is not one of the faithful. There is a very fine *bawari*, or reservoir, of coarse marble, constructed by *Baeji Raj*, 'the royal mother,' of the present Rana and his sister, in whose appanage it is. An inscription, dated S. 1737, recorded an ordinance in favour of the Jains, that "the oil-mill of Mâowlee should not work on the four rainy months" ; in order to lessen the destruction of animal life.

Heights of Toos and Mairta, 27th ; fourteen miles and a half.—At length there is an end to our disastrous journey ; and from this ground I stir not again, till I start for *Samoodra* (the sea), to embark for the land of my sires. Our route, as usual, over desolate fields, doubly striking as we passed the hunting-seats of Nahra-Muggra, or 'tiger mount.' Bajrâj, the royal steed, who seemed instinctively to know he was at the end of his journey, was unwilling to quit the path and his companions, when I urged him to pick his way amidst the ruined palace of the Ranas, where, without metaphor, "the owl stands sentinel" ; and which was crumbling into and choking up the Bamuni, whose monotonous murmur over these impediments increased the melancholy sensations which arose on beholding such a scene. Every year is aiding its rapid decay, and vegetation, fixing itself everywhere, rends its walls asunder. The range of stabling for thirty horses, all of stone, even to the mangers, is one extensive ruin. It was on this spot, according to the chronicles, that the sage Harit bestowed the

enchanted blade upon the great sire of the Seesodias, eleven centuries ago ; but they have run their career, and the problem remains to be solved, whether they have to commence a new course, or proceed in the same ratio of decay as the palace of the tiger-mount. The walls around this royal preserve no longer serve to keep the game from prowling where they please. A noble boar crossed our path, but had no pursuers ; ' our blood was cold ' ; we wanted rest. As we approached our old ground, my neighbours of Mairta and villages adjacent poured out to welcome our return, preceded by the *dholi* of Toos and his huge kettle-drum, and the fair, bearing their *lootas*, or brazen vessels with water, chanted the usual strain of welcome. I dropped a piece of silver into each as I passed, and hastened to rest my wearied limbs.

Poor Cary will never march again ! Life is almost extinct, and all of us are but the ghosts of what we were.

CHAPTER IX

The author obliged to take a journey to Boondi—Cause of the journey—Sudden death of the Rao Raja, who left his son to the author's care—The cholera morbus, or *murri*—Its ravages—Curious expedient to exclude it from Kotah and Boondi—Bad weather—Death of the author's elephant—Pohona—Bhilwara—Gratifying reception of the author—State of the town contrasted with its former condition—Projects for its further improvement—Reflections on its rise—Jehajpoor—Difficulties of the road—Arrival at Boondi—The aspect of the court—Interview with the young Rao Raja—Attentions paid to the author.

OODIPOOR, July 1821.—When I concluded the narrative of my journey in October last year, I had no expectation that I should ever put my foot in the stirrup again, except *en route* to Bombay, in order to embark for Old England ; but ' *honhâr !* ' as my Rajpoot friends exclaim, with a sigh, when an invincible destiny opposes their intentions. I had only awaited the termination of the monsoon to remove the wreck of a once robust frame to a more genial clime ; and now, it will remain to be proved whether my worthy friend Duncan's prophecy—" You must die, if you stay here six months more "—will be fulfilled. Poor Cary lies entombed on the heights of Mairta ; the doctor himself is just going off to the Cape, half-dead from the Kotah fever ; and, as if that were not enough, the *narooa*, or guinea-worm, has blanched his cheek and made him a cripple. My cousin, Captain Waugh, is at Kotah, depressed by a continuance of the same *malaria*, and in a few days I again start *solus*, in the midst of the monsoon, for Harouti.

A few days ago I received an express from Boondi, announcing the sudden death of my estimable friend, the Rao Raja, who in his last moments nominated me guardian of his infant son, and charged me to watch over his welfare and that of Boondi. The more formal letter of the minister was accompanied by one from the Rani, mother of the young prince, from whom also, or in his name, I had a few lines, both seconding the bequest of the dying prince, and reminding me of the dangers of a minority, and the elements by which they were surrounded. The appeal was irresistible, and the equipage was ordered out for immediate departure to Mairta, and thence to Máowlee, twenty-five miles distant, where I should join them.

The Raja fell a victim to *murri*, the emphatic appellation of cholera, which has now been wasting these regions since 1817. They might well say that, if at this important period in their history we destroyed the demon of rapine which had so long preyed upon their repose, we had in lieu of it introduced *death* amongst them, for such is the interpretation of *murri*.¹ It was in our armies that this disease first appeared in northern India ; and although for some time we flattered ourselves that it was only the intemperate, the ill-fed, or ill-clothed, that fell victims to it, we soon discovered that *murri* was no respecter of persons, and that the prince and the peasant, the European and the native, the robust and the weak, the well-fed and the abstinent, were alike subject to her influence. I can number four intimate friends, my brother officers, who were snatched away in the very prime of life by this disease ; and in the states under my political control, it assailed in two instances, the palace : the Oodipoor prince recovered, but the Boondí Rao's time was come. He conducted himself most heroically, and in the midst of the most dreadful torture with which the human frame can be afflicted, he never lost his self-possession, but in every interval of suffering, conversed upon the affairs of his little dominion, giving the fullest instructions for the future with composure. He particularly desired that none of his wives should mount the pyre with his corpse ; and that as soon as he ceased to breathe, I should be invited to Boondí ; for that " he left *Lalji* (an endearing epithet to children) in my lap." It was only during our last journey through Boondí, that I was amused with my friend's expedient to keep " death " out of his capital, and which I omitted to mention, as likewise the old Regent's mode of getting rid of this unwelcome visitor in Kotah ; nor should they be separated. Having assembled the Brahmins, astrologers, and those versed in incantations, a grand rite was got up, sacrifice made, and a solemn decree of *desualto*, or banishment, was pronounced against *murri*. Accordingly an equipage was prepared for her, decorated with funeral emblems, painted black and drawn by a double team of black oxen ; bags of grain, also black, were put into the vehicle, that the lady might not go forth without food, and driven by a man in sable vestments, followed by the yells of the populace. *Murri* was deported across the Chumbul, with the commands of the priests that she should never set foot again in Kotah. No sooner did my deceased friend hear of her expulsion from that capital, and being placed *en chemin* for Boondí, than the wise men of this city were called on to provide means to keep her from entering therein. Accordingly, all the water of the Ganges at hand was in requisition, an earthen vessel was placed over the southern portal, from which the sacred water was continually dripping, and against which no evil could prevail. Whether my friend's supply of the holy water failed, or *murri* disregarded such opposition, she reached his palace.²

¹ From the Sanscrit *mri*, ' to die.'

² I have in other parts of my work touched upon this terrific scourge, from which it will be seen that it is well known throughout India under the same appellation ; and it is not one of the least curious results of my endeavour to prove that the Hindús had historical documents, that by their means I am enabled to trace this disease ravaging India nearly two centuries ago. At p. 52, it is thus described in the Annals of Marwar : " This, the *sáca* (putting a garrison to the sword) of Sojut, was when S. 1737 ended, and S. 1738, or A.D. 1681-2, commenced, when the sword and *murri* (pestilence) united to clear the land."

POWNAH, or POHONA, *July 25*.—Yesterday was a day of disaster: I left the capital amidst torrents of rain, and between Mairta and Mäowlee found my best elephant lying dead; the long and sudden march, and too heavy a load, had destroyed the fine animal. It was rather ominous to lose the emblem of wisdom in the outset of this journey. We passed a most uncomfortable day, and still more uncomfortable night, for a strong gale forced up the tent-pins from the clay soil, and brought down the tent over my ears. I had an escape from the pole, part of which I propped under the fly to keep me from suffocation. Around me were nothing but yells of distress, half laughable, half serious; horses loose, and camels roaring in discordant gutturals. We were glad long before dawn to pack up our chattels, thoroughly soaked, and consequently double weight, and begin moving for Pohona, where we are promised a little repose. I have taken this route as it is the last occasion I shall have to visit the work of my own hands, the mart of Bhilwarra. Pohona is or was a place of some value; but the Brahmins, through the influence of the Rana's sister, had got it by means of a forged grant, and abided by the privileges of their order. But fortunately they abused the right of sanctuary, in giving protection to a thief and assassin from interested motives; consequently, the penalty of resumption was incurred, and we hope to suffer no other ill-effects than Chand Bâé's displeasure.

BHILWARA, *July 26*.—Varûna, the *Jupiter pluvialis* of the Hindu, has been most complaisant, and for two days has stopped up all the "bottles of heaven," and I made my triumphal entry into our good town of Bhilwarra, on one of those days which are peculiarly splendid in the monsoon, when the sun deigns to emerge from behind the clouds.

My reception was quite Asiatic; the entire population, headed by the chief merchants, and preceded by the damsels with the *kullus*, advanced full a mile to meet and conduct me to a town which, a few years ago, had not one inhabited dwelling. I passed through the main street, surrounded by its wealthy occupants, who had suspended over the projecting awnings the most costly silks, brocades, and other finery, to do honour to one whom they esteemed their benefactor, and having conducted me to my

Orme, in his fragments, mentions a similar disease in A.D. 1684, raging in the peninsula of India, and sweeping off five hundred daily in the imperial camp at Goa; and again, in the Annals of Méwar, vol. i. p. 311, it is described in the most frightful colours, as ravaging that country twenty years before, or in S. 1717 (A.D. 1661); so that in the space of twenty years, we have it described in the peninsula, in the desert of India, and in the plains of Central India; and what will appear not the least singular part of the history of this distemper, so analogous to the present date, about the intermediate time of these extreme periods, that is about A.D. 1669, a similar disease was raging in England. I have no doubt that other traces of the disorder may appear in the chronicles of their bards, or in Mahomedan writers, judging from these incidental notices, which might never have attracted attention had not *murri* come to our own doors. I have had many patients dying about me, but no man ever dreamed of contagion; to propagate which opinion, and scare us from all the sympathies of life, without proof absolutely demonstrative, is, to say the least, highly censurable. There is enough of self in this land of *ultra* civilisation, without drawing a *cordon sanitaire* round every individual. The Oodipoor prince was the first person seized with the disease in that capital: a proof to me, against all the faculty, that to other causes than personal communication its influence must be ascribed. I will not repeat the treatment in this case (see p. 52), which may deserve notice, though prescribed by the uninitiated.

tent, left me to breakfast, and returned in the afternoon. As the tent would not contain a tenth of the visitors, I had its walls removed, and all were welcome to enter who could. Every moment I expected to see it fall upon us, as there were hundreds of hands at each rope, swaying it in every direction, in their eagerness to see what was going on within between the *saheb* and the *punchaet* of both sects, Oswal and Mahesri, or Jain and Vishnuvé. We talked over many plans for the future benefit of the town; of further reducing the duties, and giving additional freedom to the transit-trade. I offered, in the Rana's name, to expend the next two years' income on a circumvallation for the protection of the town; which, for many good reasons, they refused; and principally, that it would be a check on that very freedom it was my desire they should enjoy, as it would prevent uninterrupted ingress and egress. I, however, sent for the chiefs, to whom, with their quotas, was confided the duty of guarding this town, and before the assembled groups explained the necessity of preventing any complaints from want of due vigilance, and told them they were to be in lieu of walls to Bhilwara. My good friends having no inclination to retire, I sent for the presents I intended for the heads of the sectarian merchants, with the *utr-pân* (that most convenient mode of hinting to a friend that you are tired of him), and they departed with a thousand blessings, and prayers for the perpetuity of our *raj*.

Bhilwara is perhaps the most conspicuous instance in all India of the change which our predominant influence has effected in four short years; and to many it must appear almost miraculous that, within that period, a great commercial mart should be established, and three thousand houses, twelve hundred of which are those of merchants or artisans, be made habitable, the principal street being entirely rebuilt; that goods of all countries should be found there; bills of exchange to any amount, and on any city in India, obtained, and that all should be systematically organised, as if it had been the silent growth of ages. To me it afforded another convincing proof, in addition to the many I have had, of the tenacity and indestructibility of the institutions in these regions, and that very little skill is requisite to evoke order and prosperity out of confusion and distress. I have no hesitation in saying that, were it not now time to withdraw from interference in the internal concerns of Méwar, the machine of government having been once more put into action, with proper management this place might become the chief mart of Rajpootana, and ten thousand houses would soon find inhabitants: such are its local capabilities as an entrepôt. But while I indulge this belief, I should at the same time fear that the rigid impartiality, which has prevented the quarrels of the sectarian traders from affecting the general weal, would be lost sight of in the apathy and intrigue which are by no means banished from the councils of the capital.

I bade a last farewell to Bhilwara and its inhabitants, with prayers for the welfare of both.

BHILWARA, 28.—Though pressed for time, and the weather had again become bad, I could not resist the kind entreaties of the people of Bhilwara that I would halt one more day amongst them; and albeit neither my health nor occupations admitted of my being the *lion* to the good traders of the city without inconvenience, the slight personal sacrifice was amply

repaid by the more intimate acquaintance I gained with men belonging to every region of Rajwarra.

JEHAJPOOR, 29.—This was a long march in a torrent of rain, the country flooded, and roads cut up; and although I have not incommoded myself with much baggage, the little I have is in a wretched plight. The crockery-bearer fell with his load, and smashed the contents. Passed over the encamping ground of last year, and bestowed a transient thought upon the scene enacted there. I was equally near 'the brink' this spring. The Rana had stopped the *nakarra*, and many a rupee's-worth of *hesur* (saffron) was promised to the divinities both of the Jains and Vishnuv's for my recovery. My kinsman, Captain Waugh, was admitted, after many days' exclusion, to take a last adieu; but I told the doctor I was sure he was wrong; and here I am, bound for the same scenes of misery from which I so lately escaped, and under which several of my establishment, besides poor Cary, have succumbed.

BOONDI, 30.—Another fatiguing march brought us to the conclusion of our journey; and notwithstanding a deluge of rain, we were met three miles from the city by the minister and the principal chiefs, with whom an interchange of *bugul-geeri* (embracing) took place in spite of the raging elements. All preceded to announce our approach, but my faithful old friend, the Maharaja Bikramajeet, whose plain and downright honesty in all that appertains to his master's house has won my warmest regard. He rode by my side, and told me of the changes that had taken place, of the dangers of the young Ram Sing from the interested views of those who affected the semblance of devotion; "but," observed the veteran, "you know us all, and will trust no individual with too much authority." He could speak thus without fear of being misunderstood, for no persuasion would have induced him to enter into their cabals, or compromise his trust of watching over the personal safety of his infant prince; though without any ostensible post or character save that proud title—which was ascribed to him by all parties—'the loyal Bikramajeet.'

The beauties of the scenery passed unheeded, and have already been sufficiently described, though there is novelty in every point of view from which the fairy palace is seen; and as it burst upon us this morning, a momentary gleam, passing over its gilded pinnacles, displayed its varied outline, which as rapidly immersed into the gloom that hung over it, according well with the character of its inmates. As it was my policy to demonstrate, by the rapidity of my movements (which had brought me in six days at such a season from Oodipoor to Boondi), how much the British Government had at heart the welfare of its young prince, I hastened to the palace in my travelling costume to pay my respects, wishing to get over the formal visit of condolence on the loss the prince had sustained.

I found the young chief and his brother, Gopál Sing, surrounded by a most respectable court, though, as I passed along the line of retainers occupying each side of the long colonnaded *bara-durri*, I could perceive looks of deep anxiety and expectation blended with those of welcome. Notwithstanding the forms of mourning must destroy much of the sympathy with grief, there is something in the settled composure of feature of an assembly like this, convened to receive the condolence of a stranger who felt for the loss in which he was called to sympathise, that fixes the mind. Although I was familiar with the rite of *mātim*, which, since the

days of "David, who sent to comfort Hanum, son of the king of the children of Ammon, when his father died," is generally one of 'the mockeries of woe,' its ordinary character was changed on this occasion, when we met to deplore the loss of the chief of all the Haras.

I expressed the feelings which the late event had excited in me, in which, I observed, the most noble the governor-general would participate ; adding that it was a consolation to find so much promise in his successor, during whose minority his lordship would be in the place of a father to him in all that concerned his welfare ; and that in thus speedily fulfilling the obligations of public duty and friendship to the will of his deceased parent, I but evinced the deep interest my government had in the rising prosperity of Boondí ; that, thank God, the time was past when a minority could endanger his welfare, as it would only redouble the anxiety and vigilance of my government ; with much more to the same purport, which it is unnecessary to repeat. The young prince replied with great propriety of manner and speech, concluding thus : " My father left me in your lap ; he confided my well-being to your hands." After a few remarks to the chiefs, I repaired to the residence prepared for me at no great distance from the palace. Here I found all my wants supplied and my comforts most carefully studied ; and scarcely had I changed my garments, when a sumptuous dinner was announced, sent by the queen-mother, who in order to do more honour had ordered a Brahmin to precede it, sprinkling the road with holy-water to prevent the approach of evil !

CHAPTER X

Ceremony of *Ráj-tilac*, or inauguration—Personal qualities of the Rao Raja and his brothers—The installation—The *tilac* first made by the author, as representative of the British Government—Ceremonies—Message from the queen-mother—Balwunt Rao, of Goterah—The Bohora, or chief minister—Power and disposition of these two officers—Arrangements made by the author—Interview and conversation with the Rání—Literary and historical researches of the author—Revenues of Boondí—Its prospects—Departure for Kotah—Condition of the junior branches of the Haras—Rowtah—Grand hunts in Haroutí.

August the 5th.—The ceremony of *Ráj-tilac*, or inauguration of the young Rao Raja, had been postponed as soon as the Rání-mother heard of my intention to come to Boondí, and as the joyous "third of Sawun," *Sawunca-teej*, was at hand, it was fixed for the day following that festival. As the interval between the display of grief and the expression of joy is short in these states, it would have been inauspicious to mingle aught of gloom with the most celebrated of all the festivals of the Haras, in which the whole city partakes. The queen-mother sent a message to request that I would accompany her son in the procession of the *teej*, with which invitation I most willingly complied ; and she also informed me that it was the custom of Rajwarra, for the nearest of kin, or some neighbouring prince, on such occasions, to entreat the mourner, at the termination of the twelve days of *mátim*, to dispense with its emblems. Accordingly, I prepared a coloured dress, with a turban and a jewelled *sirpésh*, which I sent, with a request that the prince would "put aside the white turban." In

compliance with this, he appeared in these vestments in public, and I accompanied him to the ancient palace in old Boondí, where all public festivities are still held.

The young prince of the Haras is named Ram Sing, after one of the invincibles of this race, who sealed his loyalty with his life on the field of Dholpoor. He is now in his eleventh year, fair, and with a lively, intelligent cast of face, and a sedateness of demeanour which, at his age, is only to be seen in the East. Gopál Sing, his brother, by a different mother, is a few months younger, very intelligent, and in person slight, fair, and somewhat marked with the smallpox. There is a third boy, about four, who, although illegitimate, was brought up with equal regard, but now he will have no consideration.

The cavalcade was numerous and imposing; the chiefs and their retainers well mounted, their equipments all new for the occasion, and the inhabitants in their best apparel, created a spectacle which was quite exhilarating, and which Boondí had not witnessed for a century: indeed, I should hardly have supposed it possible that four years could have produced such a change in the general appearance or numbers of the population. After remaining a few minutes, I took leave, that I might impose no restraint on the mirth which the day produces.¹

The next day was appointed for the installation. Captain Waugh, who had been sent from Oodipoor to Kotah in December last, when the troubles of that state broke out afresh, joined me this day in order to be present at the ceremony, though he was in wretched health from the peculiar insalubrity of Kotah at this time of the year. We proceeded to the Rájmahl, where all the sons of Dewa-Bango have been anointed. Every avenue through which we passed was crowded with well-dressed people, who gave us hearty cheers of congratulation as we went along, and seemed to participate in the feeling evinced towards their young prince by the representative of the protecting power. The courts below and around the palace were in like manner filled with the Hara retainers, who rent the air with *Jy! Jy!* as we dismounted. There was a very full assemblage within, where the young Raja was undergoing purification by the priests; but we found his brother the Maharaja Gopál Sing, Bulwunt Sing of Goterah, the first noble of Boondí, the chiefs of Kaprain and Thana, old Bikramajeet, and likewise the venerable chief of Doogaric (son of Sriji), grand-uncle of the young prince, who had witnessed all the revolutions which the country had undergone, and could appreciate the existing repose. It was gratifying to hear this ancient, who could remember both periods of prosperity, thank *Parmeswar* that he had lived to see the restoration of his country's independence. In this manner we had some interesting conversation, while sacrifice and purification were going on in the adjoining apartment. When this was over, I was instructed to bring the young Raja forth and lead him to a temporary 'cushion of state,' when a new round of religious ceremonies took place, terminating with his re-election of the family Purohit and Béis, by marking their foreheads with the *tilac*: which ordination entitled them to put the *unction* upon the prince's, denoting the "divine right" by which he was in future to rule the Haras. The young prince went through a multitude of propitiatory rites with singular accuracy and self-possession; and when they

¹ See the description of the *Teef*, vol. i. p. 461.

were over, the assembly rose. I was then requested to conduct him to the *gadî*, placed in an elevated balcony overlooking the external court and a great part of the town ; and it being too high for the young prince to reach, I raised him to it. The officiating priest now brought the vessel containing the unction, composed of sandalwood powder and aromatic oils, into which I dipped the middle finger of my right hand, and made the *tilac* on his forehead. I then girt him with the sword, and congratulated him in the name of my government, declaring aloud, that all might hear, that the British Government would never cease to feel a deep interest in all that concerned the welfare of Boondî and the young prince's family. Shouts of approbation burst from the immense crowds who thronged the palace, all in their gayest attire, while every valley re-echoed the sound of the cannon from the citadel of Tarragurh. I then put on the jewels, consisting of *sirpêsh*, or aigrette, which I bound round his turban, a necklace of pearls, and bracelets, with twenty-one *shields* (the tray of a Rajpoot) of shawls, brocades, and fine clothes. An elephant and two handsome horses, richly caparisoned, the one having silver, the other silver-gilt ornaments, with embroidered velvet saddle-cloths, were then led into the centre of the court under the balcony, a *khelat* befitting the dignity both of the giver and the receiver. Having gone through this form, in which I was prompted by my old friend the Mahraja Bickramajeet, and paid my individual congratulations as the friend of his father and his personal guardian, I withdrew to make room for the chiefs, heads of clans, to perform the like round of ceremonies : for in making the *tilac*, they at the same time acknowledge his accession and their own homage and fealty. I was joined by Gopâl Sing, the prince's brother, who artlessly told me that he had no protector but myself ; and the chiefs, as they returned from the ceremony came and congratulated me on the part I had taken in a rite which so nearly touched them all ; individually presenting their *muzzurs* to me as the representative of the paramount power. I then made my salutation to the prince and the assembly of the Haras, and returned. The Rao Raja afterwards proceeded with his cavalcade to all the shrines in this city, and Sitoor, to make his offerings.

The next day I received a message from the queen-mother with her blessing (*asees*), intimating her surprise that I had yet sent no special deputation to her, to comfort her under her affliction, and to give a pledge for her own and her child's protection ; and that although on this point she could feel no distrust, a direct communication would be satisfactory. In reply, I urged that it was from delicacy alone I had erred, and that I only awaited the intimation that it would be agreeable, though she would see the embarrassment attending such a step, more especially as I never employed my own servants when I could command the services of the ministers ; and that as I feared to give umbrage by selecting any one of them, if she would receive the four, I would send with them a confidential servant, the *akharnuvees* or newswriter, as the bearer of my message. Her anxiety was not without good grounds : the elements of disorder, though subdued, were not crushed, and she dreaded the ambition and turbulence of the senior noble, Bulwunt Rao of Goterah, who had proved a thorn in the side of the late Raja throughout his life. This audacious but gallant Rajpoot, about twelve years before, had stormed and taken Nynwa, one of the chief castles of Boondî, in the face of day, and

defeated with great slaughter many attempts to retake it, still holding it in spite of his prince, and trusting to his own party and the Mahrattas for support. In fact, but for the change in his relations, he neither would have obeyed a summons to the Presence, nor dared to appear uninvited; and even now his appearance excited no less alarm than surprise. "Bulwunt Sing at Boond!" was repeated by many of the surrounding chiefs, as one of the anomalous signs of the times; for to have heard that a lion from their jungles had gone to congratulate the Raja, would have caused less wonder and infinitely less apprehension. The Rani was not satisfied, nor had her late lord been, with the chief minister, the Bohora, Simbhoo Ram, who only a few days before the Raja's death had expressed great unwillingness, when called on, to produce his account of the finances. It was chiefly with a view to guard against these individuals, that the deceased Rao Raja had nominated the British Agent as the guardian of his son and the state during his minority, and the queen-mother besought me to see his wishes faithfully executed. Fortunately, there were some men who could be depended on, especially Govind Ram, who had attended the agent as vakeel: a simple-minded man, full of integrity and good intentions, though no match for the Bohora in ability or intrigue. There was also the *dhabhaé*, or foster-brother of the late prince, who held the important office of killehdar of Tarragurh, and who, like all his class, is devotion personified. There was likewise Chanderbhan Naique, who, from a low condition, had risen to favour and power, and being quick, obedient, and faithful, was always held as a check over the Bohora. There were also two eunuchs of the palace, servants entirely confidential, and with a very good notion of the general affairs of the state.

Such were the materials at my disposal, and they were ample for all the concerns of this little state. Conformably to the will of the late prince, and the injunctions of the queen-mother, the Agent entirely reformed the functions of these officers, prohibited the revenues of the state from being confounded with the mercantile concerns of the minister, requiring them henceforth to be deposited at the *kishen-bindar*, or treasury in the palace, providing a system of checks, as well on the receipts as the expenditure, and making all the four jointly and severally answerable; yet he made no material innovations, and displaced or displeased no one; though in raising those who were noted throughout the country for their integrity, he confirmed their good intentions and afforded them scope, while his measures were viewed with general satisfaction. After these arrangements, the greatest anxiety of the queen was for the absence of Bulwunt Rao; and, as it was in vain to argue against her fears, she requested that, when the ceremonies of installation were over, the chiefs might be dismissed to their estates, and that I would take the opportunity, at the next *darbar*, to point out to them the exact line of their duties, and the necessity of observance of the customs of past days: all of which was courteously done.

Although the festival of the *Rakhi* was not until the end of the month, the mother of the young prince sent me by the hands of the *thut*, or family priest, the bracelet of adoption as her brother, which made my young ward henceforth my *bhánaij*, or nephew. With this mark of regard, she also expressed, through the ministers, a wish that I would pay her a visit at the palace, as she had many points to discuss regarding Lalji's

welfare, which could only be satisfactorily argued *vivâ voce*. Of course I assented ; and, accompanied by the Bohora and the confidential eunuchs of the *rawula*, I had a conversation of about three hours with my adopted sister ; a curtain being between us. Her language was sensible and forcible, and she evinced a thorough knowledge of all the routine of government and the views of parties, which she described with great clearness and precision. She especially approved of the distribution of duties, and said, with these checks, and the deep interest I felt for all that concerned the honour of Boondî, her mind was quite at ease ; nor had she anything left to desire. She added that she relied implicitly on my friendship for the deceased, whose regard for me was great. I took the liberty of adverting to many topics for her own guidance ; counselling her to shun the error of communicating with or receiving reports from interested or ignorant advisers ; and above all, to shun forming parties, and ruling, according to their usual policy, by divisions : I suggested that the object would be best attained by never intimating her wishes but when the four ministers were together ; and urged her to exercise her own sound judgment, and banish all anxiety for her son's welfare, by always recalling to mind what my government had done for the interests of Boondî. During a great part of this conversation, the Bohora had retired, so that her tongue was unrestrained. With *utr-pân* and her blessing (*asees*) sent by one of her damsels, she dismissed me with the oft-repeated remark, " Forget not that Lalji is now in your lap."

I retired with my conductors, highly gratified with this interesting conversation, and impressed with respect for her capacity and views. This Ranî, as I have elsewhere mentioned, is of the Rahtore tribe, and of the house of Kishengurh in Marwar ; she is the youngest of the late Rao Raja's four widowed queens, but takes the chief rank, as mother and guardian of the minor prince.

I remained at Boondî till the middle of August ; when, having given a right tone and direction to its government, I left it with the admonition that I should consider myself authorised, not as the agent of government so much as the executor of their late lord's wishes, and with the concurrent assent of the regent-queen, to watch over the prince's welfare until the age of sixteen, when Rajpoot minority ceases ; and advertised them, that they must not be surprised if I called upon them every year to inform me of the annual surplus revenue they had set aside for accumulation until his majority. I reminded the Bohora, in the words of his own beautiful metaphor, when, at the period of the treaty, my government restored its long-alienated lands, " again will our lakes overflow ; once more will the lotus show its face on the waters." Nor had he forgotten this emblematic phraseology, and with his coadjutors promised his most strenuous efforts. During the few remaining days of my stay, I had continual messages from the young prince, by the " Gold stick," or *dhabhaé*, which were invariably addressed to me as " the Mamoo Saheb," or uncle. He sent me specimens of his handwriting, both in *Devanagari* and Persian, in which last, however, he had not got farther than the alphabet ; and he used to ride and *karowli* his horse within sight of my tents, and always expressed anxiety to know what the " Mamoo " thought of his horsemanship. I was soon after called upon by the queen-mother for my congratulations on Lalji having slain his first boar, an event that had summoned all the Haras to make

As we were now in the vicinity of the chief *Rumna* in Haroutí, the Raj Rana proposed to exhibit the mode in which they carry on their grand hunts. The site chosen was a large range running into and parallel to the chain which separates Haroutí from Málwa. At noon, the hour appointed, accompanied by several officers of the Neemuch force (amongst whom was my old friend Major Price), we proceeded to the *Shikargás*, a hunting seat, erected half-way up the gentle ascent, having terraced roofs and parapets, on which the sportsman lays his gun to massacre the game ; and here we waited some time in anxious expectation, occasionally some deer scudding by. Gradually the din of the hunters reached us, increasing into tumultuous shouts, with the beating of drums, and all the varieties of discord. Soon various kind of deer galloped wildly past, succeeded by *nílgaes*, *bará-singás*, red and spotted. Some wild-hogs went off snorting and trotting, and at length, as the hunters approached, a bevy of animals, amongst which some black-snouted hyænas were seen, who made a dead halt when they saw themselves between two fires. There was no tiger, however, in the assemblage, which rather disappointed us, but the still more curious wild-dog was seen by some. A slaughter commenced, the effects of which I judged less at the time, but soon after I got to my tents I found six camel-loads of deer, of various kinds, deposited. My friend, Major Price, did not much admire this unsportsmanlike mode of dealing with the lords of the forest, and although very well, once in one's life, most would think a boar hunt, spear in hand, preferable. Still it was an exhilarating scene ; the confusion of the animals, their wild dismay at this compulsory association ; the yells, shouts, and din from four battalions of regulars, who, in addition to the ordinary band of huntsmen, formed a chain from the summit of the mountain, across the valley to the opposite heights ; and, last not least, the placid Regent himself listening to the tumult he could no longer witness, produced an effect not easily forgotten. This sport is a species of petty war, not altogether free from danger, especially to the rangers ; but I heard of no accidents. We had a round of a *nílgaæ*, and also tried some steaks, which ate very like coarse beef.

It is asserted that, in one shape or another, these hunting excursions

triumphal entry of the gallant little band with the spoils of the spoiler. The prize was sold and divided on the drum-head, and yielded six or eight months' pay to each ; but it did not rest here, for Lord Hastings promoted the non-commissioned officers and several of the men, giving to all additional pay for life.

The effect of this exploit was surprising ; the country people, who hitherto would as soon have thought of plundering his Satanic majesty as a Pindarrí, amassed all the spoils abandoned on their flight, and brought them to the camp of the Regent ; who, as he never admitted the spoils of an enemy into his treasury, sent it all to our tents to be at my disposal. But, as I could see no right that we had to it, I proposed that the action should be commemorated by the erection of a bridge, bearing Lord Hastings' name. There were the spoils of every region ; many trays of gold necklaces, some of which were strings of Venetian sequins ; coins of all ages (from which I completed a series of the Mogul kings), and five or six thousand head of cattle of every description. The Regent adopted my suggestion : a bridge of fifteen arches was constructed, extending over the river at the breadth of a thousand feet, eastward of Kotah ; and though more solid and useful than remarkable for beauty, will serve to perpetuate, as *Hasteen-pool*, the name of a gallant soldier and enlightened statesman, who emancipated India from the scourge of the Pindarrís. He is now beyond the reach of human praise, and the author may confess that he is proud of having suggested, planned, and watched to its completion, this trophy to his fame.

cost the state *two lakhs*, or £20,000 annually. The Regent's regular hunting-establishment consisted of twenty-five carpenters, two hundred *aireas*, or huntsmen, and five hundred occasional rangers. But the *goles*, or 'feasts,' at the conclusion of these sports, occasioned the chief expense, when some thousands were fed, and rewards and gratuities were bestowed upon those whom the Regent happened to be pleased with. This was one of the methods he pursued to ingratiate himself with the Haras, and he was eminently successful; the only wonder is, that so good an opportunity should have been neglected of getting rid of one who had so long tyrannised over them.

We here took a temporary leave of the Regent; and we intend to fill up the interval till the return of the Maharao from Méwar, by making a tour through upper Malwa, in which we shall visit the falls of the Chumbul amidst the dense woods of Puchail.

CHAPTER XI

Pass of Mokundurra—View from the summit of the pass into Puchail—Marks set up by the Bunjarris—Monastery of Atteets, or Jogis—Their savage aspect—The author elected a *chêlâ*—The head of the establishment—His legend of the origin of the epithet *Seesodia*—The grand temple of Barolli—Conjecture as to its founder—Barolli.

WE marched before daybreak through the famed pass of Mokundurra,¹ and caught a glimpse at the outlet of the fine plains of Malwa. We then turned abruptly to the right, and skirted the range which divides Haravati from Malwa, over a rich champaign tract, in a re-entering angle of the range, which gradually contracted to the point of exit, up the mountains of Puchail.

The sun rose just as we cleared the summit of the pass, and we halted for a few minutes at the tower that guards the ascent, to look upon the valley behind: the landscape was bounded on either side by the ramparts of nature, enclosing numerous villages, until the eye was stopped by the eastern horizon. We proceeded on the terrace of this table-land, of gradual ascent, through a thick forest, when, as we reached the point of descent, the sun cleared the barrier which we had just left, and darting his beams through the foliage, illuminated the castle of Bhynsrar, while the new fort of Dagermow appeared as a white speck in the gloom that still enveloped the Pat'har.

We descended along a natural causeway, the rock being perfectly bare, without a particle of mould or vegetation. Small pillars, or uninscribed tablets, placed erect in the centre of little heaps of stone, seemed to indicate the scene of murders, when the Bhîl lord of the pass exacted his toll from all who traversed his dominion. They proved, however, to be marks placed by the *bunjarris* to guide their *tândâs*, or caravans, through the 'devious tracks of the forest. As we continued to descend, enveloped on all sides by woods and rocks, we lost sight of the towers of Bhynsrar,

¹ *Durra*, a corruption of *Dwâr*, 'a barrier, pass, outlet, or portal'; and *Mokund*, one of the epithets of Crishna. *Mokundurra* and *Dwaricanat'h* are synonymous:—the pass and portal of the-Deity.'

and on reaching the foot of the Pass, the first object we saw was a little monastery of Atteets, founded by the chiefs of Bhynsrar : it is called Jhalaca. We passed close to their isolated dwelling, on the terraced roof of which a party of the fraternity were squatted round a fire, enjoying the warmth of the morning sun. Their wild appearance corresponded with the scene around ; their matted hair and beard had never known a comb ; their bodies were smeared with ashes (*bhaboot*), and a shred of cloth round the loins seemed the sole indication that they belonged to a class possessing human feelings. Their lives are passed in a perpetual routine of adoration of *Chatoorbhooja*, the 'four-armed' divinity, and they subsist on the produce of a few patches of land, with which the chiefs of Bhynsrar have endowed this abode of wild ascetics, or with what their patrons or the townspeople and passengers make up to them. The head of the establishment, a little, vivacious but wild-looking being, about sixty years of age, came forth to bestow his blessing, and to beg something for his order. He, however, in the first place, elected me one of his *chélás*, or disciples, by marking my forehead with a *tiká* of *bhaboot*, which he took from a platter made of *dhákh*-leaves ; to which rite of inauguration I submitted with due gravity. The old man proved to be a walking volume of legendary lore ; but his conversation became insufferably tedious. Interruption was in vain ; he could tell his story only in his own way, and in order to get at a point of local history connected with the sway of the Ranas, I was obliged to begin from the creation of the world, and go through all the theogonies, the combats of the Soors and Asoors, the gods and Titans of Indian mythology ; to bewail with Seeta the loss of her child, her rape by Rawun, and the whole of the wars of Rama waged for her recovery ; when, at length, the genealogy of the family commenced, which this strange being traced through all their varying patronymics of Díts, Rics, Gohelote, Aharya, Seesodia ; at which last he again diverged, and gave me an episode to explain the etymology of the distinguishing epithet. I subjoin it, as a specimen of the anchorite's historical lore :—

In these wilds, an ancient Rana of Cheetore had sat down to a *gote* (feast) consisting of the game slain in the chase ; and being very hungry, he hastily swallowed a piece of meat to which a gad-fly adhered. The fly grievously tormented the Rana's stomach, and he sent for a physician. The wiseman (*béd*) secretly ordered an attendant to cut off the tip of a cow's ear, as the only means of saving the monarch's life. On obtaining this forbidden morsel, the *béd* folded it in a piece of thin cloth, and attaching a string to it, made the royal patient swallow it. The gad-fly fastened on the bait, and was dragged to light. The physician was rewarded ; but the curious Rana insisted on knowing by what means the cure was effected, and when he heard that a piece of sacred kine had passed his lips, he determined to expiate the enormity in a manner which its heinousness required, and to swallow boiling lead (*seesa*) ! A vessel was put on the fire, and half a *seer* soon melted, when, praying that his involuntary offence might be forgiven, he boldly drank it off ; but lo ! it passed through him like water. From that day, the name of the tribe was changed from Aharya to *Seesodia*. The old Jogi as firmly believed the truth of this absurd tale as he did his own existence, and I allowed him to run on till the temple of Barolli suddenly burst upon my view from amidst the foliage that shrouded it. The transition was grand ; we had for some

time been picking our way along the margin of a small stream that had worked itself a bed in the rock over which lay our path, and whose course had been our guide to this object of our pilgrimage. As we neared the sacred fane, still following the stream, we reached a level spot overshadowed by the majestic koroo and amba, which had never known the axe. We instantly dismounted, and by a flight of steps attained the court of the temple. To describe its stupendous and diversified architecture is impossible ; it is the office of the pencil alone, but the labour would be almost endless. Art seems here to have exhausted itself, and we were, perhaps now for the first time, fully impressed with the beauty of Hindu sculpture. The columns, the ceilings, the external roofing, where each stone presents a miniature temple, one rising over another, until crowned by the unlike *kullus*, distracted our attention. The carving on the capital of each column would require pages of explanation, and the whole, in spite of its high antiquity, is in wonderful preservation. This is attributable mainly to two causes : every stone is chiselled out of the close-grained quartz rock, perhaps the most durable (as it is the most difficult to work) of any ; and in order that the Islamite should have some excuse for evading their iconoclastic law, they covered the entire temple with the finest marble cement, so adhesive, that it is only where the prevalent winds have beaten upon it that it is altogether worn off, leaving the sculptured edges of the stone as smooth and sharp as if carved only yesterday.

The grand temple of Barolli is dedicated to Siva, whose emblems are everywhere visible. It stands in an area of about two hundred and fifty yards square, enclosed by a wall built of unshaped stones without cement. Beyond this wall are groves of majestic trees, with many smaller shrines and sacred fountains. The first object that struck my notice, just before entering the area, was a pillar, erect in the earth, with a hooded-snake sculptured around it. The doorway, which is destroyed, must have been very curious, and the remains that choke up the interior are highly interesting. One of these specimens was entire, and unrivalled in taste and beauty. The principal figures are of Siva and his consort, Parbutty, with their attendants. He stands upon the lotus, having the serpent twined as a garland. In his right hand he holds the *dumroo*, or little drum, with which, as the god of war, he inspires the warrior ; in his left is the *cupra*, formed of a human skull, out of which he drinks the blood of the slain. The other two arms have been broken off : a circumstance which proves that even the Islamite, to whom the act may be ascribed, respected this work of art. The "mountain-born" is on the left of her spouse, standing on the *coorm*, or tortoise, with braided locks, and ear-rings made of the conch-shell. Every limb is in that easy flowing style peculiar to ancient Hindu art, and wanting in modern specimens. Both are covered with beaded ornaments, and have no drapery. The firm, masculine attitude of 'Baba Adam,' as I have heard a Rajpoot call Mahadeo, contrasts well with the delicate feminine outline of his consort. The serpent and lotus intertwine gracefully over their heads. Above, there is a series of compartments filled with various figures, the most conspicuous of which is the chimerical animal called the *gras*, a kind of horned lion ; each compartment being separated by a wreath of flowers, tastefully arranged and distributed. The animal is delineated with an ease not unworthy the art in Europe. Of the various other figures many are mutilated ; one is a

of a cone, composed of snakes interlaced, with a fillet of skulls: the *cupra* is in his hand, and the victims are scattered around. On his right is one of the maids of slaughter (*Jogini*) drunk with blood, the cup still at her lip, and her countenance expressive of vacuity; while below, on the left is a female personification of Death, mere skin and bone: a sickle (*koorpi*) in her right hand,¹ its knob a death's head, completes this group of the attributes of destruction.

To the west is Mahadeo under another form, a beautiful and animated statue, the expression mild, as when he went forth to entice the mountain-nymph, Méra, to his embrace. His tiara is a blaze of finely-executed ornaments, and his snake-wreath, which hangs round him as a garland, has a clasp of two heads of Schesnag (the serpent-king), while Nanda below is listening with placidity to the sound of the *dumroo*. His *cupra*, and *karg*, or skull-cap, and sword, which he is in the attitude of using, are the only accompaniments denoting the god of blood.

The northern compartment is a picture, disgustingly faithful, of death and its attributes, vulgarly known as *Bhooka Mâtâ*, or the personification of famine, lank and bare; her necklace, like her lord's, of skulls. Close by are two mortals in the last stage of existence, so correctly represented as to excite an unpleasant surprise. The outline, I may say, is anatomically correct. The mouth is half open and distorted, and although the eye is closed in death, an expression of mental anguish seems still to linger upon the features. A beast of prey is approaching the dead body; while, by way of contrast, a male figure, in all the vigour of youth and health, lies prostrate at her feet.

Such is a faint description of the sculptured niches on each of the external faces of the *mindra*, whence the spire rises, simple and solid. In order, however, to be distinctly understood, I shall give some slight ichnographic details. First, is the *mindra* or *cella*, in which is the statue of the god; then the *munduf*, or, in architectural nomenclature, the *pronaos*; and third, the portico, with which we shall begin, though it transcends all description.

Like all temples dedicated to Bal-Sîva, the vivifier, or 'sun-god,' it faces the east. The portico projects several feet beyond the *munduf*, and has four superb columns in front, of which the outline by Ghassi conveys but a very imperfect idea. Flat fluted pilasters are placed on either side of the entrance to the *munduf*, serving as a support to the internal *torun*, or triumphal arch, and a single column intervenes on each side between the pilasters and the columns in front. The columns are about eighteen feet in height. The proportions are perfect; and though the difference of diameter between the superior and inferior portions of the shaft is less than the Grecian standard, there is no want of elegance of effect, whilst it gives an idea of more grandeur. The frieze is one mass of sculptured figures, generally of human beings, male and female, in pairs; the horned monster termed *Gras*, separating the different pairs. The internal *torun* or triumphal arch, which is invariably attached to all ancient temples of the sun-god, is of that peculiar curvature formed by the junction of two arcs of a circle from different centres, a form of arch well known in Gothic and

¹ Nowhere else did I ever see this emblem of Time, the counterpart of the scythe with which we furnish him, which is unknown to India.

Saracenic architecture, but which is an essential characteristic of the most ancient Hindu temples. The head of a *gras* crowns its apex, and on the outline is a concatenation of figures armed with daggers, apparently ascending the arch to strike the monster. The roof of the *munduf* (*pronaos*) cannot be described: its various parts must be examined with microscopic nicety in order to enter into detail. In the whole of the ornaments there is an exact harmony which I have seen nowhere else; even the miniature elephants are in the finest proportions, and exquisitely carved.

The ceilings both of the portico and *munduf*, are elaborately beautiful: that of the portico, of one single block, could hardly be surpassed. Of the exterior I shall not attempt further description: it is a grand, a wonderful effort of the *silpi* (architect), one series rising above and surpassing the other, from the base to the urn which surmounts the pinnacle.

The *sanctum* contains the symbol of the god, whose local appellation is *Rori Barolli*, a corruption of *Bal-rori*, from the circumstance of Bâlnat'h, the sun-god, being here typified by an orbicular stone termed *rori*, formed by attrition in the *choolis* or whirlpools of the Chumbul, near which the temple stands, and to which phenomena it probably owed its foundation. This symbolic *rori* is not fixed, but lies in a groove in the internal ring of the Yoni; and so nicely is it poised, that with a very moderate impulse it will continue revolving while the votary recites a tolerably long hymn to the object of his adoration. The old ascetic, who had long been one of the zealots of Barolli, amongst his other wonders gravely told me, that with the momentum given by his little finger, in former days, he could make it keep on its course much longer than now with the application of all his strength.

Some honest son of commerce thought it but right that the *mindra* (cella) of Bal-rori should be graced by a Parbutty, and he had one made and placed there. But it appeared to have offended the god, and matters soon after went wrong with the Banya: first his wife died, then his son, and at length he became *dewali*, or 'bankrupt.' In truth he deserved punishment for his caricature of the 'mountain-born' Mérâ, who more resembles a Dutch *burgomestre* than the fair daughter of Syeel.

Fronting the temple of Bal-rori, and apart from it about twenty yards, is another superb edifice, called the *Séngâr-châori*, or nuptial hall.¹ It is a square (*châori*) of forty feet, supported by a double range of columns on each face, the intercolumniations being quite open; and although these columns want the elegant proportions of the larger temple, they are covered with exquisite sculpture, as well as the ceilings. In the centre of the hall is an open space about twelve feet square; and here, according to tradition, the nuptials of *Raja Hoon* with the fair daughter of a Rajpoot prince, of whom he had long been enamoured, were celebrated; to commemorate which event, these magnificent structures were raised: but more of this *Hoon anon*. The external roof (or *sikr*, as the Hindu *silpi* terms the various

¹ This is not the literal interpretation, but the purpose for which it is applied. *Châori* is the term always appropriated to the place of nuptials: *séngâr* means 'ornament.'

roofs which cover their temples) is the frustrum of a pyramid, and a singular specimen of architectural skill, each stone being a miniature temple, elegantly carved, gradually decreasing in size to the *kullus* or ball, and so admirably fitted to each other, that there has been no room for vegetation to insinuate itself, and consequently they have sustained no injury from time.

Midway between the nuptial hall and the main temple, there is a low altar, on which the bull, *Nand-iswar*, still kneels before the symbolic representation of its sovereign lord, Iswâr. But sadly dishonoured is this courser of the sun-god, whose flowing tail is broken, and of whose head but a fragment remains, though his necklace of alternate skulls and bells proclaims him the charger of Śiva.

Around the temple of the 'great god' (*Mâhá-dêva*) are the shrines of the *dii minores*, of whom Ganésa, the god of wisdom, takes precedence. The shrine of this janitor of Śiva is properly placed to the north, equidistant from the nuptial hall and the chief temple. But the form of wisdom was not spared by the Tatar iconoclast. His single tooth, on which the poet Chund is so lavish of encomium, is broken off; his limbs are dissevered, and he lies prostrate on his back at the base of his pedestal, grasping, even in death, with his right hand the *lados*, or sweetmeat-balls, he received at the nuptial feast.

Near the dishonoured fragments of Ganésa, and on the point of losing his equilibrium, is the divine *Narâda*, the preceptor of Parbutty, and the Orpheus of Hindu mythology. In his hands he yet holds the lyre (*vîna*), with whose heavenly sounds he has been charming the son of his patroness; but more than one string of the instrument is wanting, and one of the gourds which, united by a sounding board, form the *vîna*, is broken off.

To the south are two columns, one erect and the other prostrate, which appear to have been either the commencement of another temple, or, what is more probable from their excelling everything yet described, intended to form a *torun*, having a simple architrave laid across them, which served as a swing for the recreation of the god. Their surface, though they have been exposed for at least one thousand years to the atmosphere, is smooth and little injured: such is the durability of this stone, though it is astonishing how it was worked, or how they got instruments to shape it. There is a *bawari*, or reservoir of water, for the use either of gods or mortals, placed in the centre of the quadrangle, which is strewn with sculptured fragments.

We quit the enclosure of Raja Hoon to visit the fountain (*coond*) of Mahadeo, and the various other curious objects. Having passed through the ruined gate by which we entered, we crossed the black stream, and passing over a fine turf plot, reached the *coond*, which is a square of sixty feet, the water (leading to which are steps) being full to the brim, and the surface covered with the golden and silver lotus. In the centre of the fountain is a miniature temple to the god who delights in waters; and the dam by which it was once approached being broken, it is now completely isolated. The entrance to the east has two slender and well-proportioned columns, and the whole is conspicuous for simplicity and taste.

Smaller shrines surround the *coond*, into one of which I entered, little expecting in a comparatively humble edifice the surprise which awaited

me. The temple was a simple, unadorned hall, containing a detached piece of sculpture, representing Narayan floating on the chaotic waters. The god is reclining in a fit of abstraction upon his *schés-séjâ*, a couch formed of the hydra, or sea-snake, whose many heads expanded form a canopy over that of the sleeping divinity, at whose feet is the benignant Lacshmi, the Hindu Ceres, awaiting the expiration of his periodical repose. A group of marine monsters, half man, half fish, support the couch in their arms, their scaly extremities gracefully wreathed, and in the centre of them is a horse, rather too terrestrial to be classical, with a conch-shell and other marine emblems near him. The background to this couch rises about two feet above the reclining figure, and is divided horizontally into two compartments, the lower containing a group of six chimerical monsters, each nearly a foot in height, in mutual combat, and in perfect relief. Above is a smaller series, depicting the Avatars, or incarnations of the divinity. On the left, *Coorma*, the tortoise, having quitted his shell, of which he makes a pedestal, denotes the termination of the catastrophe. Another marine monster, half boar (*Varaha*), half fish, appears recovering the *Yoni*, the symbol of production, from the alluvion, by his tusk. Next to him is Narsinga, tearing in pieces a tyrannical king, with other allegorical mysteries having no relation to the *ten incarnations*, but being a mythology quite distinct, and which none of the well-informed men around me could interpret : a certain proof of its antiquity.

The position of Narayan was that of repose, one hand supporting his head, under which lay the *gada*, or mace, while in another he held the conch-shell, which, when the god assumed the terrestrial form and led the *Yadu* hosts to battle, was celebrated as *Dekshinaverta*, from having its spiral involutions reversed, or to the right (*dekshin*). The fourth arm was broken off, as were his nether limbs to near the knee. From the *nâb* or *nâf* (navel), the umbilical cord ascended, terminating in a lotus, whose expanded flower served as a seat for Brimha, the personification of the mind or spirit "moving on the waters" (*Narayana*) of chaos. The beneficent and beautiful Lacshmi, whom all adore, whether as Anapûrana (the giver of food), or in her less amiable character as the consort of the Hindu Plutus, seems to have excited a double portion of the zealots' ire, who have not only visited her face too roughly, but entirely destroyed the emblems of nourishment for her universal progeny. It would be impossible to dwell upon the minuter ornaments, which, both for design and execution, may be pronounced unrivalled in India. The highly imaginative mind of the artist is apparent throughout ; he has given a repose to the sleeping deity, which contrasts admirably with the writhing of the serpent upon which he lies, whose folds, more especially under the neck, appear almost real ; a deception aided by the porphyritic tints of the stone. From the accompaniments of mermaids, conch-shells, sea-horses, etc., we may conclude that a more elegant mythology than that now subsisting has been lost with the art of sculpture. The whole is carved out of a single block of the quartz rock, which has a lustre and polish equal to marble, and is of far greater durability.

The length of this marine couch (*seja*) is nearly eight feet, its breadth two, and its height somewhat more than three : the figure, from the top of his richly wrought tiara, being four feet. I felt a strong inclination to disturb the slumbers of Narayana, and transport him to another clime :

in this there would be no sacrilege, for in his present mutilated state he is looked upon (except as a specimen of art) as no better than a stone.

All round the *coond* the ground is covered with fragments of shrines erected to the inferior divinities. On one piece, which must have belonged to a roof, were sculptured two busts of a male and a female, unexceptionably beautiful. The head-dress of the male was a helmet, quite Grecian in design, bound with a simple and elegant fillet : in short, it would require the labour of several artists for six months to do anything like justice to the wonders of Barolli.

There is no chronicle to tell us for whom or by whom this temple was constructed. The legends are unintelligible ; for although Raja Hoon is the hero of this region, it is no easy task to account for his connection with the mythology. If we, however, connect this apparently wild tradition with what is already said regarding his ruling at Bhynsrar, and moreover with what has been recorded in the first part of this work, when ' Ungutsi, lord of the Hoons,' was enrolled amongst the eighty-four subordinate princes who defended Cheetore against the first attempt of the Islamite, in the eighth century, the mystery ceases. The name of Hoon is one of frequent occurrence in ancient traditions, and the early inscription at Monghir has already been mentioned, as likewise the still more important admission of this being one of the thirty-six royal tribes of Rajpoots ; and as, in the Cheetore chronicle, they have actually assigned as the proper name of the Hoon prince that (Ungutsi) which designates, according to their historian Deguignes, the grand horde, we can scarcely refuse our belief that " there were Hunś " in India in those days. But although Raja Hoon may have patronised the arts, we can hardly imagine he could have furnished any ideas to the artists, who at all events have not produced a single Tatar feature to attest their rule in this region. It is far more probable, if ever Grecian artists visited these regions, that they worked upon Indian designs—an hypothesis which may be still further supported. History informs us of the Grecian auxiliaries sent by Seleucus to the (Püar) monarch of Oojein (Ozene), whose descendants corresponded with Augustus ; and I have before suggested the possibility of the temple of Komulmair, which is altogether dissimilar to any remains of Hindu art, being attributable to the same people.

We discovered two inscriptions, as well as the names of many visitors, inscribed on the pavement and walls of the portico, bearing date seven and eight hundred years ago ; one was " the son of Jalunś, from Dhawulnagri " ; another, which is in the ornamental *Nagari* of the Jains, is dated the 13th of Cartic (the month sacred to Mars), S. 981, or A.D. 925. Unfortunately it is but a fragment, containing five *ślocas* in praise of *Sideswar*, or Mahadeo, as the patron of the ascetic Jogis. Part of a name remains ; and although my old Gúrú will not venture to give a translation without his sibylline volume, the *Vyakurna*, which was left at Oodipoor, there is yet sufficient to prove it to be merely the rhapsody of a Pundit, visiting Rori Barolli, in praise of the ' great god ' and of the site.¹ More time and investigation than I could afford, might make further discoveries ; and it would be labour well rewarded if we could obtain a date for this Augustan age of India. At the same time, it is evident that the whole was not accom-

¹ This is deposited in the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

plished within one man's existence, nor could the cost be defrayed by one year's revenue of all Rajpootana.

We may add, before we quit this spot, that there are two piles of stones, in the quadrangle of the main temple, raised over the defunct priests of Mahadeo, who, whether Goséns, Sanyasis, or Dadoopantis, always bury their dead.

Barolli is in the tract named Puchail, or the flat between the river Chumbul and the pass, containing twenty-four villages in the lordship of Bhynsrur, lying about three miles west, and highly improving the scene, which would otherwise be one of perfect solitude. According to the local tradition of some of the wild tribes, its more ancient name was Bhadravati, the seat of the Hoons; and the traces of the old city in extensive mounds and ruins are still beheld around the more modern Bhynsrur. Tradition adds, that the Chirmitti (the classic name of the Chumbul) had not then ploughed itself a channel in this adamantine bed; but nine centuries could not have effected this operation, although it is not far from the period when Ungutsi, the Hoon, served the Rana of Chectore.

CHAPTER XII

The *choolis*, or whirlpools of the Chumbul—Grandeur of the scene—Description of the falls and rocks of the Chumbul in this part—The remarkable narrowness of its bed—The *raris*, or stones found in the whirlpools—Visit to Gangabhéva—Its magnificent temple and shrines—The details of their architecture—The main temple more modern than the shrines around it—Dilapidation of these fine specimens of art—Effects of vegetation—The gigantic *amervéla*—*Nâoh*—*Tâhâji-ca-coond*, or fountain of the snake-king—Fragments of sculpture—Mausoleum of Jeswunt Rao Holcar—Holcar's horse—His elephant—Bhanpoora—Tranquillity and prosperity of these parts—Gurrote—Traces of king Satul Patul, of the era of the Pandus—Agates and cornelians—The caves of Dhoomnar—Description of the caves and temples—Explanation of the figures—Jain symbols on one side of the caves, Brahmin on the other—Statues of the Jain pontiffs—Bheem's bazaar.

DECEMBER 3.—Having halted several days at Barolli to admire the works of man, we marched to contemplate the still more stupendous operations of nature—the *choolis*, or 'whirlpools,' of the Chumbul. For three miles we had to hew a path through the forest for our camels and horses; at the end of which, the sound of many waters gradually increased, until we stood on the bleak edge of the river's rocky bed. Our little camp was pitched upon an elevated spot, commanding a view over one of the most striking objects of nature—a scene bold beyond the power of description. Behind us was a deep wood; in front, the abrupt precipices of the Pat'har; to the left, the river expanded into a lake of ample dimensions, fringed with trees, and a little onward to the right, the majestic and mighty Chirmitti, one of the sixteen sacred rivers of India, shrunk into such a narrow compass that even man might bestride it. From the tent, nothing seemed to disturb the unruffled surface of the lake, until we approached the point of outlet, and beheld the deep bed the river has excavated in the rock. This is the commencement of the falls. Proceeding along the margin, one rapid succeeds another, the gulf increasing in width,

and the noise becoming more terrific, until you arrive at a spot where the stream is split into four distinct channels ; and a little farther, an isolated rock appears, high over which the whitened spray ascends, the sunbeams playing on it. Here the separated channels, each terminating in a cascade, fall into an ample basin, and again unite their waters, boiling around the masses of black rock, which ever and anon peeps out and contrasts with the foaming surge rising from the whirlpools (*choolis*) beneath. From this huge cauldron the waters again divide into two branches, encircling and isolating the rock, on whose northern face they reunite, and form another fine fall.

A tree is laid across the chasm, by the aid of which the adventurous may attain the summit of the rock, which is quite flat, and is called " the table of the Thakoor of Bhynsrar," who often, in the summer, holds his *gote* or feast there, and a fitter spot for such an entertainment can scarcely be imagined. Here, soothed by the murmur of foaming waters, the eye dwelling on a variety of picturesque objects, seen through the prismatic hues of the spray-clouds, the baron of Bhynsrar and his little court may sip their *amrit*, fancying it, all the while, taken from the churning of the little ocean beneath them.

On issuing from the *choolis*, the river continues its course through its rocky bed, which gradually diminishes to about fifteen feet, and with greatly increased velocity, until, meeting a softer soil, under Bhynsrar, it would float a man-of-war. The distance from the lake first described to this rock is about a mile, and the difference of elevation, under two hundred feet ; the main cascade being about sixty feet fall. It is a curious fact that, after a course of three hundred miles, the bed of a mighty river like this should be no more than about three yards broad. The whirlpools are huge perpendicular caverns, thirty and forty feet in depth, between some of which there is a communication underground ; the orbicular stones, termed *roris*, are often forced up in the agitation of these natural cauldrons ; one of them represents the object of worship at Bâl-rori. For many miles down the stream, towards Kotah, the rock is everywhere pierced by incipient *choolis*, or whirlpools, which, according to their size and force, are always filled with these rounded stones.

From hence the Chumbul pursues its course through the plateau (sometimes six hundred feet high) to Kotah. Here nature is in her grandest attire. The scene, though wild and rugged, is sublime ; and were I offered an estate in Méwar, I would choose Bhynsrar, and should be delighted to hold my *gote* enveloped in the mists which rise from the whirlpools of the Chumbul.

December 4.—The carpenters have been at work for some days hewing a road for us to pass to Ganga-bhéva, another famed retreat in this wild and now utterly deserted abode. We commenced our march through a forest, the dog-star nearly south ; the river dimly seen on our right. On our left were the remains of a ruined circumvallation, which is termed Rana-Kote ; probably a *rumna*, or preserve. At daybreak we arrived at the hamlet of Kheyrlí ; and here, our course changing abruptly to the south-east, we left the river, and continued our journey through rocks and thickets, until a deep grove of lofty trees, enclosed by a dilapidated wall, showed that we had reached the object of our search, Ganga-bhéva.

What a scene burst upon us, as we cleared the ruined wall and forced our way over the mouldering fragments of ancient grandeur ! Ganga-

bhēva, or 'the circle of Ganga,' appears to have been selected as a retreat for the votaries of Mahadeva, from its being a little *oasis* in this rock-bound valley; for its site was a fine turf, kept in perpetual verdure by springs.

The chief object is the temple, dedicated to the creative power; it stands in the centre of a quadrangle of smaller shrines, which have more the appearance of being the cenotaphs of some ancient dynasty than domiciles for the inferior divinities. The contrast between the architecture of the principal temple, and that of the shrines which surround it, is remarkable. The body of the chief temple has been destroyed, and with its wrecks a simple, inelegant *mindra* has been raised; nor is there aught of the primitive structure, except the portico, remaining. Its columns are fluted, and the entablature (part of which lies prostrate and reversed)¹ exhibits a profusion of rich sculpture. In front of the temple is a circular basin, always overflowing, and whence the term *bhevo* or *bhēō*, 'a circle,' added to the name of the spring, which is feigned to be an emanation of Ganga. The surface of its waters is covered with the flower sacred to the goddess, that particular lotus termed *camod'hun*, which may be rendered 'the riches of love.'

The chief temple evinces the same skill and taste as the structures of Barolli, and the embellishments are similar. We here recognise the groups of Mahadeva and Parbutty, with the griffins (*gras*), the Nagunis, half serpent, half female, etc., though not in so finished a style as at Barolli. Whatever be the age of this temple (and we found on the pavement the name of a votary with the date S. 1011, or A.D. 955), it is many centuries more recent than those which surround it, in whose massive simplicity we have a fine specimen of the primitive architecture of the Hindus. Even of these, we can trace varieties. One of these temples shows, in its fluted columns, a more ambitious, though not a better taste, than the plainer supporters of the pyramidal roofs, which cover all the ancient temples of Bāl-Sīva. Five of these small shrines filled up each face of the quadrangle, but with the exception of those on the east side, all are in ruins. The doors of those which possess an enclosed *sanctum*, face inwards towards the larger shrine: and each has a simple low altar, on which are ranged the attendant divinities of Mahadeva. The sculpture of all these is of a much later date than the specimens at Barolli, and of inferior execution, though far superior to anything that the Hindu sculptor of modern days can fabricate. They may possibly be of the date found inscribed (the tenth century), posterior to which no good Hindu sculpture is to be found. As this spot is now utterly deserted, and the tiger and wild boar are the only inhabitants that visit the groves of Ganga-bhēva, I shall be guilty of no sacrilege in removing a few of these specimens of early art.²

Nature has co-operated with the ruthless Toork in destroying the oldest specimens of the art. Wherever there is a chink or crevice, vegetation fixes itself. Of this we had a fine specimen in a gigantic but now mouldering *koroo*, which had implanted itself in the *munduf* of the principal

¹ It will be requisite to view this fragment in a reversed position to see the intended effort of the artist.

² Of the style of these specimens the curious are enabled to judge, as several are deposited in the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society. These mark the decline of the arts; as do those of Barolli its perhaps highest point of excellence.

BHANTOORA, December 6, eight miles.—This was a delightful march, presenting pictures at every step. Two miles, through jungle, brought us to the abrupt crest of the Pat'har. For some distance the route was over a neck or *chine*, with deep perpendicular dells on each side, which, at its extremity, the point of descent, termed the *ghat* or pass, became a valley, gradually expanding until we reached Bhanpoora. At the *ghat* are the remains of a very ancient fortress, named Indorgurh, which must have been one of the strongholds of this region long anterior to the Chandrawut feudatories of Méwar. Some fragments of sculpture indicate the presence of the artist of Barolli; but all search for inscriptions was fruitless. From hence we saw the well-defined skirts of the plateau stretching westward by Rampoor to the Lassaughat, Tarrapoor, and Jawud, the point of our ascent last year.

It was pleasing, after a week's incarceration amidst these ruins and scenes of natural grandeur, where European foot had never trod, to see verdant fields and inhabitants of the plains; such alternations make each delightful in its turn. We had been satiated with the interminable flats and unvarying cornfields of Harouti, and it was a relief to quit that tame tranquillity for the whirlpools of the Chumbul, the *coonds* of Ganga, and the snake-king in the regions of the inaccessible Doorga.

As we approached Bhanpoora, we crossed a small rivulet, called the Rewa, coming from the glen of the pass; near which is the mausoleum of Jeswunt Rao Holcar, adjoining the scene of his greatest glory, when he drove an English army from his territory. The architecture is worthy of the barbarian Mahratta; it is a vaulted building, erected upon a terrace, all of hewn stone: its only merit is its solidity. There is a statue of this intrepid chieftain, of the natural size, in the usual ungraceful sitting posture, with his little turban; but it gives but a mean idea of the man who made terms with Lake at the altars of Alexander. It is enclosed by a miniature and regularly-built fortress, with bastions, the interior of which are hollow and colonnaded, serving as a *dhermsala*, or place of halt for pilgrims or travellers; and on the terrace are a few *réklás*, or swivels. On the right of the temple destined to receive the effigy of Jeswunt, is a smaller cenotaph to the memory of his sister, who died shortly after him. The gateway leading into this castellated tomb has apartments at the top, and at the entrance is a handsome piece of brass ordnance, called *kali*, or 'death.' There is a temporary building on the right of the gateway, where prayers are recited all day long for the soul of Jeswunt, before an altar on which were placed twenty-four *déwás*, or lamps, always burning. A figure dressed in white was on the altar; immediately behind which, painted on the wall, was Jeswunt himself, and as in the days of his glory, mounted on his favourite war-horse, Mowah. The *chaour* was waving over his head, and silver-mace bearers were attending, while the officiating priests, seated on carpets, pronounced their incantations.

I left the master to visit Mowah, whose stall is close to the mausoleum of Holcar, whom he bore in many a desperate strife. The noble animal seemed to possess all his master's aversion to a *Frengi*, and when, having requested his body-clothes to be removed, I went up to examine him, he at first backed his ears and showed fight; but at last permitted me to rub his fine forehead. Mowah is a chestnut of the famed *Becmrut'hali* breed;

twelve miles.—The country reminded us of Méwar, having the same agreeable undulations of surface and a rich soil, which was strewed throughout, as yesterday, with agates. As we approached the object of our search, the caves of Dhoomnâr, we crossed a rocky ridge covered with the *dhak* jungle, through which we travelled until we arrived at the mount. We found our camp pitched at the northern base, near a fine tank of water ; but our curiosity was too great to think of breakfast until the mental appetite was satiated.

The hill is between two and three miles in circumference ; to the north it is bluff, of gradual ascent, and about one hundred and forty feet in height, the summit presenting a bold perpendicular scarp, about thirty feet high. The top is flat, and covered with *burr* trees. On the south side it has the form of a horse-shoe, or irregular crescent, the horns of which are turned to the south, having the same bold natural rampart running round its crest, pierced throughout with caves, of which I counted one hundred and seventy ; I should rather say that these were merely the entrances to the temples and extensive habitations of these ancient Troglodytes. The rock is a cellular iron-clay, so indurated and compact as to take a polish. There are traces of a city, external as well as internal, but whether they were cotemporaneous we cannot conjecture. If we judge from the remains of a wall about nine feet thick, of Cyclopean formation, being composed of large oblong masses without cement, we might incline to that opinion, and suppose that the caves were for the monastic inhabitants, did they not afford proof to the contrary in their extent and appropriation.

On reaching the scarp, we wound round its base until we arrived at an opening cut through it from top to bottom, which proved to be the entrance to a gallery of about one hundred yards in length and nearly four in breadth, terminating in a quadrangular court, measuring about one hundred feet by seventy, and about thirty-five feet in height ; in short, an immense square cavity, hollowed out of the rock, in the centre of which, cut in like manner out of one single mass of stone, is the temple of the four-armed divinity, Chatoor-bhooja. Exclusive of this gallery, there is a staircase cut in the north-west angle of the excavation, by which there is an ascent to the summit of the rock, on a level with which is the pinnacle of the temple. Apparently without any soil, some of the finest trees I ever saw, chiefly the sacred peepul, burr, and tamarind, are to be found here.

The ground-plan of the temple is of the usual form, having a *mindra*, *munduf*, and portico, to which the well-known term *pagoda* is given, and there is simplicity as well as solidity both in the design and execution. The columns, entablatures, with a good show of ornament, are distinct in their details ; and there are many statues, besides flowers, not in bad taste, especially the carved ceilings. It would be regarded as a curiosity if found on a plain, and put together in the ordinary manner ; but when it is considered that all is from one block, and that the material is so little calculated to display the artist's skill, the work is stupendous.

Vishnu, who is here adored as the "four-armed," was placed upon an altar, clad in robes of his favourite colour (*pandu*, or yellow ochre), whence one of his titles, *Pandûrang*. The principal shrine is surrounded by the inferior divinities in the following order : First, on entering are the *Poleas* or 'Porters' ; Ganésa is upon the right, close to whom is Sarâsvatî,

" whose throne is on the tongue " ; and on the left are the twin sons of Kalf, the Bhiroos, distinguished as *Kala* (black), and *Gora* (fair) ; a little in advance of these is a shrine containing five of the ten *Mahabedias*, or ministering agents of Kalf, each known by his symbol, or *vahan*, as the bull, man, elephant, buffalo, and peacock. The *Mahabedias* are all evil genii, invoked in *jup*, or incantations against an enemy, and phylacteries, containing formulas addressed to them, are bound round the arms of warriors in battle.

At the back of the chief temple are three shrines ; the central one contains a statue of Narayana, upon his hydra-couch, with *Lacshmi* at his feet. Two Dytes, or evil spirits, appear in conflict close to her ; and a second figure represents her in a running posture, looking back, in great alarm, at the combatants. Smaller figures about Narayana represent the heavenly choristers administering to his repose, playing on various instruments, the *moorali*, or flute, the *vina*, or lyre, the *muyoora*, or tabor, and the *mudhung* and *thâl*, or cymbals, at the sound of which a serpent appears, rearing his crest with delight. The minor temples, like the larger one, are also hewn out of the rock ; but the statues they contain are from the quartz rock of the Pat'har and they, therefore, appear incongruous with the other parts. In fact, from an emblem of Mahadeva, which rises out of the threshold, and upon which the " four-armed " Vishnú looks down, I infer that these temples were originally dedicated to the creative power.

We proceeded by the steps, cut laterally in the rock, to the south side, where we enjoyed, through the opening, an unlimited range of vision over the plains beyond the Chumbul, even to Mundisore and Sondwarra. Descending some rude steps, and turning to the left, we entered a cavern, the roof of which was supported by one of those singularly-shaped columns, named after the sacred mounts of the Jains ; and here it is necessary to mention a curious fact, that while everything on one side is Buddhist or Jain, on the other all is Sivite or Vishnuvi. At the entrance to the cave adjoining this are various colossal figures, standing or sitting, too characteristic of the Buddhists or Jains to be mistaken ; but on this, the south side, everything is ascribed to the Pandus, and a recumbent figure, ten feet in length, with his hand under his head, as if asleep, is termed " the son of Bheem," and as the local tradition goes, " only one hour old " : a circumstance which called forth from my conductor, who gravely swallowed the tale, the exclamation—" What would he have been if *noh mahina ca baluc*, 'a nine months' child' ! " The chief group is called the Five Pandus, who, according to tradition, took up their abode here during their exile from the Jumna ; and the other figures are performing menial offices to the heroes.

Fortunately, I had my Jain Gúrú with me, who gave me more correct notions of these groups than the local *cicerone*. All these figures are representations of the deified pontiffs of the Jains, and the group of five are the most celebrated of the twenty-four, and distinctively called the *Panch-Teerutí*, namely, Rishubdeva, the first ; Suntnáth, the sixteenth ; Némnáth, the twenty-second ; Parswanáth, the twenty-third ; and Máhávíra, the twenty-fourth. Each has his sacred mount, or place of pilgrimage (*teerut*), and each is recognised by his symbol, namely, the bull, black antelope, conch-shell, hooded serpent, and tiger ; and it is quite sufficient to find one of these symbols upon the plinth to ascertain the

particular pontiff to which it belongs. There was also, in a sitting posture, Chandra Prebhoo, known by his sign, the crescent. All the figures are from ten to eleven feet high. That in a recumbent position, my friend said was one of the pontiffs, about to "shuffle off this mortal coil," preparatory to apotheosis. "When such an event took place, the throne of Indra shook, and he sent a deputation to convey the deceased through the *Keer Samúdra* (sea of curds), to the great temple of deification, whither the whole heavenly host advanced to conduct him."

Next to, and communicating by a passage with, this hall of the Jain pontiffs, is the most extensive excavation of Dhoomnâr, locally designated as "Bheem's Bazaar." The extreme length of this excavation is about a hundred feet, and the breadth eighty. Although the name of this leader of the Pandus designates every subdivision of this cave, yet everything is Buddhist. The main apartment is that called Bheem's armoury or treasury, the entrance to which is through a vestibule, about twenty feet square, supported by two columns, and having four lateral semicircular niches, now empty, but probably intended for statues: this opens to the armoury, which is a vaulted apartment, about thirty feet by fifteen, having at the further end a *dhagope*, supporting the roof. These singularly-formed columns, if we may so term them, are named after their sacred mounts; and this is called *Sooméru*, which being sacred to Adnat'h, the first pontiff, we may conclude he was here adored. An extensive piazza, full twenty feet wide, evidently a *dhermsala* for the pilgrims, runs round this apartment, supported by rows of massive square columns, all cut out of the rock; and again, on the exterior, are numerous square cells, called the apartments of the *Srawuks*, or Jain laity; in one of which there is a supporting *dhagope*, and in another two statues of the twenty-third pontiff, Parswa. A part of the vaulted roof of Bheem's treasury, as it is called, has fallen in so that the vault of heaven is seen through the aperture of the mountain. This is also attributed to Korea Choor (*thief*), whose statue appears on the pinnacle of the temple of Barolli, indicating the old enemy of the Pandus, who robbed them of their kingdom. Close to the armoury is an apartment called the *Râjloca*, or for the ladies; but here tradition is at fault, since with the exception of Koonti, the mother, Droopdevî alone shared the exile of the Pandus.

Still further to the right, or south-west, is another vaulted and roof-ribbed apartment, thirty feet by fourteen, and about sixteen in central height, supported by another image of Sooméru. The sacred *burr*, or fig-tree (*figus religiosa*), had taken root in the very heart of this cavern, and having expanded until checked by the roof, it found the line of least resistance to be the cave's mouth, whence it issued horizontally, and is now a goodly tree overshadowing the cave. Around this there are many *pausid-salas*, or halls for the Yatis, or initiated disciples, who stand in the same upright meditative posture as the pontiffs.

But it is impossible, and the attempt would be tedious, to give, by any written description, an adequate idea of the subterranean town of Dhoomnâr. It is an object, however, which will assist in illustrating the subject of cave-worship in India; and though in grandeur these caves cannot compare with those of Ellora, Carli, or Salsette, yet in point of

antiquity they evidently surpass them. The temple dedicated to the *Tirthancars*, or deified *Jin-eswars* (lords of the Jains), are rude specimens of a rude age, when the art of sculpture was in its very infancy ; yet is there a boldness of delineation, as well as great originality of design, which distinguishes them from everything else in India. In vain we hunted for inscriptions ; but a few isolated letters of that ancient and yet undeciphered kind, which occurs on every monument attributed to the Pandus, were here and there observed. There were fragments of sculpture about the base of the hill, differing both in design and material from those of the mountain. Altogether, Dhoomnâr is highly worthy of a visit, being one of the most curious spots in this part, which abounds with curiosities.

CHAPTER XIII

Route over the ground of Monson's retreat—Battle of Peeply—Heroism of Umr Sing Hara, chief of Koelah—Conduct of General Monson—Puchpahar—Kunwarra—Thriving aspect of the country—Jhalra-Patun—Temples—Commercial immunities of the city—Judicious measures of the Regent in establishing this mart—Public visit of the community of Patun—The ancient city—Legends of its foundation—Profusion of ancient ruins—Fine sculpture and architecture of the temples—Inscriptions—Cross the natural boundary of Haroutî and Malwa—The *châoni* of the Kotah Regent—*Châoni* of the Pindarris—Gagrown—Naraynpoor—Mokundurra Pass—Inscriptions—Anecdotes of the "Lords of the Pass"—The *châori* of Bheem—Ruins—Ordinances of the Hara princes—Return to Kotah—Field sports—Author attacked by a bear—Ruins of Ekailgurh.

PUCHPAHAR, December 10.—We returned to Gurrote yesterday, whence we marched ten miles north-north-east this morning over memorable ground. It was from Gurrote that the retreat of Monson commenced, an event as remarkable in the history of British India as the retreat of Xenophon in that of Greece. The former has not been commemorated by the commander, though even the pen of Xenophon himself could not have mitigated the reproach which that disastrous event has left upon our military reputation. Holcar was at Pertabgurh, when, hearing of the advance of the English army, he made direct on Mundisore, where he halted merely to refresh his horses, and crossing the Chumbul at the Aora ford, he pushed direct on Gurrote, a distance of nearly fifty miles. Local report states that Monson, in utter ignorance of the rapid advance of Holcar, had that morning recommenced his march for Chandwassô, with what object is unknown ; but as soon as he learned the vicinity of the foe, without awaiting him, he ordered a retrograde movement to gain the Mokundurra pass, leaving Lucan with the irregular horse and the Kotah auxiliaries, chiefly Hara Rajpoots, to secure his retreat. Holcar's army amounted to ten thousand horse, in four *goles*, or masses, each acting separately. That under — Khan Bungush came on Lucan from the south, while that under Hurnat Dada, from the direction of Bhanpoor, attacked the Kotah contingent. Lucan defended himself like a hero, and having repelled all their charges, had become the assailant, when he received his death-blow from a hand in his own *pâlgâ*. My informant, who was that day opposed to this gallant soldier, described the scene, pointing out the mowah tree close to which he fell.

The auxiliary band of Kotah was led by the Hara chief of Koelah, his name Umr Sing. On receiving the orders of the English commander, he prepared, in the old Hara style, to obey them. The position he selected was about a quarter of a mile west of Lucan, on the north bank of the Amjar, his left protected by the village of Peeply, which stands on a gentle eminence gradually shelving to the stream, the low abrupt bank of which would secure him from any charge in front. Here, dismounting from his horse, Umr Sing, surrounded by one thousand men, "spread his carpet," resolved to defend the passage of the Amjar. His force was chiefly infantry, who met the enemy with volleys of matchlocks, and filled the stream with their bodies; but just as he was about to close with them, a ball hit him in the forehead and another in the right breast. He fell, but immediately rose again, and reclining against a sugar mill-stone, encouraged his men to the charge. The calmness of his manner indicated no danger, but it was the dying effort of a Hara: pointing with his sword to the foe, he fell back and expired. Four hundred and fifty of his men were either killed or wounded around their chief, and among the latter, the Polaita chief, the next in rank to Koelah, and the bukshee, or paymaster-general of Kotah, was made prisoner, and forced to sign a bond for ten lakhs of rupees as a ransom, a penalty for siding with the English.

A humble altar of clay marks the spot where the brave Hara fell, having a tablet, or *joojar'h*, representing as usual a cavalier and his steed, armed at all points. I felt indignation at the indifference of the Regent who had not marked the spot with a more durable monument, but he is no Hara; though could he entomb the whole tribe, he would erect a structure rivalling even that of Mausoleus. But this receives a homage which might be denied to a more splendid one; for the villagers of Peeply fail not in their duty to the manes of Umr Sing, whose lowly altar is maintained in repair. The devoted Lucan has not even so frail a monument as this; nor could I learn if the case which enclosed his gallant spirit had any rites of sepulture. But his memory will be cherished by the inhabitants of Peeply, who will point to the mowah tree as that of "*Lucan Saheb ca Joojar'h*."

By the sacrifice of these brave men, the British commander gained the Mokundurra pass, without seeing even an enemy; had he there left only five companies, with sufficient supplies and ammunition, under such men as Sinclair or Nichol, Mokundurra might have rivalled Thermopylæ in renown; for such is the peculiarity of the position, that it would have taken a week to turn it, and that could be done by infantry alone. But the commander "had no confidence in his men": why then did he accept the command? Throughout the retreat, the sepahis were eager for the fight, and expressed their opinion openly of their leader; and when this 'doubting' commander left five companies to defend the passage of the Bunas, how did they perform it? by repelling every assault, while a particle of ammunition lasted. I have often passed this ford, once with Sindia's army, and only three years after the retreat. The gallant stand was admirably described to me by Zemaun Khan Rohilla, a brave soldier and no boaster (and that day among our foes), who coolly pointed to the precise spot where he shot one of our officers, in the last charge, with his pistol. He said that the Mahratta infantry would no longer return to the charge, and that Jeswunt Rao was like a

madman, threw his turban on the ground and called for volunteers amongst the cavalry, by whom at length Sinclair and his men were cut off. It is a lesson by which we ought to profit, never to place in command of sepahis those who do not understand, confide in, and respect them.

Puchpahar is a thriving town, the head of one of the four districts of which, by the right of war, we became possessed, and have transferred from Holcar to the Regent: so far we have discharged the debt of gratitude. Eighty villages are attached to Puchpahar, which, though never yielding less than half a lakh of rupees, is capable of raising more than twice that sum. There are two thousand houses in the town, which has an extensive bazaar filled with rich traders and bankers, all of whom came to visit me. The cornelian continues to strew the ground even to this place.

KUNWARRA, *December 11*; thirteen miles; direction, N.E. by E.—Passed over a fine rich soil, with promising young crops of wheat and gram, and plenty of the last crop (*joâr*) in stacks; a sight not often seen in these war-trodden plains, and which makes the name, Kunwarra, or “the land of corn,” very appropriate. At the village of Aonla, four miles south, we crossed the high road leading from Oojein through the *durra* to Hindust’han, the large town of Soneil lying three miles to our right.

JHALRA-PATUN, *December 12*; ten miles; direction, N.N.E.—The road over the same fertile soil. Passed the Chunderbhaga rivulet, the source of which is only two coss distant, and was shown, within range, the isolated hill of Relaitoh, formerly the retreat of a Bhîl community, which sent forth four thousand bowmen to ravage the plains of Malwa: these were extirpated by Zalim Sing.

Jhalra-Patun is the creation of the Regent; and, as we approached it, his kindness procured me the distinction of being met, a full mile beyond the town, by the chief magistrate, the council, and the most wealthy inhabitants: an honour duly appreciated, this being the only town in India possessing the germs of civil liberty, in the power of framing their own municipal regulations. This is the more remarkable, as the immunities of their commercial charter were granted by the most despotic ruler of India; though the boon was not a concession to liberty, but an act of policy; it was given for value received, or at least expected, and which has been amply realised. Having exchanged salutations, and promised a more extended courtesy at my tents in the evening, we took advantage of the town being thinned, and passed in under a general discharge of ordnance from the ramparts. The city is nearly a square, surrounded by a substantial wall and bastions, well furnished with cannon. The ground plan is simple, being that of the Indian *chowpun* or cross, with two main streets intersecting each other at right angles, and many smaller ones running parallel to them. The main street is from south to north. We proceeded through this *burra bazaar*, until we reached the point of intersection, where, upon a broad terrace, stands a temple to *Chatoorbhooja*, the ‘four-armed’ god, at least ninety feet in height. The marble dome and colonnaded *munduf*, and the general proportions of the structure, attracted my attention; but having been recently repaired and coated with white, I passed it by, conceiving it to be modern, and not likely to furnish historical data. From thence to the northern gate is a range, on either side, of houses of a uniform structure, having a great appearance of comfort; and the street, which is nearly a mile long, terminates with a temple erected

by the Regent to his favourite divinity, Dwarca-nat'h. The image here enshrined was ploughed up from the ruins of the ancient city, and carried to the Regent at Kotah, who, leaving to the choice of the god the title under which, and the site where, he would be worshipped, his various names were inscribed and placed under the pedestal ; the priest drew forth that of *Gopal-ji*, and a magnificent shrine was erected to him upon the bank of one of the finest lakes in India, the waters of which, raised by an artificial dam, could be made to environ it at pleasure.

In a street to the north, and parallel to the first, but as yet incomplete, is a handsome temple, dedicated to the sixteenth Jain prophet. This also, I afterwards discovered, was an antique structure, recently repaired, and one of the hundred and eight temples, the bells of which sounded in the ancient city ; whence its name *Jhalra-patun*, or ' the city of bells,' and not, as erroneously stated hitherto, from the tribe of the Regent, *Jhala-ra-patun*, or ' city of the Jhala ' ; ignorance of which fact made me pass over the temples, under the supposition that they were coeval with its modern foundation. I stopped for a few moments at the mansion of the chief magistrate, Sah-Munniram, and having expressed my admiration of all I had seen, and my hope that the prosperity of the city would redouble under his paternal care in these days of peace, I made my salaam and took leave. Opposite his house, engraved on a pillar of stone, is the charter of rights of the city.¹ Its simplicity will excite a smile ; but the philosopher may trace in it the first rudiments of that commercial greatness, which made the free cities of Europe the instruments of general liberty. Few of these had their privileges so thoroughly defined, or so scrupulously observed ; and the motive which brought the community together was the surest guarantee against their infringement. A state of general war made them congregate, and was the origin of these immunities, which the existing peace and tranquillity will perpetuate. Any want of good faith would be the destruction of Patun.

When the Regent took advantage of the times to invite the wealthy of all the surrounding regions to become settlers in this new mart, he wisely appealed to the evidence of their senses as the best pledge for the fulfilment of his promises. Simultaneously with the charter, the fortifications were commenced, and an adequate garrison was placed here under a commandant well known and respected. He excavated wells, repaired the dam of the old lake, and either built anew or repaired the religious edifices of all sects at the expense of the state ; and, to secure uniformity and solidity in the new habitations, he advanced to every man who required it half the money necessary for their construction. But the greatest boon of all was his leaving the administration of justice, as well as of internal police, entirely in the hands of the municipal authorities, who, to their credit, resolved that the fines and forfeitures arising therefrom, instead of becoming a bait for avarice and vexatious interference, should be offerings to the shrine of Dwarica-nat'h.

It is proper to say that the chief magistrate, Sah-Munniram, who is of the Vishnúé sect, has a coadjutor in Gomani Ram, of the Oswál tribe and Jain faith, and each has his separate tribunal for the classes he represents, while the whole form a joint council for the general weal. They pull well together, and each has founded a *poora*, or suburb, named after their

¹ See vol. i. p. 167.

children. The *Chohtas*, or members of this council, are selected according to the general sense entertained of their fitness; and were the chief magistrates also the free choice of the inhabitants at large, 'the city of bells' would require no addition to her freedom. Thus, in the short space of twenty years, has been raised a city of six thousand comfortable dwellings, with a population of at least twenty-five thousand souls. But the hereditary principle, so powerful throughout these countries, and which, though it perpetuates many evils, has likewise been productive of much good, and has preserved these states from annihilation, will inevitably make the 'turban' of magistracy descend from the head of Munniram or Gomani to their children, under whom, if they be not imbued with the same discretion as their parents, the stone tablet, as well as the subsequent privileges of Jhalra-patun, may become a dead letter. The only officers of government residing in the town are the commandant and the collector of the imposts; and so jealous are they of the least interference on his part, that a fine would be inflicted on any individual who, by delaying the payment of the authorised duties, furnished an excuse for his interference.

Such is an outline of an internal administration, on which I have just had a commentary of the most agreeable description: a public visit from all the wealth and worth of Patun. First, came the merchants, the brokers, the insurers of the Vishnûé persuasion, each being introduced with the name of the firm; then followed the Oswâl merchants, in similar form, and both of them I seated in the order of their introduction and respectability. After them followed the trades, the *Chohtas* or deacons, each making his *nuzzur* in the name of the whole body. Then came the artisans, goldsmiths, braziers, dyers, confectioners, down to the barbers, and town-crier. The agricultural interest was evidently at a discount in Patun, and subordinate to the commercial; the old Mundlôôé Patéls were, "though last, not least" in this interesting assemblage. Even the frail sisterhood paid their *devoirs*, and, in their modesty of demeanour, recalled the passage of Burke applied in contrast to a neighbouring state, "vice lost half its deformity, by losing all its grossness." Sah Munniram himself preserved order outside, while to his colleague he left the formalities of introduction. The goldsmiths' company presented, as their *nuzzur*, a small silver powder-flask, shaped as an alligator, and covered with delicate chain-work, which I shall retain not only as a specimen of the craft, but in remembrance of a day full of unusual interest. They retired in the same order as they came, preceded by the town band, flags, trumpets, and drums.

Such is Jhalra-Patun. May the demon of anarchy keep from its walls, and the orthodox and heterodox *Duumvirs* live in amity for the sake of the general good, nor by their animosities, increase the resemblance which this mart bears to the free cities of Europe!

From all I could learn, justice is distributed with as even a hand as in most societies, but wherever existed the community that submitted to restraint, or did not murmur at the fiat of the law? Jhalra-Patun is now the grand commercial mart of Upper Malwa, and has swallowed up all the commerce of the central towns between its own latitude and Indore. Though not even on the high road, when established, this difficulty was overcome by the road coming to it. The transit-duties on salt alone must

be considerable, as that of the lakes of western Rajwarra passes through it in its way to the south-east. It is not famed, however, for any staple article of trade, but merely as an entrepôt.

We have said enough of the modern city, and must now revert to the ancient, which, besides its metaphorical appellation of "the city of bells," had the name of *Chandravati*, and the rivulet which flowed through it, the *Chandrabhaga*. There is an abundance of legends, to which we may be enabled to apply the test of inscriptions. In some, Raja Hoon is again brought forward as the founder of the city; though others, with more probability, assign its foundation to the daughter of Chandrasén, the Prámár king of Malwa, who was delivered of a son on this spot while on a pilgrimage. Another ascribes it to a more humble origin than either, *i.e.* to Jussoo, a poor woodcutter of the ancient tribe of Or, who, returning homewards from his daily occupation, dropped his axe upon the *paris-puttur*, with the aid of which he transmuted iron to gold, and raised "the city of the moon" (*Chandravati*); and the lake is still called after him *Jussoo Or ca-talláb*. The Pandu Bheem likewise comes in for his share of the founder's fame; who, with his brethren during their covenant with the Kaorea, found concealment in the forest; but his foe, fearing the effect of his devotions, sent his familiar to disturb them. The spirit took the form of a boar, but as he sped past him through the thicket, Bheem discharged an arrow, and on the spot where this fell, the Chandrabhaga sprung up. Whoever was the founder, I have little doubt that tradition has converted Jussoo-verma, the grandson of Udyadit, the monarch of all Malwa, into the woodcutter; for not only does this prince's name occur in one of the inscriptions found here, but I have discovered it in almost every ancient city of Central India, over which his ancestors had held supreme power from the first to the thirteenth century of Vicrama.¹

The sites of temples mark the course of the stream for a considerable distance, the banks being strewn with ruins. Flights of steps, forming *ghats*, reach to the water's edge, where multitudes of gods, goddesses, and demons, are piled, and some of the more perfect placed upon altars of clay, around which some lazy, well-fed Goséns loiter, basking in the sun. Understanding that no umbrage could be taken if I exported some of them to Oodipoor, I carried off Narayan on his hydra-couch, a Parbutty, a *tri-murti*, and a cartload of the *dii minores*, which I found huddled together under a burr-tree. There was a fine statue of Ganésa, but our efforts to move *Wisdom* were ineffectual, and occasioned not a few jokes among my Brahmins; nor must I pass over a colossal *baraha* (boar), of which no artist in Europe need be ashamed.

The powers of Destruction and Reproduction were those propitiated among the one hundred and eight shrines of Chandravati; of which only two or three imperfect specimens remain to attest the grandeur of past days. Everywhere, the symbolic lingam was scattered about, and the *munduf* of one of those still standing I found filled with representations of the

¹ On a stone tablet, which I discovered at Boondl, of the Takshac race, are the names both of Chandrasén and Jussooverma, and though no date is visible, yet that of the latter is fixed by another set of inscriptions, inserted in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, at S. 1191 or A.D. 1135: the period when the old Hindu monarchies were breaking up, and consequently the arts beginning to decay.

Hindu Hecate and a host of lesser infernals, the sculpture of which, though far inferior to that at Barolli, is of a high order compared with aught of modern times. The attitudes are especially well managed, though there is a want of just proportion. Even the anatomical display of the muscles is attended to ; but the dust, oil, and *sindoor* (vermilion) of twelve centuries were upon them, and the place was dark and damp, which deterred us from disturbing them.

Ghassi is now at work upon the outline of two of the remaining shrines, and has promised to give up ten days to the details of the ceilings, the columns, and the rich varied ornaments, which the pencil alone can represent. One of these shrines, having a part of the *singār chāwri* still standing, is amongst the finest things in Asia, not for magnitude, being to all appearance merely receptacles for the inferior divinities surrounding some grand temple, but for the sculptured ornaments, which no artist in Europe could surpass. Each consists of a simple *mandra*, or *cella*, about twenty feet square, having a portico and a long open colonnaded vestibule in front for the priests and votaries. Every one of these numerous columns differs in its details from the others. But the entrance chiefly excites admiration, being a mass of elaborate workmanship of a peculiar kind, and the foliage and flowers may be considered perfect. It is deeply to be lamented that no artists from Europe, have made casts from these masterpieces of sculpture and architecture, which would furnish many new ideas, and rescue the land sacred to Bhavani (Minerva) from the charge of having taught nothing but deformity : a charge from which it is my pride to have vindicated her.

While I remained with Ghassi, amidst the ruins, I dispatched my *gūri* and Brahmins to take diligent search for inscriptions ; but many of these, as well as thousands of divinities, the wrecks of ancient Patun, have been built up in the new town or its immense circumvallation ; but our efforts were not altogether unrewarded.

The oldest inscription, dated S. 748 (A.D. 692), bore the name of Raja Doorgangul, or ' the bar of the castle.' It is very long, and in that ornamented character peculiar to the Budhists and Jains throughout these regions. It contains allusions to the local traditions of the Pandu Arjoon, and his encounter with the demon Virodhī under the form of Baraha, or the boar ; and states, that from the spot where the baraha was wounded, and on which his blood fell, a figure sprung, originating from the wound (*khet*), whose offspring in consequence was called Khetrie : " of his line was Crishna Bhut Khetri, whose son was *Takyac*. What did he resemble, who obtained the fruits of the whole earth, conquering numerous foes ? He had a son named *Kyuk*, who was equal to the divinity which supports the globe : in wisdom he was renowned as Mahadeo : his name sent to sleep the children of his foe : he appeared as an avatar of Boodh, and like the ocean, which expands when the rays of the full moon fall upon it, even so does the sea of our knowledge increase when he looks upon it : and his

verses are filled with ambrosia (*amrita*). From Cheyt to Cheyt, sacrifice never ceased burning; Indra went without offspring.¹ The contributions from the land were raised with justice, whilst his virtues overshadowed the three worlds. The light which shines from the tusks of his foe's elephant had departed; and the hand which struck him on the head, to urge him on, emitted no sound. Where was the land that felt not his influence? Such was Sri Kyuk! when he visited foreign lands, joy departed from the wives of his foe: may all his resolves be accomplished!

"S. 748 (A.D. 692), on the full moon of Jeyt, this inscription was placed in the mindra, by Goopta, the grandson of Bhat Ganésvar, *lord of the lords of verse* of Moondal, and son of Hur-goopta: this writing was composed, in the presence of Sri Doorgangul Raja, to whom, salutation! that forehead alone is fair which bows to the gods, to a tutor, and to woman! Engraved by Oluk the stonecutter."

On this curious inscription we may bestow a few remarks. It appears to me that the wild legion of the creation of this *Khetri*, from the blood of Baraha, represented as a *danoo*, or demon in disguise, is another fiction to veil the admission of some northern race into the great Hindu family. The name of Baraha, as an ancient Indo-Scythic tribe, is fortunately abundantly preserved in the annals of Jessulmér, which state, at the early periods of the Yadu-Bhatti history, opposed their entrance into India; while both Takshac (or Tak) and Kyuk are names of Tatar origin, the former signifying 'the snake,' the latter 'the heavens.' The whole of this region bears evidence of a race whose religion was ophite, who bore the epithet of Takshac as the name of the tribe, and whose inscriptions in this same nail-headed character are found all over Central and Western India. If we combine this with all that we have already said regarding Raja Hoon of Bhadrâóti, and Ungutsi the Hun, who served the Rana of Cheetore *at this precise period*,² when an irruption is recorded from Central Asia, we are forced to the conclusion, that this inscription (besides many others) is a memorial of a Scythic or Tatar prince, who, as well as the Gete prince of Salpoora,³ was grafted upon Hindu stock.

The inscription next in point of antiquity was from the Jain temple in the modern town. It was dated the 3rd of Jeyt, S. 1103 (A.D. 1047), but recorded only the name of a visitor to the shrine.

Near the dam of the *Or-ságur*, there was a vast number of funeral memorials, termed *nisca*, of the Jain priesthood. One is dated "the 3rd of Magh, S. 1066 (A.D. 1010), on which day Srimunt Deo, *Chéllá*, or disciple, of Acharya Srimaha Déwa, left this world." The bust of the acharya, or doctor, is in a studious posture, the book laying open upon the *thooni* or cross, which forms a reading-desk, often the only sign of the *nisca* to mark a Jain place of sepulture.

The adjoining one contained the name of Devindra Acharya; the date S. 1180.

Another was of "Komar-deo, the pundeá or priest of the race of Koomad Chandra Acharya, who finished his career on Thursday (*goorbár*) the Mool nekshitra of S. 1289."

¹ The allusion to this affords another instance of the presumption of the priests, who compelled the gods to attend the sacrificial rites, and hence Indra could not visit his consort Indraní.

² See vol. i. p. 201.

³ See Inscription, vol. i. p. 622.

There were many others, but as, like these, they contained no historical data, they were not transcribed.

NARAYNPOOR, *December 13*, eleven miles.—Marched at daybreak, and about a coss north of the city ascended the natural boundary of Harouti and Malwa ; at the point of ascent was Gondore, formerly in the appanage of the Ghatti-Rao (*lord of the pass*), one of the legendary heroes of past days ; and half a coss further was the point of descent into the *Antri*, or 'valley,' through which our course lay due north. In front, to the north-west, Gagrown, on the opposite range, was just visible through the gloom ; while the yet more ancient Mhow, the first capital of the Kheechies, was pointed out five coss to the eastward. I felt most anxious to visit this city, celebrated in the traditions of Central India, and containing in itself and all around much that was worthy of notice. But time pressed ; so we continued our route over the path trodden by the army of Alla-o-din when he besieged Achildas in Gagrown. The valley was full three miles wide, the soil fertile, and the scenery highly picturesque. The forest on each side echoed with the screams of the peacock, the calls of the partridge, and the note of the jungle-cock, who was crowing his matins as the sun gladdened his retreat. It was this *antri*, or valley, that the Regent selected for his *cháóni*, or 'fixed camp,' where he has resided for the last thirty years. It had at length attained the importance of a town, having spacious streets and well-built houses, and the materials for a circumvallation were rapidly accumulating : but there is little chance of his living to see it finished. The site is admirably chosen, upon the banks of the Amjar, and midway between the castle of Gagrown and Jhalrapatun. A short distance to the west of the Regent's camp, is the *Pindarri-ca-cháóni*, where the sons of Kureem Khan, the chief leader of those hordes, resided ; for in these days of strife, the old Regent would have allied himself with Satan, if he had led a horde of plunderers. I was greatly amused to see in this camp, also assuming a permanent shape, the commencement of an *eedgâ*, or 'place of prayer' ; for the villains, while they robbed and murdered even defenceless woman, *prayed five times a day* !

We crossed the confluent streams of the Aou and Amjar, which, flowing through the plains of Malwa, have forced their way through the exterior chain into the *antri* of Gagrown, pass under its western face, dividing it from the town, and then join the Caly Sinde.

Until you approach close to Gagrown, its town and castle appear united, and present a bold and striking object ; and it is only on mounting the ridge that one perceives the strength of this position, the rock being scarped by the action of the waters to an immense height. The ascent to the summit of the ridge was so gradual that our surprise was complete, when, casting our eye north, we saw the Caly Sinde sweeping along the northern face of both fort and town, whence it turns due north, ploughing its serpentine passage, at a depth of full two hundred feet below the level of the valley, through three distinct ranges, each chasm or opening appearing in this bold perspective like a huge portal, whence the river gains the yielding plains of Harouti. As we passed under the town, we were saluted by a discharge from all the ordnance on its ramparts, and the governor, who had advanced to meet us at the express desire of his master, invited us in ; but though strongly pressed, and equally desirous to see a place of such celebrity, I would not make myself acquainted with the secrets of

this chief stronghold of the Regent. On whichever side an enemy might approach it, he would have to take the bull by the horns. It was only by polluting the waters with the blood of the sacred kine, that Alla, 'the sanguinary' (*khoont*), took it about five centuries ago from the valiant Kheechie, Achildas, an account of whose family would be here out of place. Independent of ancient associations, there is a wild grandeur about Gagrown, which makes it well worthy of a visit, and the views from the north must be still finer than from the point whence we beheld it.

We passed over the ridge at the extremity of the town, and descended into another *antri*, up which we journeyed nearly due west until we reached our camp at Naraynpoor. The valley was from four to six hundred yards in breadth, and in the highest state of cultivation; to preserve which, and at the same time to secure the game, the Regent, at an immense expense, has cut deep trenches at the skirt of the hills on each side, over which neither deer nor hog can pass, while the forests that crown the hills to their summit are almost impervious even to wild beasts. We passed various small cantonments, where the Regent could collect the best part of his army, some even on the summit of the ridge. At all of these are wells, and reservoirs termed *po*.

MOKUNDURRA, December 14, ten miles.—At daybreak, commenced our march up the valley, and midway between Naraynpoor and the *durra*, reached the ruined castle of Ghatti, so called from its being erected on the summit of the ridge commanding an outlet of the valley. Partly from the gradual ascent of the valley, and from the depression of the ridge, we formed rather a mean opinion of the pass (*ghatti*); but this feeling was soon lost when we attained the crest, and found ourselves on a scarp of rock of some hundred feet in elevation, commanding a view over all the plains of Malwa, while at our feet was a continuation of the *antri* of the Amjâr, which we observed gliding through the deep woods the Regent has allowed to remain at the entrances of these valleys.

Tradition is eloquent on the deeds of the 'Lords of the Pass,' both of the Kheechie and Hara, and they point out the impression of Mehraj Kheechie's charger, as he sprang upon the Islamite invaders. There are many cenotaphs to the memory of the slain, and several small shrines to Sîva and his consort, in one of which I found an inscription not only recording the name of Mehraj, but the curious fact that four generations were present at the consecration of one to Sîva. It ran thus: "In S. 1657 and Saca 1522, in that particular year called *Somya*, the sun in the south, the season of cold, in the happy month Asoj, the dark half thereof, on Sunday, and the thirty-sixth gurrie; in such a happy moment, the Kheechie of Chohan race, Maharaj Sri Rawut Nursing-deo, and his son Sri Rawut Mehraj, and his son Sri Chundersén, and his son Kalian-das, erected this *seo-âli* (house of Sîva): may they be fortunate! Written by Jey Serman, and engraved by Kumma, in the presence of the priest Kistna, the son of Mohés."

We shall pass over the endless tales of the many heroes who fell in its defence, to the last of any note—Gomân Sing, a descendant of Sawunt Hara. The anecdote I am about to insert relates to the time when Rao Doorjun Sal was prince of Kotah, and the post of Foujdar was held by a Rahtore Rajpoot, Jey Sing of Gagorni. Through the influence of this foujdar, Gomân was deprived of the honour of defending the pass, and his

estate sequestrated. He was proceeding homeward with a heavy heart from the presence of his sovereign, when he met the foudar with his train. It was dark, and a torch-bearer preceded him, whom Gomân dashed to the earth, and with his iron lance transfixed the Rahtore to his *palki*. Making for the gate, he said it was the Rao's order that none should pass until his return. As soon as he gained his estate, he proceeded with his family and effects to Oodipoor, and found *sirna* with the Rana, who gave him an estate for the support of himself and his followers. There he remained until Kotah was besieged by Raja Esuri Sing of Jeipoor, when he obtained the Rana's leave to fly to its defence. Passing over the Pat'har, he made for Kotah, but it was invested on every side. Determined to reach it or perish, he ordered his *naharra* to beat, and advanced through the heart of the enemy's camp. The Jeipoor prince asked who had the audacity to beat close to his quarters, and being told "The Rawut of the Pass, from Oodipoor," he expressed a wish to see the man, of whom he had heard his father say, he had, unarmed, slain a tiger. The Hara obeyed the summons, but would only enter the Presence in the midst of his band. He was courteously received and offered large estates in Jeipoor; the Raja remarking, that Gomân Sing was only going to his doom, since "in the space of eating a *pân* he (Esuri Sing) would be master of Kotah." Losing all patience, Gomân said, "Take my salaam and my defiance, Maharaj; the heads of twenty thousand Haras are with Kotah." He was permitted to pass the batteries unmolested, and on reaching the river, he called aloud, "the Ghatta Rawut wants a boat," to conduct him to his sovereign, whom he found seated behind the walls encouraging the defence. At that very moment, a report was brought that a breach was nearly effected at a particular point; and scarcely had the prince applauded his *swamdherma*, than, making his bow, Gomân marched his followers to the breach, and "there planted his lance." Such were the Haras of past days; but the descendants of the 'Rawut of the Pass' are now in penury, deprived of their lands, and hard pressed to find a livelihood.

We continued our march from this Pass, often moistened with Rajpoot blood, and reached the Durra, outside of which we found the old Regent encamped, and whence we issued on our tour just three weeks ago. It was by mere accident that, some distance up the valley (a continuation of that we had just quitted), we heard of some ruins, termed the "Châôri of Bheem," one of the most striking remains of art I had yet met with. It is the fragment only of a quadrangular pile, of which little now remains, the materials having been used by one of the Kotah princes, in erecting a small palace to a Bhilni concubine. The columns possess great originality, and appear to be the connecting link of Hindu and Egyptian architecture. Not far from the Châôri, where, according to local traditions, the Pandu Bheem celebrated his nuptials, are two columns, standing without relation to any other edifice; but in the lapse of ages the fragments appertaining to them have been covered with earth or jungle. At every step we found *joogarhs*, or funeral stones; and as this "Pass of Mokund" must, as the chief outlet between the Dekhan and northern India, have been a celebrated spot, it is not unlikely that in remote ages some city was built within its natural ramparts. Throughout this town, we found

many traces of the beneficent but simple legislation of the Hara princes ; and when the Regent set up his pillar, prohibiting chiefly his own violence, he had abundant formulas to appeal to. We have already alluded to this circumstance in the sketch of his biography, and we may here insert a free translation of the ordinance we found engraved in the Pass, and which is recorded throughout Haroutí.

" Maharaj Maharáo-ji Kishore Sing, ordaining ! To all the merchants (*mahajins*), traders, cultivators, and every tribe inhabiting Mokundurra. At this time, be full of confidence ; trade, traffic, exchange, borrow, lend, cultivate, and be prosperous ; for all *dind* (contribution) is abolished by the *Durbar*. Crimes will be punished according to their magnitude. All officers of trust, Patéls, Patwarris, Sasurris (night-guards), and moot-suddies (scribes), will be rewarded for good services, and for evil. None of them shall be guilty of exactions from merchants or others : this is a law sworn to by all that is sacred to Hindu or Mooslem. Ordained from the royal mouth, and by command of Nanah-ji (grandsire) Zalim Sing, and uncle Madhú Sing. Asoj the 10th, Monday S. 1877 (A.D. 1821)."

Having halted a few days, we returned to Kotah by the towns of Puchpahar and Anundpoor ; both large and thriving, situated upon the banks of fine pieces of water. Madhú Sing, at the head of a splendid cavalcade, with six field-pieces, advanced a couple of miles to conduct me to my old residence, the garden-house, east of the town. During the six weeks that we remained here to watch the result of the measures elsewhere described, we endeavoured to find amusement in various ways, to divert us from brooding upon the cholera which was raging around us. This season attracts flocks of wild geese to prey upon the young corn, and we had the double pleasure of shooting and eating them. Occasionally, we had a shot at a deer, or hunted them down with the Regent's *cheetrs* (hunting-leopards) ; or with the dogs ran down jackals, foxes, or hares. There was a *rumna* for wild-hogs about five miles from our abode, and a delightful summer retreat in the midst of a fine sheet of water. The animals were so tame, from the custom of feeding them, that it was almost unsportsmanlike to shoot at them. On one occasion, the Maharao prepared an excursion upon the water, in which I was not well enough to join. Numerous *shekarris*, or 'hunters,' proceeded up either bank to rouse the bears or tigers that find cover there, when the party from the boats shot at them as they passed. Partly for the purpose of enjoying this sport, and partly to see the fortress of Ekailgurh, six miles south of the city, we afterwards made another excursion, which, though not unattended by danger, afforded a good deal of merriment. The river here is confined by perpendicular rocks, full three hundred feet in height ; and amidst the *débris*, these wild animals find shelter. As the side on which we were did not promise much sport, we determined to cross the stream, and finding a quantity of timber suited to the purpose, we set to work to construct a raft ; but had only pushed a few paces from the shore when we began to sink, and were compelled to make a Jonas of the doctor, though we afterwards sent the vessel back for him, and in due time landed all our party and appendages. Being furnished with huntsmen by the Regent, who knew the lairs of the animals, we dispatched them up the stream, taking post ourselves behind some masses of rock in the only path by which they could advance. We had been seated about half an hour, when the

shouts of the hunters were heard, and soon a huge bear, his muzzle grey from age, came slowly trotting up the pathway. Being unable to repress the mirth of Captain Waugh and the doctor, who were conning over the events of the morning, just before he came in sight, I had quitted them, and was trying to gain a point of security a little remote from them; but before I could attain it, they had both fired and missed, and Bruin came at a full gallop towards me. When within ten paces, I fired and hit him in the flank; he fell, but almost instantly recovered, and charged me open-mouthed, when one of my domestics boldly attacked him with a hog-spear and saved me from a hug. Between the spear and the shot, he went floundering off, and was lost in the crevices of the rock. On our return, we passed the day amidst the ruins of Ekailgurh, an enormous pile of stones without cement; in all probability, a fortress of some of the aboriginal Bhils. Both crests of the mountain are covered with jungle, affording abundant sport to the princes of Kotah. There is a spot of some celebrity a few coss to the south of this, called Gypur-Mahadeo, where there is a cascade from a stream that falls into the Chumbul, whose banks are said to be here upwards of six hundred feet in height. There are few more remarkable spots in India than the course of the river from Kotah to Bhynsrur, where both the naturalist and the painter might find ample employment.

I sent scouts in all directions to seek for inscriptions; some of which are in an unknown character. One of the most interesting, brought from Kunswah, of a Jit prince, has been given in the first volume of this work.

CHAPTER XIV

Visit to Mynál—Definition of the servile condition termed *bussie*—Bijolli—Inscriptions—Ancient history of Bijolli—Evidence that the Chohans wrested the throne of Delhi from the Tüars—Jain temples—Inscriptions—Śivite temples—Prodigious extent of ruins—The Bijolli chief—His daughter a *Sati*—Mynál, or Mahanál—Its picturesque site—Records of Pirthiraj, the Chohan—Inscriptions—Synchronism in an enigmatical date—March to Beygoo—Bumáóda, the castle of Aloo Hara—Legend of that chief—Imprecation of the virgin *Sati*—Recollections of the Haras still associated with their ancient traditions—Quit Bumáóda and arrive at Beygoo.

IN February, I recommenced my march for Oodipoor, and having halted a few days at Boondí, and found all there as my heart could wish, I resumed the march across the Pat'har, determined to put into execution my wish of visiting Mynál. About ten miles north, on this side of it, I halted at Bijolli, one of the principal fiefs of Méwar, held by a chief of the Prámár tribe, with the title of Rao. This family, originally Raos of Jugnair, near Biana, came into Méwar in the time of the great Umr Sing, with all his *bussie*, upwards of two centuries ago; the Rana having married the daughter of Rao Asoca, to whom he assigned an estate worth five lakhs annually. I have elsewhere (vol. i. p. 145) explained the meaning of a term which embraces *bondage* amongst its synonyms, though it is the lightest species of slavery. *Bussie*, or properly *vasi*, means a 'settler,' an 'inhabitant,' from *vás*, 'a habitation,' and *vasna*, 'to inhabit,' but it does not distinguish between free settlers and compulsory labourers;

but wheresoever the phrase is used in Rajwarra, it may be assumed to imply the latter. Still, strange to say, the condition includes none of the accessories of slavery: there is no task-duty of any kind, nor is the individual accountable for his labour to anyone: he pays the usual taxes, and the only tie upon him appears to be that of a compulsory residence in his *vās*, and the epithet, which is in itself a fetter upon the mind of the *vasi* of Bijolli.

Bijolli (*Vijyāvalli*) stands amidst the ruins with which this *oopermāl*, or highland, is crowded. From the numerous inscriptions we here found, we have to choose, for its ancient name, between Ahaichpoor and Morakuro; the latter is still applied, though the former appears only on the recording stone. This western frontier teems with traditions of the Chohans, and seems to have been a dependency of Ajmér, as these inscriptions contain many celebrated names of that dynasty, as Beesildeo, Someswar, Pirthiraj; and chiefly record the martial virtues and piety of Irno-Raj of Morakuro, and his offspring, Bahir-rāj and Koontpāl, who appear contemporary with their paramount prince and relative, Pirthiraj, king of Dehli and Ajmér.

One inscription records the actions of the dynasty of Cheetore, and they are so intermingled as to render it almost impossible to separate the Gehlotes from the Chohans. It begins with an invocation to "*Sācam-bhari Jīunīc Mata*, the mother of births, guardian of the races (*sacam*), and of mighty castles (*doorga*), hills, and ruins, the Protectress." Having mentioned the names of nine Chohans (of Vach-gotra), it flies off to Srimad Bappa-Raj, Vindhya Nirpatī, or, 'Bappa, sovereign of the Vindhya Hills,' the founder of the Ranas of Méwar; but the names that follow do not belong to his dynasty, which leads me to imagine that the Chohans of Oopermāl were vassals of Cheetore at that early period. Since antiquarian disquisitions, however, would be out place here, we shall only give the concluding portion. It is of Koontpāl, the grandson of Irno-raj, "who destroyed Jawulapoor, and the fame of whose exploit at the capture of Dehli is engraved on the gate of Balabhi. His elder brother's son was Pirthiraj, who amassed a *purb* of gold, which he gave in charity, and built in Morakuro a temple to Parswanat'h. Having obtained the regal dignity, through Soméswar, he was thence called *Soméswar*, for the sake of whose soul this *mindra* was erected, and the village of Rewana on the Rewa, bestowed for its support.—S. 1226 (A.D. 1170)." This appears completely to set at rest the question whether the Chohans wrested by force the throne of Dehli from the Tüars; and it is singular, that from the most remote part of the dominions of this illustrious line, we should have a confirmation of the fact asserted by their great bard Chund. The inscriptions at Asī (Hansi), and on the column of Dehli, were all written about the same period as this (see p. 366). But the appeal made to "the gate of Balabhi," the ancient capital of the Gehlotes in Saurashtra, is the most singular part of it, and will only admit of one construction, namely, that when Pirthiraj revenged the death of his father, Soméswar, who was slain in battle by the prince of Saurashtra and Guzzerat, Koontpāl must have availed himself of that opportunity to appropriate the share he had in the capture of Dehli. Chund informs us he made a conquest of the whole of Guzzerat from Bhola Bheem.

We have also two other not unimportant pieces of information: first

that Morakuro was an ancient name of Bijolli; and next, that the Chohan prince was a disciple of the Jains, which, according to Chund, was not uncommon, as he tells us that he banished his son Sarungdeo from Ajmér, for attaching himself to the doctrines of the Budhists.

Morakuro, about half a mile east of Bijolli, is now in ruins; but there are remains of a *kote*, or castle, a palace called the *No-choki*, and no less than five temples to Parswanat'h, the twenty-third of the Jain pontiffs, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details, though not to be compared with Barolli. Indeed, it is everywhere apparent, that there is nothing classical in design or execution in the architecture of India posterior to the eleventh century. One of my scribes, who has a talent for design, is delineating with his reed (*culm*) these stupendous piles, while my old Jain *gürü* is hard at work copying what is not the least curious part of the antiquities of Bijolli, two inscriptions cut in the rock; one of the Chohan race, the other of the *Sank'h Páran*, appertaining to his own creed, the Jain. It is fifteen feet long by five in breadth, and has fifty-two lines.¹ The other is eleven feet six inches by three feet six, and contains thirty-one lines: so that the old gentleman has ample occupation. A stream runs amidst the ruins, called the Mundagni (fire-extinguishing); and there is a *coond*, or fountain, close to the temples of Parswa, with the remains of two noble reservoirs. All these relics indicate that the Jains were of the *Digumber* sect. The genealogy is within the *kote*, or precincts of the old castle.

There are likewise three temples dedicated to Siva, of still greater magnitude, nearer to the town, but without inscriptions; though one in an adjoining *coond*, called the Rewatí, records the piety of the Gohil chief Rahil, who had bestowed "a patch of land in the *Antri*," defining minutely its limits, and inviting others (not ineffectually, as is proved by other bequests), in the preamble to his gift, to follow his example by the declaration that "whoever bathes in the Rewatí fountain will be beloved by her lord, and have a numerous progeny."

The modern castle of Bijolli is constructed entirely out of the ruins of the old shrines of Morakuro, and gods and demons are huddled promiscuously together. This is very common, as we have repeatedly noticed; nor can anything better evince that the Hindu attaches no abstract virtue to the material object or idol, but regards it merely as a type of some power or quality which he wishes to propitiate. On the desecration of the receptacle, the idol becomes again, in his estimation, a mere stone, and is used as such without scruple. All around, for several miles, are seen the wrecks of past days. At Dorowlee, about four miles south, is an inscription dated S. 900 (A.D. 844), but it is unimportant; and again, at Telsooah, two miles farther south, are four *mundirs*, a *coond*, and a *torun*, or triumphal arch, but no inscription. At Jarowla, about six miles distant, there are no less than seven *mundirs* and a *coond*—a mere heap of ruins. At Ambághâti, one of the passes of descent from the table-land into the plain, there are the remains of an ancient castle and a shrine, and I have the names of four or five other places, all within five miles of Bijolli, each

¹ I have never had time to learn the purport of this inscription, but hold it, together with a host of others, at the service of those who desire to expound them. For myself, without my old *gürü*, I am like a ship without helm or compass (as Chund would say) "in ploughing the ocean of (Sanskrit) rhyme."

having two and three temples in ruins. Tradition does not name the destroyer, but as it evidently was not Time, we may, without hesitation, divide the opprobrium between those great iconoclasts, the Ghorî king Alla, and the Mogul Arungzêb, the first of whom is never named without the addition of *khooni*, 'the sanguinary,' whilst the other is known as *Kal-jumun*, the demon-foe of Crishna.

The Bijollia chief is greatly reduced, though his estates, if cultivated, would yield fifty thousand rupees annually ; but he cannot create more *vasî*, unless he could animate the prostrate forms which lie scattered around him. It was his daughter who was married to prince Umra, and who, though only seventeen, withstood all solicitation to save her from the pyre on his demise.¹ I made use of the strongest arguments, through her uncle, then at Oodipoor, promising to use my influence to increase his estate, and doubtless his poverty reinforced his inclination ; but all was in vain—she determined " to expiate the sins of her lord." Having remained two or three days, we continued our journey in quest of the antique and the picturesque, and found both at

MYNÂL, *February 21*.—It is difficult to conceive what could have induced the princely races of Cheetore or Ajmêr to select such a spot as an appanage for the cadets of their families, which in summer must be a furnace, owing to the reflection of the sun's rays from the rock : tradition, indeed, asserts that it is to the love of the sublime alone we are indebted for these singular structures. The name is derived from the position *Maha-nâl*, 'the great chasm,' or cleft in the western face of the Pat'har, presenting an abyss of about four hundred feet in depth, over which, at a sharp re-entering angle, falls a cascade, and though now but a rill, it must be a magnificent object in the rainy season. Within this dell it would be death to enter : gloomy as Erebus, crowded with majestic foliage entangled by the twisted boughs of the *amervêla*, and affording cover to all description of the inhabitants, quadruped and feathered, of the forest. On the very brink of the precipice, overhanging the abyss, is the group of mixed temples and dwellings, which bear the name of Pirthiraj ; while those on the opposite side are distinguished by that of Samarsi of Cheetore, the brother-in-law of the Chohan emperor of Delhi and Ajmêr, whose wife, Pirthâ-Bâé, has been immortalised by Chund, with her husband and brother. Here, the grand cleft between them, these two last bulwarks of the Rajpoot races were accustomed to meet with their families, and pass days of affectionate intercourse, in which no doubt the political condition of India was a prominent topic of discussion. If we may believe, and we have no reason to distrust, the testimony of Chund, had Pirthiraj listened to the counsel of the Ulysses of the Hindus (in which light Samarsi was regarded by friend and foe), the Islamite never would have been lord of Hindust'han. But the indomitable courage and enthusiastic enterprise of Pirthiraj sunk them all ; and when neither wisdom nor valour could save him from destruction, the heroic prince of Cheetore was foremost to court it. Both fell on the banks of the Caggar, amidst heroes of every tribe in Rajpootana. It was indeed to them, as the bard justly terms it, *pralaya*, the day of universal doom ;

¹ See *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 152.

and the last field maintained for their national dependence. To me, who have pored over their poetic legends, and imbibed all those sympathies which none can avoid who study the Rajpoot character, there was a melancholy charm in the solemn ruins of Mynâl. It was a season, too, when everything conspired to nourish this feeling; the very trees which were crowded about these relics of departed glory, appearing by their leafless boughs and lugubrious aspect to join in the universal mourning.

We found many inscriptions at Mahanâl, and of one I shall here insert a free translation, as it may be applied hereafter to the correction of the chronology of the Haras, of which race it contains a memorial.

"By *Asâpârana* ¹ [the fulfiller of our desires] the *cûla-dêvi* ² [tutelary goddess] of the race, by whose favour hidden treasures are revealed, and through whose power many Chohan kings have ruled the earth, of which race was *Bhâônrd'hun*,³ who in the field of strife attained the desires of victory. Of his race was the tribe of Hara, of which was *Koolun*,⁴ of illustrious and pure descent in both races; whose fame was fair as the rays of the moon. From him was *Jypâl*,⁵ who obtained the fruits of the good works of his former existence in the present garb of royalty; and whose subjects prayed they might never know another sovereign. From him was *Dêva-râj*,⁶ the lord of the land, who gave whatever was desired, and whose wish was to render mankind happy. He delighted in the dance and the song. His son was *Hur-raj*,⁷ whose frame was a piece of fire; who, in the field of battle, conquered renown from the princes of the land [*bhom-êswar*], and dragged the spoils of victory from their pinnacled abodes.

"From him were the lords of *Bumâôda*,⁸ whose land yielded to them its fruits. From *Dêva-râj* was *Rit-pâl*,⁹ who made the rebellious bow the head, or trod them under foot, as did *Capila* the sons of *Sagara*. From him was *Kelhan*, the chief of his tribe, whose son *Koontul* resembled *Dhermarâj*: he had a younger brother, called *Dédâ*. Of his wife, *Rajuldêvi*, a son was born to *Koontul*, fair as the offspring of the ocean.¹⁰ He was named *Mahadêva*. He was [in wisdom] fathomless as the sea, and in battle immovable as *Soomêru*; in gifts he was the *Calpa-vricsha*

¹ *Asâ* is literally, 'Hope.'

² Goddess of the race, pronounced *cool*.

³ 'The wealth of the bee'; such are the metaphorical appellations amongst the Rajpoots.

⁴ This is the prince who crawled to *Kédarnat'h* (see p. 370), and son of *Rainsi*, the emigrant prince from *Asér*, who is perhaps here designated as 'the wealth of the bee.' This was in S. 1353, or A.D. 1297.

⁵ *Jypâl* ('fosterer of victory') must be the prince familiarly called "Bango" in the annals (p. 370), and not the grandson but the son of *Koolun*—there said to have taken *Mynâl* or *Mahanâl*.

⁶ *Dêva* is the son of *Bango* (p. 370), and founder of *Boondî*, in S. 1398, or A.D. 1342.

⁷ *Hur-raj*, elder son of *Dêva*, became lord of *Bumâôda*, by the abdication of his father, who thenceforth resided at his conquest at *Boondî*.—See p. 373.

⁸ *Hur-raj* had twelve sons, the eldest of whom, the celebrated *Aloo Hara*, succeeded to *Bumâôda*. See note, p. 370.

⁹ Here we quit the direct line of descent, going back to *Dêva*. *Rit-pâl*, in all probability, was the offspring of one of the twelve sons of *Hur-râj*, having *Mynâl* as a fief of *Bumâôda*.

¹⁰ In the original, "fair as *Chanderma* (the moon), the offspring of *Samudra* (the ocean)." In Hindu mythology, the moon is a male divinity, and son of the ocean, which supplies a favourite metaphor to the *Bardai*,—the sea expanding with delight at the sight of his child, denoting the ebb and flow of the waters.

of Indra. He laid the dust raised by the hoofs of hostile steeds, by the blood of his foes. The sword grasped in his extended arm dazzled the eye of his enemy, as when uplifted o'er the head of Umi Shah he rescued the Lord of Mēdpāt, and dragged Kaitah from his grasp, as is Chandra from Rahoo.¹ He trod the Sooltan's army under foot, as does the ox the corn; even as did the Danoos (demons) churn the ocean, so did Mahadéva the field of strife, seizing the gem (*rutna*) of victory from the son of the King, and bestowing it on Kaitah, the lord of men. From the centre even to the skirts of space, did the fame of his actions extend, pure as curdled milk. He had a son, Doorjun, on whom he bestowed the title of Jiva-rāj² (Jeojrāj), who had two brothers, Soobutsāl and Cūmbhucarna.³

"Here, at Mahanal, the lord of the land, Mahadéva, made a *mīndra*, in whose variously-sculptured wall this treasure [the inscribed tablet] is concealed. This (the temple) is an epitome of the universe, whose pinnacle (*sikra*) sparkles like a gem. The mind of Mahadéva is bent on devotion in Mahanāl, the emblem of Kylās, where the Brahmins perform varied rites. While the science of arms endures, may the renown of Mahadéva never perish; ⁴ and until Ganges ceases to flow, and Sooméru to be immovable, may this memorial of Mahadéva abide fixed at Mahanāl. This invocation to Mahadéva was made by Mahadéva, and by the Brahmin Dhunéswar, the dweller in Chutturkote (Cheetore), was this *prashishta* composed:

Arga, Goon, Chandra, Indu.

"The month of Bysāk (*soodī*), the seventh. By Vīradhwul, the architect (*silpi*), learned in the works of architecture (*silpa-sastra*) was this temple erected."

The cryptographic date, contained in the above four words, is not the least curious part of this inscription, to which I did not even look when composing the Boondī annals, and which is another of the many powerful proofs of the general fidelity of their poetic chronicles.

Arga is the sun, and denotes the number 12; *Goon* is the *three* principal passions of the mind; and *Chandra* and *Indu* each stand for one: thus,

Arga, Goon, Chandra, Indu.

12. 3. 1. 1.

and this "concealed (*gooptā*) treasure," alluded to in the inscription, must be read *backwards*. But either my expounder, or the *silpi*, was out, and

¹ This Umi Shah can only be the Pat'han emperor Humayoon, who enjoyed a short and infamous celebrity; and Mahadeo, the Hara prince of Mahanāl, who takes the credit of rescuing prince Kaitsi, must have been one of the great feudatories, perhaps generalissimo of the armies of Méwar (*Mēdpāt*). It will be pleasing to the lovers of legendary lore to learn, from a singular tale, which we shall relate when we get to Bumāōda, that if on one occasion he owed his rescue to the Hara, the last on another took the life he gave; and as it is said he abdicated in favour of his son Doorjun, whom he constituted Jiva-rāj, or king (*raj*), while he was yet in life (*jiva*), it is not unlikely that, in order to atone for the crime of treason to his sovereign lord, he abandoned the *gadī* of Mynāl.

² Here it is distinctly avowed that Mahadéva, having constituted his son Jiva-rāj, passed his days in devotion in the temple he had founded.

³ Pronounced *Koombhurun*, 'a ray of the Cūmbhā,' the vessel emblematic of Ceres, and elsewhere described.

⁴ It appears he did not forget he *had* been a warrior.

had I not found S. 1446 in a corner, we should never have known the value of this treasure. Many inscriptions are useless from their dates being thus enigmatically expressed ; and I subjoin, in a note, a few of the magic runes, which may aid others to decipher them.¹

I was more successful in another inscription of Irno or Arnodéva (fam. Ardeo), who appears to have held the entire *Oopermâl* as a fief of Ajmér, and who is conspicuous in the Bijollî inscription. Of this, suffice it to say, that it records his having "made the gateway to Mynâl, otherwise termed the city of Somésvar" ; and the date is

Anhul, Nund, Ind, Ind.

3. 9. 1. 1.

Anhul (fire) stands for three, denoting the third eye of Mahadéva, which is eventually to cause *pralaya*, or 'destruction.' *Nund* stands for *nine*, or the *no-nund* of their ancient histories. *Indu*, the moon (twice repeated), is *one*, and the whole, read backwards, is S. 1193, or A.D. 1137.

In the *mundur* of Samarsi, we found the fragment of another inscription, dated S. 12-2, and containing the eulogy of Samarsi and Arnorâj, lord of the region ; also the name of "Pirthiraj, who destroyed the barbarians" ; and concluding with Sawunt Sing.

BEYGOO, *February*.—We commenced our march at break of day, along the very crest of the Pat'har ; but the thick woods through which lay our path did not allow us a peep at the plains of Medpât, until we reached the peak, where once stood the castle of Aloo Hara. But silent were the walls of Bumâôda ; desolation was in the courts of Aloo Hara. We could trace, however, the plan of this famed residence of a hero, which consisted of an exterior and an interior castle, the latter being a hundred and seventy cubits by a hundred and twelve. There are the ruins of three Jain temples, to Sîva, Hanûmân, and Dhermaraja, the Hindu Minos ; also three tanks, one of which was in excellent preservation. There are likewise the remains of one hall, called the *andheari kotri*, or 'dark chamber,' perhaps, that in which Aloo (according to tradition) locked up his nephew, when he carried his feud into the desert. The site commands an extensive view of the plains of Méwar, and of the *arneo-ghati* (pass), down the side of the mountain, to the valley of Beygoo. Beneath, on a ledge of rock, guarding the ascent, was the gigantic statue of 'Jogini Mata,' placed on the very verge of the precipice, and overlooking one of the noblest prospects in nature. The hill here forms a re-entering angle of considerable depth, the sides scarp'd, lofty and wooded to the base ; all the plain below is covered with lofty trees, over whose tops the parasitic *amervéla* forms an umbrageous canopy, extending from rock to rock, and if its superfluous supports were

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| ¹ <i>Indu</i> (the moon) | . | . | . | . | 1 |
| <i>Pukheo</i> (the two fortnights) | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| <i>Nétra</i> (the three eyes of Sîva) | . | . | . | . | 3 |
| <i>Véda</i> (the four holy books) | . | . | . | . | 4 |
| <i>Sur</i> (the five arrows of Camdeo, or Cupid) | . | . | . | . | 5 |
| <i>Sest</i> (the six seasons, of two months each) | . | . | . | . | 6 |
| <i>Juludhee</i> (the seven seas, or Samoodras) | . | . | . | . | 7 |
| <i>Sid'h</i> | . | . | . | . | 8 |
| <i>Nid'h</i> (the nine planets) | . | . | . | . | 9 |
| <i>Dig</i> (the ten corners of the globe) | . | . | . | . | 10 |
| <i>Roodra</i> (a name of Sîva) | . | . | . | . | 11 |
| <i>Arga</i> (the sun) | . | . | . | . | 12 |

removed, it would form a sylvan hall, where twenty thousand men might assemble.

Over this magnificent scenery, "our Queen of the Pass" looks grimly down; but now there is neither foe to oppose, nor scion of Bumâôda to guard. I could not learn exactly who had levelled the castle of Aloo Hara, although it would appear to have been the act of the lord paramount of Chectore, on whose land it is situated; it is now within the fief of Beygoo. We have already given one legend of Aloo; another from the spot may not be unacceptable.

In one of the twenty-four castles dependent on Bumâôda, resided Lallaji, a kinsman of Aloo. He had one daughter, in whose name he sent the coco-nut to his liege lord, the Rana of Chectore; but the honour was declined. The family priest was returning across the *antri*, when he encountered the heir of Chectore returning from the chase, who, on learning the cause of the holy man's grief, determined to remove it by taking the nuptial symbol himself. He dismissed the priest, telling him he should soon appear to claim his bride. Accordingly, with an escort befitting the heir of Chectore, and accompanied by a bard then on a visit to the Rana, he set out for Bumâôda. Bheemsén Bardai was a native of Benares, and happened to pass through Méwar on his way to Cutch-Bhooj, at the very period when all "the sons of rhyme" were under sentence of exile from Méwar: a fate which we frequently find attending the fraternity in this country. The cause of this expatriation was as follows: an image of the deity had been discovered in clearing out the waters of the lake, of a form so exquisitely beautiful as to enchant every eye. But the position of the arms was singular: one pointed upwards, another downwards, a third horizontally towards the observer. The handwriting on the wall could not have more appalled the despot of Babylon, than this *poott* of Chutter-bhooja, or 'image of the four-armed god.' The prophetic seers were convened from all parts; but neither the Bhâts nor the Charuns, nor even the cunning Brahmin, could interpret the prodigy; until, at length, the bard of the Jharéjas arrived and expounded the riddle. He showed that the finger pointing upwards imported that there was one Indra, lord of heaven; and that downwards was directed to the sovereign of *pâtâl* (hell); whilst that which pointed to the Rana indicated that *he* was lord of the central region (*méd-pât*), which being geographically correct, his interpretation was approved, and met with such reward, that he became the *pât-bardai*, or chief bard to Hamir, who, at his intercession, recalled his banished brethren, exacting in return for such favours that "he would extend the palm to no mortal but himself." This was the bard who accompanied the heir of Chectore to espouse the daughter of Bumâôda. The castle of the Hara was thronged; the sound of mirth and revelry rang through the castle-halls, and the bards, who from all parts assembled to sing the glories of the Haras, were loaded with gifts. Bheemsén could not withstand the offering made by the lord of the Pat'har, a horse richly caparisoned, splendid clothes, and a huge bag of money: as the bard of the Haras (who told me the tale) remarked, "although he had more than enough, who can forget habit? We are beggars (*manglas*) as well as poets by profession." So, after many excuses, he allowed the gift to be left; but his soul detested the sin of his eye, and resolving to expiate the crime, he buried his dagger in his heart. Cries rent the air; "the sacred bard

of Cheetore is slain ! ” met the ear of its prince at the very moment of *hataili* (junction of hands). He dropped the hand of his bride, and demanded vengeance. It was now the Hara’s turn to be offended : to break off the nuptials at such a moment was redoubling the insult already offered by his father, and a course which not even the bard’s death could justify. The heir of Cheetore was conducted forthwith outside Bumâôda ; but he soon returned with the troops of Cheetore, and hostilities commenced where festivity so lately reigned. Falgoon approached, and the spring-hunt of the *ahairea* could not be deferred, though foes were around. Lallaji, father of the bride, went with a chosen band to slay a boar to Gourí, in the plains of Tookeraye ; but Kaitsi heard of it, and attacked them. Alike prepared for the fight or the feast, the Hara accepted the unequal combat ; and the father and lover of the bride rushed on each other spear in hand, and fell by mutual wounds.

The pyres were prepared within the walls of Bumâôda, whither the vassals bore the bodies of their lords ; on one was placed the prince of Cheetore, on the other the Hara kinsman ; and while the virgin bride ascended with the dead body of the prince, her mother was consumed on that where her father lay. It was on this event that the imprecation was pronounced that ‘ Rana and Rao should never meet at the spring-hunt (*ahairea*) but death should ensue.’ We have recorded, in the annals of the Haras, two subsequent occasions ; and to complete their quatrain, they have made the defeat of Rana Mokul (called Koombo in the Annals, see page 376) fill up the gap. Thus :—

“ *Hamoo, Mokul marya*
Lalla, Kháita Ran
Soojah, Rutna sengaría
Ajmál, Ursi Ran. ”

In repeating these stanzas, the descendant of Aloo Hara may find some consolation for the mental sufferings he endures, when he casts a glance upon the ruins of Bumâôda and its twenty-four subordinate castles, not one of which now contains a Hara :—

“ And there they stand, as stands a lofty mind,
 Worn, but unstooping to the baser crowd ;
 All tenantless, save to the crannying wind,
 Or holding dark communion with the cloud.”

That these ruins make a powerful appeal to the Hara, I can prove, by letters I received in October last year, when, in obedience to a mandate of the “ Queen of the Pass,” a band collected at her shrine to obey her behest, whatever that might be.

Extract from *Akbar* (newspaper), dated Boondí, October 18, 1820.

“ Warrants were sent to all the chiefs for their attendance at the capital to celebrate the festival of the *Dusera*. The whole of the chiefs and land-holders came, with the exception of the Thakoors of Burr, who returned the following reply :—‘ We have received a communication (*pygám*) from *Sri Bhavani of Bumâôda*, who commands us no longer to put the plough in the soil, but to sell our horses and our cattle, and with the amount to purchase

sixty-four¹ buffaloes and thirty-two goats, for a general sacrifice to *Mataji*, by obeying which we shall repossess Bumâôda.' Accordingly, no sooner was this known, than several others joined them, both from Boondí and Kotah. The Thakoor of Burr had prepared dinner near the statue of Mata for two hundred, instead of which five hundred assembled; yet not only were they all abundantly satisfied, but some food remained, which convinced the people there that the story (the communication) was true."

This was from Boondí; but the following was from my old, steady, and faithful Brahmin, Balgovind, who was actually on the spot, dated "Mynál, 1st Kartik:—A few days ago, there was a grand sacrifice to Jogini Mâtâ, when thirty-one buffaloes and fifty-three goats were slain. Upon two *bukras* (he-goats), three Haras tried their swords in vain; they could not touch a single hair, at which all were much surprised. These goats were afterwards turned loose to feed where they pleased, and were called *amur* (immortal)."

Not a comment was made upon this, either by the sensible Balgovind or the Yati Gyanji, who was with him. There was, therefore, no time to be lost in preventing an explosion from five hundred brave Haras, deeming themselves convened at the express command of Bhavani, to whom the sacrifice proved thus acceptable; and I sent to the Raja to break up the party, which was effected. It, however, shows what an easy matter it is to work upon the credulity through the feelings of these brave men.

I left the spot, hallowed by many feelings towards the silent walls of Bumâôda. We wound our way down the rocky steep, giving a look to the 'mother of the maids of slaughter' as we passed, and after a short passage across the entrance of the valley, encamped in a fine grove of trees close to the town of Beygoo. The Rawut, descendant of 'the black cloud,' came out to meet me; but he is yet a stranger to the happiness that awaits him—the restoration of more than half of his estate, which has been in the hands of the Mahratta Sindia since A.D. 1791.

CHAPTER XV

Beygoo—Serious accident to the author—Affecting testimony of the gratitude of the Rawut—Expulsion of the Mahrattas from Beygoo—The estates of the Rawut sequestered—Restored—Bussie—Cheetore—'Akber's Lamp'—Reflections upon the Ruins of Cheetore—Description of the city, from the *Khomán Rásá*, and from observation—Tour of the city—Origin of the Bagra-wut class—Inscriptions—Aged Fakír—Return to Oodipoor—Conclusion.

BEYGOO, February 26.—The chances were nine hundred and ninety-nine to one that I ever touched a pen again. Two days ago, I started, with all the "pomp and circumstance" befitting the occasion, to restore to the chief the land of his sires, of which force and fraud had conspired to deprive them during more than thirty years. The purport of my visit being made known, the 'sons of Kala-Megh' assembled from all quarters; but *honhar* has again interfered. The old castle of Beygoo has a remarkably

¹ A number sacred (according to Chund) to this goddess, who is chief of the sixty-four Jjoginis.

wide moat, across which there is a wooden bridge communicating with the town. The avant-couriers of my cavalcade, with an elephant bearing the union, having crossed and passed under the arched gateway, I followed, contrary to the *Mahout's* advice, who said there certainly would not be space to admit the elephant and howda. But I heedlessly told him to drive on, and if he could not pass through, to dismount. The hollow sound of the bridge, and the deep moat on either side, alarmed the animal, and she darted forward with the celerity occasioned by fear, in spite of any effort to stop her. As I approached the gateway, I measured it with my eye, and expecting inevitable and instantaneous destruction, I planted my feet firmly against the howda, and my forearms against the archway, and, by an almost preternatural effort of strength, burst out the back of the howda : the elephant pursued her flight inside, and I dropped senseless on the bridge below. The affectionate sympathies and attention of those around revived me, though they almost extinguished the latent spark of life in raising me into my palki, and carrying me to my tent. I, however, soon recovered my senses, though sadly bruised ; but the escape was, in a twofold degree, miraculous ; for, in avoiding decollation, had I fallen half an inch more to the side, I should have been caught on the projecting spikes of the gateway. My tent was soon filled by the Rawut-ji and his brethren, who deplored the accident, and it was with difficulty I could get them to leave the side of my pallet ; but what was my astonishment when, two days after, going to fulfil my mission, I saw the noble gateway, the work of Kala-Megh, reduced to a heap of ruins, through which I was conducted to the palace on an ample terrace, in front of which I found the little court of Beygoo ! The Rawut advanced and presented me the keys, which having returned in his sovereign's name, I deplored his rash destruction of the gateway, blaming *honhar* and my own want of *bood'h* (wisdom), for the accident. But it was in vain : he declared he never could have looked upon it with complacency, since it had nearly deprived of life one who had given life to them. The restored estates had been mortgaged to old Sindia for the payment of a war-exaction, and the Rawut held regularly-executed deeds, empowering him to recover them when the contribution should be liquidated. When the 'reign of justice' commenced in these regions, he produced his bond ; he showed that the exactions had been paid twice over, and demanded, through the intervention of the British agent, that Sindia should be brought to a settlement. The replies and rejoinders were endless ; and at length the Rawut-ji, wearied out, one morning took the law into his own hands ; assaulted, carried, and, with the loss of some lives, drove out the Mahrattas, who had built a castellated residence even under his eye. It was necessary for form-sake to punish this act, which we would not prevent ; and accordingly Beygoo was put under sequestration, and the Rana's flag was planted upon its walls. The chief submitted to all with a good grace, and with a cause so just I made an excellent case against Sindia, who talked of papers which he never produced. Allowing, therefore, some months more to elapse, we executed the bond, and restored Beygoo to its rightful owner. I was the more rejoiced at effecting this, as the Rawut had set the example of signing the deed of renunciation of May 1818, which was the commencement of the prosperity of Méwar.

BUSSIE, February 27.—Compelled to travel in my palki, full of aches

and ails. I think this will complete the disorganisation of my frame ; but I must reserve the little strength I have for Cheetore, and, *coûte que coûte*, climb up and take a farewell look.

CHEETORE.—My heart beat high as I approached the ancient capital of the Seesodias, teeming with reminiscences of glory, which every stone in her giant-like *kangras* (battlements) attested. It was from this side that the imperial hosts under Alla and Akber advanced to force the descendant of Rama to do homage to their power. How the summons was answered, the deeds of Ranas Ursi and Pertáp have already told. But there was one relic of "the last day" of Cheetore, which I visited in this morning's march, that will immortalise the field where the greatest monarch that India (perhaps Asia) ever had, erected the green banner of the faith, and pitched his tent, around which his legions were marshalled for the reduction of the city. This still perfect monument is a fine pyramidal column, called by some the *Chérâg-dân*, and by others *Akber-cá-déwâ*, both having the same meaning, 'Akber's lamp.' It is formed of large blocks of compact lime-stone, admirably put together, about thirty-five feet high, each face being twelve feet at the base, and gradually tapering to the summit, where it is between three and four, and on which was placed a huge lamp (*chérâgh*), that served as a beacon to the foragers, or denoted the imperial headquarters. An interior staircase leads to the top ; but, although I had the strongest desire to climb the steps, trodden no doubt by Akber's feet, the power was not obedient to the will, and I was obliged to continue my journey, passing through the *Tulaiti*, as they term the lower town of Cheetore. Here I got out of my palkí, and ventured the ascent, not through one, but five gates, upon the same faithless elephant ; but with this difference, that I had no howda to encase me and prevent my sliding off, if I found any impediment ; nevertheless, in passing under each successive portal, I felt an involuntary tendency to stoop, though there was a superfluity of room over head. I hastened to my *béchóbâ*,¹ pitched upon the margin of the *Surya-coond*, or 'fountain of the Sun,' and with the wrecks of ages around me, I abandoned myself to contemplation. I gazed until the sun's last beam fell upon "the ringlet of Cheetore," illuminating its grey and grief-worn aspect, like a lambent gleam lighting up the face of sorrow. Who could look on this lonely, this majestic column, which tells, in language more easy of interpretation than the tablets within, of

"deeds which should not pass away.
And names that must not wither,"

and withhold a sigh for its departed glories ? But in vain I dipped my pen to embody my thoughts in language ; for, wherever the eye fell, it filled the mind with images of the past, and ideas rushed too tumultuously to be recorded. In this mood I continued for some time, gazing listlessly, until the shades of evening gradually enshrouded the temples, columns, and palaces ; and as I folded up my paper till the morrow, the words of the prophetic bard of Israel came forcibly to my recollection : "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people ! how is she become a widow ! she, that was great among nations, and princess among provinces, how is she become tributary !"

¹ A small tent without (*bé*) a pole (*choha*).

But not to fatigue the reader with reflections, I will endeavour to give him some idea of these ruins. I begin with the description of Cheetore from the *Khomán Rásá*, now beside me : " Chutterkote is the chief amongst eighty-four castles, renowned for strength ; the hill on which it stands, rising out of the level plain beneath, the *tilac* on the forehead of *Awini* (the earth). It is within the grasp of no foe, nor can the vassals of its chief know the sentiment of fear. Ganga flows from its summit ; and so intricate are its paths of ascent, that though you might find entrance, there would be no hope of return. Its towers of defence are planted on the rock, nor can their inmates even in sleep know alarm. Its *kolars* (granaries) are well filled, and its reservoirs, fountains, and wells, are overflowing. Ramachandra himself here dwelt twelve years. There are eighty-four bazaars, many schools for children, and colleges for every kind of learning ; many scribes (*kyot*) of the Beedur tribe, and the eighteen varieties of artisans. (Here follows an enumeration of all the trees, shrubs, and flowers, within and surrounding the fortress.) Of all, the Ghelote is sovereign (*dhanni*), served by numerous troops, both horse and foot, and by all the ' thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots,' of which he is the ornament (*chatees cúlán sêngár*)."

The *Khomán Rásá*, or story of Rawut Khoman, was composed in the ninth century ; and the poet has not exaggerated : for of all the royal abodes of India, none could compete with Cheetore before she became a " widow." But we must abandon the *Rásá* for a simple prose description. Cheetore is situated on an isolated rock of the same formation as the Pat'har, whence it is distant about three miles, leaving a fertile valley between, in which are the estates of Beejipoor, Gwalior, and part of Beygoo, studded with groves, but all waste through long-continued oppression. The general direction of the rock is from S.S.W. to N.N.E. ; the internal length on the summit being three miles and two furlongs, and the greatest central breadth twelve hundred yards. The circumference of the hill at its base, which is fringed with deep woods, extending to the summit, and in which lurk tigers, deer, hogs, and even lions, is somewhere above eight miles, and the angle of ascent to its scarped summit about 45°. The *Tulaiti*, or lower town, is on the west side, which in some places presents a double scarp, and this side is crowded with splendid objects ; the triumphal column, the palaces of Chitrung Mori, of Rana Raemul, the huge temple of Rana Mokul, the hundred pinnacles of the acropolis of the Ghelotes, and last, not least, the mansions of Jeimul and Putto, built on a projecting point, are amongst the most remarkable monuments overlooking the plain. The great length of Cheetore, and the uniformity of the level crest, detract from its height, which in no part exceeds four hundred feet, and that only towards the north. In the centre of the eastern face, at " the gate of the sun " (*Soorajpól*), it is less than three hundred, and at the southern extremity, the rock is so narrow as to be embraced by an immense *demi-lune* commanding the hill called Cheetorie, not more than one hundred and fifty yards distant ; it is connected with Cheetore, but lower, and judiciously left out of its circumvallation. Still it is a weak point, of which the invader has availed himself. On this, Madaji Sindia raised his batteries, when called on by the Rana to expel his rebellious vassal of Saloombra (vol. i. p. 354). The Mahratta's batteries, as well as the zigzag lines of his ascent, indicate that, even in S. 1848 (A.D. 1792), he had the aid of no

unskilful engineer. From this point, the Tatar Alla stormed, and to him they attribute Cheetore altogether, alleging that he raised it by artificial means, "commencing with a copper for every basket of earth, and at length ending with a piece of gold." It would, indeed, have taken the twelve years, assigned by tradition to Alla's siege, to have effected this, though there cannot be a doubt that he greatly augmented it, and planted there his *munjaneekas*, or balistas, in the same manner as he did to reduce the fortress of Rayn, near Rinthumbor.

Having wandered for two or three days amongst the ruins, I commenced a regular plan of the whole, going to work trigonometrically, and laying down every temple or object that still retained a name, or had any tradition attached to it. I then descended with the perambulator and made the circuit.

The first lateral cut of ascent is in a line due north, and before another angle, you pass through three separate gates ; between the last of which, distinctively called the *footâ dwârá*, or 'broken door,' and the fourth, the *Hanuman pol* (porte), is a spot for ever sacred in the history of Cheetore, where its immortal defenders, Jeimul and Putto, met their death. There is a small cenotaph to the memory of the former, while a sacrificial *Joojârh*, on which is sculptured the effigy of a warrior on horseback, lance in hand, reminds the Seesodia where fell the stripling chief of Amait. Near these is another cenotaph, a simple dome supported by light elegant columns, and covering an altar to the *manes* of the martyr, Ragoodeva, the deified *pûtra* of Méwar (see vol. i. p. 225). After passing three more barriers, we reach the Rampol, which crowns the whole, and leads into a noble *Durri-khaneh*, or 'hall of assembly,' where the princes of Cheetore met on grand occasions ; and it was in this hall that the genius of Cheetore is said to have revealed to Rana Ursî that his glory was departing. On a compartment of the Rampol, we found an interdict inscribed by the rebel Bheem of Saloombra, who appears to have been determined to place upon his own head the *mor* of Cheetore, so nobly renounced by his ancestor Chonda many centuries before. This was, however, set up when he was yet loyal, and in his sovereign's name as well as his own, "abolishing forced labour from the townspeople, and likewise *dind*, or contribution" ; concluding with a grant of land to a patriotic carpenter of Gosoonda, who had, at his own expense, furnished the Rampol with a new gate : the cow and hog are attesting witnesses to the deed. The next building I came to, as I skirted the western face in a southerly direction, was a small antique temple to Toolsi Bhavanî, the divinity of the scribes, adjoining the *Tope-khaneh Chaôri*, a square for the park, where a few old cannon, the relics of the plunder of Cheetore, still remain. The habitation of the Purohits, or chief priests of the Ranas, a plain, commodious, and substantial edifice, was the next ; and close by was that of the *Musani*, or master of the horse, with several others of the chief household officers. But the first imposing edifice is that termed *Nolakha Bindar*. This is a small citadel in itself, with massive, lofty walls, and towers built entirely of ancient ruins. Its name would import that it was a receptacle (*bindar*) for treasure, though it is said to have been the residence of the usurper Bunbeer. At the north-eastern corner, it has a little temple, richly sculptured, called the *Séngâr Châôri*. From this we pass on to the palace of the Ranas, which, though attributed to Rana Raemull, is of the same character as those of a much

higher antiquity. It is plain, capacious, and in excellent taste, the only ornament being its crenated battlements, and gives a good idea of the domestic architecture of the Rajpoots, long anterior to the intrusion of the Islamite amongst them. The vaulted chamber, the projecting *gokra* or balcony, and the gentle exterior slope or *talus* of the walls, lend a character of originality to all the ancient structures of Cheetore. The industrious Ghassi made sketches for me of all their domestic dwellings, from the ancient abode of Chitrung Mori, down to the mahls of Jeimul and Putto. A courtyard surrounds the palace, in which there is a small temple to Dêoji, through whose interposition Rana Sanga effected all his conquests. This unknown divinity I find is styled one of the *eleven kullàs*, or Mahabédians, incarnate in the person of a celebrated warrior, named Bhoj, whose father was a Chohan, and his mother of the Goojur tribe, which originated a new class, called the Bâgrawut. The story of this *Deo* will add another to the many tales of superstition which are listened to with reverence, and I imagine generally with belief. The incarnate Bâgrawut, while on his way to revenge an ancient feud with the Purihars of Ran-Binai, approached Cheetore, and Rana Sanga, aware of his sanctity, paid him all the dues of hospitality ; in return for this, the Dêoji bestowed a charm upon Sanga, by means of which, so long as he followed the prescribed injunctions, victory was always to attend his steps. It was placed in a small bag, and to be worn round the neck ; but he was warned against allowing it to turn towards the back. The Deo had the power of raising the dead, and in order to show the Rana the value of the gift, he put into his hand a peacock's feather, with which having touched all who were then lying dead in Cheetore, they were restored to life ! With this new proof of Dêoji's power, Rana Sanga went forth to pursue his conquests, which had extended to the fortress of Biana, when one day, while bathing in the *peelâ-khâl*, the charm slipped round, and straight a voice was heard, saying, his " mortal foe was at hand ! " So impressed are the Seesodias with the truth of this tale, that Dêoji has obtained a distinguished niche in their Pantheon ; nor in all their poverty has oil been wanting for the lamp which is constantly burning before the Bâgrawut chieftain, whose effigy, on a horse painted blue and lance in hand, still attracts their homage. To buy golden opinions, I placed three pieces of silver on the altar of the saint, in the name of the brave Sanga, the worthy antagonist of Baber, the " immortal foe," who at the *peelâ-khâl* at Biana destroyed the charm of the Dêoji.

On leaving the court of Rana Raemul, we reach two immense temples dedicated to the black god of Vrij ; one being erected by Rana Khoombo, the other by his celebrated wife, the chief poetess of that age, Meera Bâé, to the god of her idolatry, Shâmnâth. We have elsewhere mentioned the ecstasies of this fair votary of the Apollo of the Yamuna, who even danced before his shrine, in which her last moments were passed : and, to complete the picture, so entirely were the effusions both of her heart and pen approved, that " the god descended from his pedestal and gave her an embrace, which extricated the spark of life. ' Welcome, Meera,' said the lover of Radha ! and her soul was absorbed into his ! " This rhapsody is worthy of the fair authoress of the *Tika*, or sequel to the *Gîtâ Govinda*, which is said not to be unworthy even of Jydeva.

Both these temples are entirely constructed from the wrecks of more ancient shrines, said to have been brought from the ruins of a city of remote antiquity, called *Nagara*, three coss northward of Cheetore.¹ Near these temples of Koomb-Shâm are two reservoirs, built of large blocks, each one hundred and twenty-five feet long by fifty wide, and fifty deep, said to have been excavated on the marriage of the 'Ruby of Mëwar' to Achil Kheechie of Gagrown, and filled with oil and *ghce*, which were served out to the numerous attendants on that occasion.

We are now in the vicinity of the *Kheerut-Khumb*, the pillar erected by Rana Khoombo on his defeat of the combined armies of Malwa and Guzzerat. The only thing in India to compare with this is the *Kootub Minar* at Dehli; but, though much higher, it is of a very inferior character. This column is one hundred and twenty-two feet in height, the breadth of each face at the base is thirty-five feet, and at the summit, immediately under the cupola, seventeen feet and a half. It stands on an ample terrace, forty-two feet square. It has nine distinct stories, with openings at every face of each story, and all these doors have colonnaded porticos; but it is impossible to describe it. It is built chiefly of compact limestone and the quartz rock on which it stands, which takes the highest polish: indeed there are portions possessing the hardness and exhibiting the fracture of jasper. It is one mass of sculpture; of which a better idea cannot be conveyed than in the remark of those who dwell about it, that it contains every object known to their mythology. The ninth *khund*, or 'story,' which, as I have stated, is seventeen feet and a half square, has numerous columns supporting a vault, in which is sculptured Kanya in the *rasmandala* (celestial sphere), surrounded by the *gopis*, or muses, each holding a musical instrument, and in a dancing attitude. Beneath this is a richly carved scroll fringed with the *sarus*, the *phenicopteros* of ornithology. Around this chamber had been arranged, on black marble tablets, the whole genealogy of the Ranas of Cheetore; but the Goths have broken or defaced all, save one slab, containing the two following *slocas*.

Sloca 172: "Shaking the earth, the lords of Gojur-khand and Malwa, both the sultans, with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Médpât. Koombkurn reflected lustre on the land: to what point can we exalt his renown? In the midst of the armies of his foe, Khoombo was as a tiger, or as a flame in a dry forest."

Sloca 183: "While the sun continues to warm the earth, so long may the fame of Khoombo Rana endure. While the icy mountains (*hemagir*) of the north rest upon their base, or so long as Himachil is stationary, while ocean continues to form a garland round the neck of *Awini* (the earth), so long may Khoombo's glory be perpetuated! May the varied history of his sway and the splendour of his dominion last for ever! Seven years had elapsed beyond fifteen hundred when Rana Khoombo placed this ringlet on the forehead of Cheetore. Sparkling like the rays of the rising sun, is the *torun*, rising like the bridegroom of the land."

"In S. 1515, the temple of Brimha was founded, and this year, *Vrishpatwar* (Thursday), the 10th tit'h and Pookhâ Nikshitra, in the

¹ I trust this may be put to the proof: for I think it will prove to be *Takshana-nagara*, of which I have long been in search; and which gave rise to the suggestion of Herbert that Cheetore was of Taxila Porus (the *Pûar*?).

month of Mâgh, on the immovable Chutterkote, this *Kheerut stambha* was finished. What does it resemble, which makes Cheetore look down on Méru with derision? Again, what does Chutterkote resemble, from whose summit the fountains are ever flowing, the circular diadem on whose crest is beauteous to the eye; abounding in temples to the Almighty, planted with odoriferous trees, to which myriads of bees resort, and where soft zephyrs love to play. This immovable fortress (*Achil-doorga*) was formed by Maha-Indra's own hands."

How many more *slocas* there may have been, of which this is the 183rd, we can only conjecture; though this would seem to be the winding-up.

The view from this elevated spot was superb, extending far into the plains of Malwā. The lightning struck and injured the dome some years ago, but generally, there is no semblance of decay, though some shoots of the peepul have rooted themselves where the bolt of Indra fell. It is said to have cost ninety lakhs of rupees, or near a million sterling; and this is only one of the many magnificent works of Rana Khoombo within Cheetore; the temples to Crishna, the lake called *Coorm Sagur*, the temple and fountain to Kookreoo Mahadeo, having been erected by him. He also raised the stupendous fortifications of Komulmér, to which place the seat of government was transferred. It is asserted that the immense wealth in jewels appertaining to the princes of Guzzerat, was captured by Mahomed Begra, when he took Komulmér, whence he carried forty thousand captives.

Near this is the grand temple of Brimha, erected also by Khoombo, in honour of his father Mokul, whose name it bears, and whose bust is the only object of veneration within. It would seem as if Khoombo had been a deist, worshipping the Creator alone; though his inspired wife, Meera Bâé, seems to have drawn a portion of his regard to *Mooralidhar*, 'he who holds the flute.' Adjoining the shrine of the great spirit, is the *Chârbâg'h*, where the ashes of the heroes, from Báppá down to the founder of Oodipoor, are entombed. Many possessed great external interest; but I was forced to be content with what I saw, for the chronicler is dead.

Through these abodes of silence, a rugged path leads to a sequestered spot in a deep cleft of the rock, where there is a living fountain, called the *gao-moohh*, or 'cow's mouth,' under the shade of an umbrageous *burr* tree. On one side of the dell is the subterranean channel called *Rani-bindâr*, which, it is said, leads to suites of chambers in the rock. This was the scene of the awful *johur*, on the occasion of Alla sacking Cheetore, when the queens perished in the flames; on which the cavern's mouth was closed.

Still ascending, I visited the edifices named after Jeimul and Putto, and the shrine of Kâlká Dévî, esteemed one of the most ancient of Cheetore, existing since the time of the Morî, the dynasty prior to the Gehlote. But the only inscription I discovered was the following:—

"S. 1574 Mâgh (*sûdi*) 5th, and Revatî Nikshitra, the stone-cutters Kaloo, Kalmer, and thirty-six others (whose names are added), enlarged the fountain of the sun (*suryacoonda*), adjacent to the temple of Kâlká Dévî." Thence I passed to the vaulted cenotaph of Chonda, the founder of the Chondawuts, who surrendered his birthright to please his aged sire. A little further, are the mahls of Rana Bheem and Pudmani. Beyond this, within a stone enclosure, is the place where

the victorious Khoombo confined the king of Malwa ; and touching it is the mahl of the Raos of Rampoorā.

Further south is a spot of deep interest ; the tank and palace of Chitrung Morī, the ancient Pūr lord of Cheetore, whose inscription I have already given. The interior sides of the tank are divided into sculptured compartments, in very good taste, but not to be compared with the works at Barollī, though doubtless executed under the same family. Being now within two hundred yards of the southern bastion, I returned by the mahls of the once vassals of Cheetore, namely, Sirohi, Boondī, Sont, Lunawarra, to the *Chaogān*, or 'field of Mars,' where the military festival of the *Dussera* is yet held by the slender garrison of Cheetore. Close to it is a noble reservoir of a hundred and thirty feet in length, sixty-five in width, and forty-seven in depth. It is lined with immense sculptured masses of masonry, and filled with water.

Higher up, and nearly about the centre, is a remarkable square pillar, called the *khowasin-sthamba* (column). It is seventy-five feet and a half in height, thirty feet in diameter at the base, and fifteen at the top, and covered with Jain figures. It is very ancient, and I found a fragment of an inscription at its base, which shows that it was dedicated to Adnath, the first of the twenty-four Jain pontiffs : " By Śrī Adnath, and the twenty-four *Jin-ēswara*, Poondarica, Ganēsa, Surya, and the nine planets, may you be preserved ! S. 952 (A.D. 896) Bysak (*sūdi*) the 30th, *Gūwar* (Thursday)." I found also another old inscription near the very antique temple of Kookr-ēswar Mahadeo : " S. 811, Mah sood 5th, Vrishpatwar (Thursday), A.D. 755, Raja Kookr-ēswar erected this temple and excavated the fountain."

There are many Jain inscriptions, but amidst the heaps of ruins I was not fortunate enough to make any important discovery. One in the temple of Sunnat'h was as follows : " S. 1505 (A.D. 1449), Sri Maharana Mokul, whose son Koombkurn's treasurer, by name Sah Kolah, his son Bīndarrī Rutna, and wife Beelundēvi, erected this shrine to Sunnat'h. The chief of the Khartra-gutchā, Jinraj Soor and *apparent successor*, Sri Jin Chandra Soor-ji, made this writing."

Close to the *Sooraj-pol*, or gate in the centre of the eastern face, is an altar sacred to the *manes* of Suheedas, the chief of the Chondawuts, who fell at his post, the gate of the sun, when the city was sacked by Bahadoor Shah.

At the north-western face is a castle complete within itself, the walls and towers of which are of a peculiar form, and denote a high antiquity. This is said to be the ancient palace of the Moris and the first Ranas of Cheetore. But it is time to close this description, which I do by observing, that one cannot move a step without treading on some fragment of the olden times :

" Columns strewn, and statues fallen and cleft,
Heaped like a host, in battle overthrown."

Before, however, I quit this spot, hallowed by these remains, I may mention having seen a being who, if there is any truth in Chutterkote, must be a hundred and sixty years old. This wonder is a Fakīr, who has constantly inhabited the temples, within the memory of the oldest inhabitants ; and there is one carpenter, now upwards of ninety, who recollects " Babaji as an old man and the terror of the children." To me he did not appear above seventy. I found him deeply engaged at

pacheesi with one of the townsfolk. When I was introduced to this extraordinary personage, he looked up at me for an instant, and exclaiming, "What does he want here?" quietly resumed his game. When it was finished, I presented my *nuzzur* to the inspired (for madness and inspiration are here synonymous), which he threw amongst the bystanders, and bolted over the ruins, dragging through the brambles a fine shawl some one had presented to him, and which, becoming an impediment, he left there. In these moods none durst molest him, and when inclined for food or pastime, his wants were quickly supplied. For one moment I got him to cast his mental eye back upon the past, and he mentioned something of Adina Bég and the Punjâb (of which they say he was an inhabitant); but the oracle deigned nothing further.

ODDIPPOOR, *March 8, 1822.*—Here I am once more in the capital of *Hindûpati* (chief of the Hindu race), from which no occurrence shall move me until I go to "eat the air" of my native land. I require repose, for the last fifteen years of my life have been one continuous tissue of toil and accident, such as are narrated in these records of a few of my many wanderings. The bow must be unbent, or it will snap, and the time for journalising must cease with everything else under the sun. I halted a few days at Mairta, and found my house nearly finished, the garden looking beautiful, the *aroo* or peach-tree, the *seo* or apple, the *suntra*, *narinji*, and *nimboo*, or various orange and lime-trees, all in full blossom, and showing the potent influence of *Surya* in these regions; the *sureefa* or *seetâphal* (fruit of Seeta), or custard-apple, the *anâr*, the *kêlâ*, pomegranate, plantain, and various indigenous fruits, were all equally forward. These plants are mostly from Agra, Lucknow, or Cawnpoor; but some of the finest peaches are the produce of those I planted at Gwalior,—I may say their grandchildren. When I left Gwalior in 1817, I brought with me the stones of several peach-trees, and planted them in the garden of Rung-péari, my residence at Oodipoor; and more delicious or more abundant fruit I never saw. The stones of these I again put in the new garden at Mairta, and these again exhibit fruit, but it will require another year to prove whether they maintain the character they held in the plains of Rarew, or in this city. The vegetables were equally thriving: I never saw finer crops of Prussian-blues, of *kobis*, *phool-kobis*, or cabbages and cauliflowers, celery, and all that belongs to the kitchen-garden, and which my Rajpoot friends declare far superior to their indigenous race of *sâe*, or greens: the *Dêwânji* (Rana) has monopolised the celery, which he pronounces the prince of vegetables. I had also got my cutter for the *Oodisagur*, and we promised ourselves many delightful days, sailing amidst its islets and fishing in its stream. "But in all this was there vanity": poor Carey lies under the sod; Duncan has been struggling on, and is just about to depart for the Cape of Good Hope; Patrick, who was left at Kotah, writes me dismal accounts of his health and his solitude, and I am left almost alone, the ghost of what I was. "I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour I had laboured to do; and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit!" And such I fear will it prove with more important works than these amusements of the hour; but it were certain death to stay, and the doctor insists on my sending in "a sick certificate," and putting my house in order for departure. The month of May is fixed, a resolution which has filled the Rana with grief; but he "gives me leave

only for three years, and his sister, Chandji Bâé, desires me to bring back a wife that she may love."

I would willingly have dispensed with the honours of a public *entrée*: but here, even health must bend to forms and the laws of the Rajpoots; and the Rana, Prince Jowan Sing, and all the Seesodia chivalry, advanced to welcome our return. *Ap gurh aya!* "You have come home!" was the simple and heartfelt expression of the Rana, as he received my reverential salaam; but he kindly looked round, and missed my companions, for Waugh Sahib and Doctor Sahib were both great favourites: and, last but not least, when he saw me bestride Javadia, he asked, "where was *Baj-ráj*?" but the "royal-steed" (his gift) was no more, and lies entombed at Kotah. "*Hae! hae! alas! alas!* (exclaimed Pirthinat'h); *burra soch pun balamanick cha*, "great grief, for he was a good man."¹ The virtues of Bajráj were the subject of conversation until we reached the 'gate of the sun' (*Soorajpol*); when the Rana "gave me leave to go home," and he continued his promenade.

Bajráj was worthy of such notice and of his name: he was perfection, and so general a favourite, that his death was deemed a public misfortune, for he was as well known throughout all these regions as his master. The general yell of sorrow that burst from all my sepoy and establishment on that event, was astounding, and the whole camp attended his obsequies; many were weeping, and when they began to throw the earth upon the fine beast, wrapped up in his body-clothes, his *sâes* (groom) threw himself into his grave, and was quite frantic with grief. I cut some locks off his mane in remembrance of the noblest beast I ever crossed, and in a few days I observed many huge stones near the spot, which before I left Kotah grew into a noble *chabootra*, or 'altar' of hewn stone about twenty feet square and four feet high, on which was placed the effigy of Bajráj large as life, sculptured out of one block of freestone. I was grateful for the attention, but the old Regent had caught the infection, and evinced his sense of the worth of Bajráj by a tomb such as his master cannot expect; but in this case perhaps I divided the interest, though there was no prince of Rajwarra more proud of his stud than the blind chief of Kotah. From the days of the Pandus to Dewa-Bango of Boondí, many a war has been waged for a horse, nor can we better declare the relative estimation of the noble animal, than in the words of that stalwart Hara to the Lodi king: "There are three things you must not ask of a Rajpoot, his horse, his mistress, or his sword."

In a few days, I shall leave the capital for the villa of the Hara Rání, sister of the Kotah prince, and whose bracelet also I have had, the symbol of adoption as her brother. To all their customs, to all their sympathies, and numerous acts of courtesy and kindness, which have made this not a strange land to me, I am about to bid farewell; whether a final one, is written in that book, which for wise purposes is sealed to mortal vision: but wherever I go, whatever days I may number, nor place, nor time can ever weaken, far less obliterate, the remembrance of the valley of Oodipoor.²

¹ *Manik* or *munik*, is the diminutive of man.

² By a singular coincidence; the day on which I closed these wanderings, is the same on which I have put the last stroke to a work that has afforded me some pleasure and much pain. It was on the 8th March 1822, I ended my journey and entered Oodipoor: on the 8th March 1832, I am transcribing this last page of

my journal : in March my book appears before the public ; I was born in March ; embarked for India in March ; and had the last glimpse of its land, the coast of Ceylon, in March. But what changes has not the ever-revolving wheel produced since that time ! Captain Waugh returned to England about six months after me ; his health much shattered. We met, and lived together, in London, in Belgium, and in France : but amidst all the beauties of novelty, Rajpootana was the theme to which we constantly reverted. He returned to India, had just obtained his majority, and was marching in command of his regiment, the 10th Light Cavalry, from Muttra to Mhow, when, in passing through the land where we had seen many happy days together, he was invited by the chief of Doonee to renew old recollections by a visit. Though in the highest spirits, my poor cousin went with a presentiment of evil. He was accompanied by some of his officers. In ascending the hill he fell, and sustained an injury which rendered an operation necessary. This succeeded so well, that in two days he proceeded in a litter ; when, on arriving at the ground, his friends drew the curtain of his *dooli*, and found him dead ! His ashes repose in Méwar, under a monument raised by his brother officers. He did not live to see the completion of these labours, which none but he could fully appreciate. No man was ever more beloved in private life ; and the eulogium passed upon him, but two days ago, by his old friend and commander, the gallant General Sir Thomas Brown,—“ He was one of the best cavalry officers who ever served under me,”—is an honourable testimony to his public career. No apology is required for this record of the talent and worth of one who, in addition to the ties of kindred, was linked to me by the bonds of friendship during twenty years.—8th March 1832.

APPENDIX

No. I.

Letter from Raja Jey Sing of Ambér to Rana Singram Sing of Méwar, regarding Edur.

SRI RAMJI,¹

SRI SEETA RAMJI,

WHEN I was in the presence at Oodipoor, you *commanded* ² that Méwar was my home, and that Edur was the portico of Méwar, and to watch the occasion for obtaining it. From that time I have been on the look out. Your agent, Myaram, has again written regarding it, and Dilput Rae read the letter to me verbatim, on which I talked over the matter with Maharaja Abhé Sing, who, acquiescing in all your views, has made a *nuzzur* of the pergunna to you, and his writing to this effect accompanies this letter.

The Maharaja Abhé Sing *petitions* that you will so manage that the occupant *Anund Sing does not escape alive; as, without his death, your possession will be unstable*:³ this is in your hands. It is my wish, also, that you would go in person, or if you deem this inexpedient, command the Dhabháé Nuggo, placing a respectable force under his orders, and having blocked up all the passes, you may then slay him. Above all things, let him not escape—let this be guarded against.

Asâr badí 7th (22nd of the first month of the monsoon),
S. 1784 (A.D. 1728).

ENVELOPE.

The Pergunna of Edur is in Maharaja Abhé Sing's jagheer, who makes a *nuzzur* of it to the *Huzoor*; should it be granted to any other, take care the *Munsudbar* never gains possession.

8th S., 1784.

No. II.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maha Raja Maun Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Joudpoor, represented by

¹ Ram and Seeta, whom the prince invokes, are the great parents of the Cuch-waha race, of which Raja Jey Sing is the head. I have omitted the usual string of introductory compliments.

² These terms completely illustrate the superior character in which the Ranas of Méwar were held by the two princes next in dignity to him in Rajpootana a century ago.

³ This deep anxiety is abundantly explained by looking at the genealogical slip of the Rahtores, at p. 103, where it will be seen that Anund Sing, whom the parricidal Abhyé Sing is so anxious to be rid of, is his own brother, innocent of any participation in that crime, and *whose issue, although adopted into Edur, were heirs-presumptive to Marwar*!

the Koowur Regent Joograj Maharaj Koowur Chutter Sing Buhadoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, and by Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram on the part of Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor, in virtue of full powers granted by the Maharaja and Joograj Maharaj Koowur aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interest between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maharaja Maun Sing and his heirs and successors; and the friends and enemies of one party shall be friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Joudpoor.

Third Article.—Maharaja Maun Sing and his heirs and successors will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not have any connection with other chiefs and states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government. But his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If by accident disputes arise with any one, they shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—The tribute heretofore paid to Sindia by the state of Joudpoor, of which a separate schedule is affixed, shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government; and the engagement of the state of Joudpoor with Sindia respecting tribute shall cease.

Seventh Article.—As the Maharaja declares that besides the tribute paid to Sindia by the state of Joudpoor, tribute has not been paid to any other state, and engages to pay the aforesaid tribute to the British Government; if either Sindia or any one else lay claim to tribute, the British Government engages to reply to such claim.

Eighth Article.—The state of Joudpoor shall furnish fifteen hundred horse for the service of the British Government whenever required; and when necessary, the whole of the Joudpoor forces shall join the British army, excepting such a portion as may be requisite for the internal administration of the country.

Ninth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—This treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram; the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Governor-General and by Raj Rajeesur Maharaja Maun Sing Buhadoor and Jugraj Maharaj Koowur Chutter Sing Buhadoor, shall be exchanged within six weeks from this date.

Done at Dihlee this sixth day of January, A.D. 1815.

| | | |
|----------|--------|---------------------------|
| (Signed) | (L.S.) | C. T. METCALFE, Resident. |
| | | BYAS BISHEN RAM. |
| | (L.S.) | BYAS UBHEE RAM. |

No. III.

Treaty with the Raja of Jessulmér.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor, Raja of Jessulmér, concluded on the part of the Honourable Company by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, etc., and on the part of the Maha Raja Dehraj Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor by Misr Motee Ram and Thakoor Dowlet Sing, according to full powers conferred by Maha Rawul.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable English Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj Buhadoor, the Raja of Jessulmér, and his heirs and successors.

Second Article.—The posterity of Maha Rawul Moolraj shall succeed to the principality of Jessulmér.

Third Article.—In the event of any *serious* invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmér, or other danger of *great* magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert its power for the protection of the principality, provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmér.

Fourth Article.—The Maha Rawul and his heirs and successors will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy.

Fifth Article.—This treaty of five articles having been settled, signed, and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Misr Motee Ram and Thakoor Dowlet Sing, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and Maha Raja Dehraj Maha Rawul, Moolraj Buhadoor, shall be exchanged in six weeks from the present date.

Done at Dihlee this twelfth day of December, A.D. 1818.

(L.S.) C. T. METCALFE

(Signed) MISR MOTEE RAM.

(L.S.) THAKOOR DOWLET SING.

(Signed) C. T. M.

No. IV.

TREATY between the Honourable English East-India Company and Maharaja Siwae Juggut Singh Buhadoor, Raja of Jypoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, etc., and by Thakoor Rawul Byree Saul Nattawut, on the part of Raj Rajindur Sree Maharaj Dhiraj Siwae Juggut Singh Buhadoor, according to full powers given by the Raja.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable Company and Maharaja Juggut Singh, and his heirs and successors, and the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the territory of Jypoor, and to expel the enemies of that principality.

Third Article.—Maharaja Siwae Juggut Singh, and his heirs and successors, will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy; and will not have any connection with other chiefs and states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharaja, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into negotiation with any chief or state, without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but the usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If it happen that any dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—Tribute shall be paid in perpetuity by the principality of Jypoor to the British Government, through the treasury of Dihlee, according to the following detail:—

First year, from the date of this treaty, in consideration of the devastation which has prevailed for years in the Jypoor country, tribute excused:

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| Second year | . | . | . | . | Four lakhs of Dihlee rupees. |
| Third year | . | . | . | . | Five lakhs. |
| Fourth year | . | . | . | . | Six lakhs. |
| Fifth year | . | . | . | . | Seven lakhs. |
| Sixth year | . | . | . | . | Eight lakhs. |

Afterwards eight lakhs of Dihlee rupees annually, until the revenues of the principality exceed forty lakhs.

And when the Raja's revenue exceed forty lakhs, five-sixteenths of the excess shall be paid in addition to the eight lakhs above mentioned.

Seventh Article.—The principality of Jypoor shall furnish troops according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The Maharaja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and their dependants, according to long-established usage; and the British civil and criminal jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Ninth Article.—Provided that the Maharaja evince a faithful attachment to the British Government, his prosperity and advantage shall be favourably considered and attended to.

Tenth Article.—This treaty of ten articles having been concluded, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, and Thakoor Rawul Byree Saul Nattawut, the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Raj Rajindur Sree Maharaj Dhiraj Siwace Juggut Singh Buhadoor, shall be mutually exchanged within one month from the present date.

Done at Dihlee this second day of April, A.D. 1818.

(Signed) (L.S.) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

(L.S.) TAUKOOR RAWUL BYREE SAUL NATTAWUT.

No. V.

No. V. being a large paper is omitted.

No. VI.

TREATY between the Honourable the English East-India Company on the one part, and Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor, the Raja of Kota, and his heirs and successors, through Raj Rana Zalim Sing Buhadoor, the administrator of the affairs of that principality; on the other,

concluded on the part of the Honourable English East-India Company by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, in virtue of full powers granted to him by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, and on the part of Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor, by Maha Raja Sheodan Sing, Sah Jeewun Ram, and Lala Hoolchund, in virtue of full powers granted by the Maha Rao aforesaid, and his administrator, the above-mentioned Raj Rana.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the British Government on the one hand, and Maha Rao Omed Sing Buhadoor, and his heirs and successors, on the other.

Second Article.—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be the same to both.

Third Article.—The British Government engages to take under its protection the principality and territory of Kota.

Fourth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not henceforth have any connection with the chiefs and states with which the state of Kota has been heretofore connected.

Fifth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, will not enter into any negotiations with any chief or state without the sanction of the British Government. But his customary amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Sixth Article.—The Maha Rao and his heirs and successors, will not commit aggressions on any one; and if any dispute accidentally arise with any one, proceeding either from acts of the Maha Rao, or acts of the other party, the adjustment of such disputes shall be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government.

Seventh Article.—The tribute heretofore paid by the principality of Kota to the Mahratta chiefs, for instance, the Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, and Powar, shall be paid at Dihlee to the British Government for ever, according to the separate schedule annexed.

Eighth Article.—No other power shall have any claim to tribute from the principality of Kota; and if any one advance such a claim, the British Government engages to reply to it.

Ninth Article.—The troops of the principality of Kota, according to its means, shall be furnished at the requisition of the British Government.

Tenth Article.—The Maha Rao, and his heirs and successors, shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality.

Eleventh Article.—This treaty of eleven articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the one part, and Maha Raja Sheodan Sing, Sah Jeewun Ram, and Lala Hoolchund on the other, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maha Rao Omed Sing, and his administrator Raj Rana Zalim Sing, shall be exchanged within a month from this date.

Done at Dihlee the twenty-sixth day of December, A.D. 1817.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
Resident.

No. VII.

TREATIES between the Honourable English East-India Company and the Maha Row Raja Bishen Sing Buhadoor, Raja of Boondce,

concluded by Captain James Tod on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers from his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, etc. etc., and by Bohora Tolaram on the part of the Raja, in virtue of full powers from the said Raja.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the British Government on the one hand, and the Raja of Boondee and his heirs and successors on the other.

Second Article.—The British Government takes under its protection the dominions of the Raja of Boondee.

Third Article.—The Raja of Boondee acknowledges the supremacy of, and will co-operate with, the British Government for ever. He will not commit aggressions on any one. He will not enter into negotiations with any one without the consent of the British Government. If by chance any dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government. The Raja is absolute ruler of his dominions, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced therein.

Fourth Article.—The British Government spontaneously remits to the Raja and his descendants the tribute which the Raja used to pay to Maharaja Holkar, and which has been ceded by the Maharaja Holkar to the British Government; the British Government also relinquishes in favour of the state of Boondee the lands heretofore held by Maharaja Holkar within the limits of that state, according to the annexed schedule (No. 1).

Fifth Article.—The Raja of Boondee hereby engages to pay to the British Government the tribute and revenue heretofore paid to Maharaja Sindia; according to the schedule (No. 2).

Sixth Article.—The Raja of Boondee shall furnish troops at the requisition of the British Government according to his means.

Seventh Article.—The present treaty of seven articles having been settled at Boondee, and signed and sealed by Captain James Tod and Bohora Tolaram, the ratifications of the same by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and the Maha Row Raja, of Boondee, shall be exchanged within one month from the present date.

Done at Boondee, this tenth day of February, A.D. 1818; corresponding to the fourth of Rubbee-ool-Sanee 1233, and fifth day of Maug Soodee of the Sumbut, or Æra of Bikramajeet, 1874.

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steed. Amidst all these privileges, when it were almost difficult to distinguish between the prince and his great chiefs, there are occasions well understood by both, which render the superiority of the former apparent : one occurs in the formalities observed on a lapse ; another, when at court in personal service, the chief once a week mounts guard at the palace with his clan. On these occasions the vast distance between them is seen. When the chief arrives in the grand court of the palace with his retainers, he halts under the balcony till intimation is given to the prince, who from thence receives his obeisance and duty. This over, he retires to the great *durrikhana*, or hall of audience, appropriated for these ceremonies, where carpets are spread for him and his retainers. At meals the prince sends his compliments, requesting the chief's attendance at the *rasorah* ¹ or ' feasting hall,' where with other favoured chiefs he partakes of dinner with the prince. He sleeps in the hall of audience, and next morning with the same formalities takes his leave. Again, in the summons to the presence from their estates, instant obedience is requisite. But in this, attention to their rank is studiously shown by *roqqua*, written by the private secretary, with the sign-manual of the prince attached, and sealed with the private finger-ring. For the inferior grades, the usual seal of state entrusted to the minister is used.

But these are general duties. In all these states some great court favourite, from his talents, character, or intrigue, holds the office of premier. His duties are proportioned to his wishes, or the extent of his talents and ambition ; but he does not interfere with the civil administration, which has its proper minister. They, however, act together. The Rajpoot premier is the military minister, with the political government of the fiefs ; the civil minister is never of this caste. Local customs have given various appellations to this officer. At Oodipoor he is called *bhanjgurh* ; at Jodpoor, *purdhan* ; at Jeipoor (where they have engrafted the term used at the court of Dehli) *moosahib* ; at Kotah, *kelladar*, and *dewan* or regent. He becomes a most important personage, as dispenser of the favours of the sovereign. Through him chiefly all requests are preferred, this being the surest channel to success. His influence, necessarily, gives him unbounded authority over the military classes, with unlimited power over the inferior officers of the state. With a powerful body of retainers always at his command, it is surprising we have not more frequently our ' mayors of Burgundy and Dagoberts,' ² our ' Martels and Pepins,' in Rajast'han.

We have our hereditary Rajpoot premiers in several of these states :

¹ The kitchen is large enough for a fortress, and contains large eating halls. Food for seven hundred of the prince's court is daily dressed. This is not for any of the personal servants of the prince, or female establishments ; all these are separate.

² Dagobert commended his wife and son Clovis to the trust of Æga, with whom she jointly held the care of the palace. On his death, with the aid of more powerful lords, she chose another mayor. He confirmed their grants for life. They made his situation hereditary ; but which could only have held good from the crowd of imbeciles who succeeded Clovis, until the descendant of this mayor thrust out his children and seized the crown. This change is a natural consequence of unfitness ; and if we go back to the genealogies (called sacred) of the Hindus, we see there a succession of dynasties forced from their thrones by their ministers. Seven examples are given in the various dynasties of the race of Chandra. (See Genealogical Tables, No. II.)

but in all the laws of succession are so regulated that they could not usurp the throne of their prince, though they might his functions.

When the treaty was formed between Méwar and the British Government, the ambassadors wished to introduce an article of guarantee of the office of purdhan to the family of the chief noble of the country, the Rawut of Saloombra. The fact was, as stated, that the dignity was hereditary in this family; but though the acquisition was the result of an act of virtue, it had tended much towards the ruin of the country, and to the same cause are to be traced all its rebellions.

The ambassador was one of the elders of the same clan, being the grand uncle of the hereditary purdhan. He had taken a most active share in the political events of the last thirty years, and had often controlled the councils of his prince during this period, and actually held the post of premier himself when stipulating for his minor relative. With the ascendancy he exercised over the prince, it may be inferred that he had no intention of renouncing it during his lifetime; and as he was educating his adopted heir to all his notions of authority, and initiating him in the intrigues of office, the guaranteed dignity in the head of his family would have become a nonentity,¹ and the Ranas would have been governed by the deputies of their mayors. From both those evils the times have relieved the prince. The crimes of Ajeet had made his dismissal from office a point of justice, but imbecility and folly will never be without 'mayors.'

When a Rana of Oodipoor leaves the capital, the Saloombra chief is invested with the government of the city and charge of the palace during his absence. By his hands the sovereign is girt with the sword, and from him he receives the mark of inauguration on his accession to the throne. He leads, by right, the van in battle; and in case of the siege of the capital, his post is the *sooraj-pol*,² and the fortress which crowns it, in which this family had a handsome palace, which is now going fast to decay.

It was the predecessor of the present chief of Saloombra who set up a pretender and the standard of rebellion; but when foreign aid was brought in, he returned to his allegiance and the defence of the capital. Similar sentiments have often been awakened in patriotic breasts, when roused by the interference of foreigners in their internal disputes. The evil entailed on the state by these hereditary offices will appear in its annals.

¹ So many sudden deaths had occurred in this family, that the branch in question (Ajeet Sing's) were strongly suspected of 'heaping these mortal murders on their crown,' to push their elders from their seats. The father of Padma, the present chief, is said to have been taken off by poison; and Pahar Sing, one generation anterior, returning grievously wounded from the battle of Oojein, in which the southrons first swept Méwar, was not permitted to recover. The mother of the present young chief of the T'hala tribe of the house of Gogoonda, in the west, was afraid to trust him from her sight. She is a woman of great strength of mind and excellent character, but too indulgent to an only son. He is a fine bold youth, and, though impatient of control, may be managed. On horseback with his lance, in chase of the wild boar, a more resolute cavalier could not be seen. His mother, when he left the estate alone for court, which he seldom did without her accompanying him, never failed to send me a long letter, beseeching me to guard the welfare of her son. My house was his great resort: he delighted to pull over my books, or go fishing or riding with me.

² *Soorya*, 'sun'; and *pol*, 'gate.' *Polia*, 'a porter.'

In Marwar the dignity is hereditary in the house of Ahwa ; but the last brave chief who held it became the victim of a revengeful and capricious sovereign,¹ who was jealous of his exploits ; and dying, he bequeathed a curse to his posterity who should again accept the office. It was accordingly transferred to the next in dignity, the house of Ausope. The present chief, wisely distrusting the prince whose reign has been a series of turmoils, has kept aloof from court. When the office was jointly held by the chiefs of Nimaj and Pokurna, the tragic end of the former afforded a fine specimen of the prowess and heroism of the Rahtore Rajpoot. In truth, these purdhans of Marwar have always been mill-stones round the necks of their princes ; an evil interwoven in their system when the partition of estates took place amidst the sons of Joda in the infancy of this state. It was, no doubt, then deemed politic to unite to the interests of the crown so powerful a branch, which when combined could always control the rest ; but this gave too much equality.

Deo Sing, the great-grandfather of the Pokurna chief alluded to, used to sleep in the great hall of the palace with five hundred of his clan around him. "The throne of Marwar is in the sheath of my dagger," was the repeated boast of this arrogant chieftain. It may be anticipated that either he or his sovereign would die a violent death. The lord of Pokurna was entrapped, and instant death commanded ; yet with the sword suspended over his head, his undaunted spirit was the same as when seated in the hall, and surrounded by his vassals. "Where, traitor, is now the sheath that holds the fortunes of Marwar ?" said the prince. The taunt recoiled with bitterness when he loftily replied, "With my son at Pokurna I have left it." No time was given for further insult ; his head rolled at the steps of the palace ; but the dagger of Pokurna still haunts the imagination of these princes, and many attempts have been made to get possessed of their stronghold on the edge of the desert.² The narrow escape of the present chief will be related hereafter, with the sacrifice of his friend and coadjutor, the chief of Nimaj.

In Kotah and Jessulmér the power of the ministers is supreme. We might describe their situation in the words of Montesquieu. "The Pepins kept their princes in a state of imprisonment in the palace, showing them once a year to the people. On this occasion they made such ordinances as were directed by the mayor ; they also answered ambassadors, but the mayor framed the answer."³

Like those of the Merovingian race, these puppets of royalty in the east are brought forth to the *Champ de Mars* once a year, at the grand military festival, the *Dusrewa*. On this day, presents provided by the minister are distributed by the prince. Allowances for every branch of expenditure are fixed, nor has the prince the power to exceed them. But at Kotah there is nothing parsimonious, though nothing superfluous. On the festival of the birth of Crishna, and other similar feasts, the prince likewise appears abroad, attended by all the insignia of royalty. Elephants with standards precede ; lines of infantry and guns are drawn up ; while

¹ "The cur can bite," the reply of this chief, either personally, or to the person who reported that his sovereign so designated him, was never forgiven.

² His son, Subbul Sing, followed in his footsteps, till an accidental cannon-shot relieved the terrors of the prince.

³ *L'Esprit des Loix*, chaps. vi. liv. 31.

a numerous calvacade surrounds his person. The son of the minister sometimes condescends to accompany his prince on horseback; nor is there anything wanting to magnificence, but the power to control or alter any part of it. This failing, how humiliating to a proud mind, acquainted with the history of his ancestors and imbued with a portion of their spirit, to be thus muzzled, enchained, and rendered a mere pageant of state! This chain would have been snapped, but that each link has become adamantine from the ties this ruler has formed with the British Government. He has well merited our protection; though we never contemplated to what extent the maintenance of these ties would involve our own character. But this subject is connected with the history of an individual who yields to none of the many extraordinary men whom India has produced, and who required but a larger theatre to have drawn the attention of the world. His character will be further elucidated in the Annals of Haravati.

CHAPTER V

Adoption—Reflections upon the subjects treated.

ADOPTION.—The hereditary principle, which perpetuates in these states their virtues and their vices, is also the grand preservative of their political existence and national manners: it is an imperishable principle, which resists time and innovation: it is this which made the laws of the Medes and Persians, as well as those of the Rajpoots, unalterable. A chief of Méwar, like his sovereign, never dies: he disappears to be regenerated. "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*" is a phrase, the precise virtue of which is there well understood. Neither the crown nor the greater fiefs are ever without heirs. Adoption is the preservative of honours and titles; the great fiefs of Rajast'han can never become extinct. But, however valuable this privilege, which the law of custom has made a right, it is often carried to the most hurtful and foolish extent. They have allowed the limit which defined it to be effaced, and each family, of course, maintains a custom, so soothing to vanity, as the prospect of having their names revived in their descendants. This has resulted from the weakness of the prince and the misery of the times. Lands were bestowed liberally which yielded nothing to their master, who, in securing a nominal obedience and servitude, had as much as the times made them worth when given; but with returning prosperity and old customs, these great errors have become too visible. Adoptions are often made during the life of the incumbent when without prospect of issue. The chief and his wife first agitate the subject in private; it is then confided to the little council of the fief, and when propinquity and merit unite, they at once petition the prince to confirm their wishes, which are generally acceded to. So many interests are to be consulted on this occasion, that the blind partiality of the chief to any particular object is always counterpoised by the elders of the clan, who must have a pride in seeing a proper

T'hacoor¹ at their head, and who prefer the nearest of kin, to prevent the disputes which would be attendant on neglect in this point.

On sudden lapses, the wife is allowed the privilege, in conjunction with those interested in the fief, of nomination, though the case is seldom left unprovided for : there is always a presumptive heir to the smallest sub-infeudation of these estates. The wife of the deceased is the guardian of the minority of the adopted.

The chief of Deogurh, one of the sixteen Omras of Méwar, died without issue. On his death-bed he recommended to his wife and chiefs Nahar Sing for their adoption. This was the son of the independent chieftain of Singramgurh, already mentioned. There were nearer kin, some of the seventh and eighth degrees, and young Nahar was the eleventh. It was never contemplated that the three last gigantic² chieftains of Deogurh would die without issue, or the branches, now claimants from propinquity, would have been educated to suit the dignity ; but being brought up remote from court, they had been compelled to seek employment where obtainable, or to live on the few acres to which their distant claim of birth restricted them. Two of these, who had but the latter resource to fly to, had become mere boors ; and of two who had sought service abroad by arms, one was a cavalier in the retinue of the prince, and the other a hanger-on about court : both dissipated and unfitted, as the frerage asserted, " to be the chieftains of two thousand Rajpoots, the sons of one father." ³ Much interest and intrigue were carried on for one of these, and he was supported by the young prince and a faction. Some of the senior Puttawuts of Deogurh are men of the highest character, and often lamented the sombre qualities of their chief, which prevented the clan having that interest in the state to which its extent and rank entitled it. While these intrigues were in their infancy, they adopted a decided measure ; they brought home young Nahar from his father's residence, and " bound round his head the turban of the deceased." In his name the death of the late chief was announced. It was added, that he hoped to see his friends after the stated days of '*matim*' or mourning ; and he performed all the duties of the son of Deogurh, and lighted the funeral pyre.

When these proceedings were reported, the Rana was highly and justly incensed. The late chief had been one of the rebels of 1848 ; ⁴ and though pardon had been granted, yet this revived all the recollection of the past, and he felt inclined to extinguish the name of Sangawut.⁵

In addition to the common sequestration, he sent an especial one with commands to collect the produce of the harvest then reaping, charging the sub-vassals with the design of overturning his lawful authority. They replied very submissively, and artfully asserted that they had only given a son to Gokul Das, not an heir to Deogurh ; that the sovereign alone could do this, and that they trusted to his nominating one who would be an efficient leader of so many Rajpoots in the service of the Rana. They urged the pretensions of young Nahar, at the same time leaving the

¹ As in Deogurh.

² Gokul Das, the last chief, was one of the finest men I ever beheld in feature and person. He was about six feet six, perfectly erect, and a Hercules in bulk. His father at twenty was much larger, and must have been nearly seven feet high. It is surprising how few of the chiefs of this family died a natural death. It has produced some noble Rajpoots.

³ *Ek bap ca beta.*

⁴ A.D. 1792.

⁵ That of the clan of Deogurh.

decision to the sovereign. Their judicious reply was well supported by their ambassador at court, who was the bard of Deogurh, and had recently become, though *ex officio*, physician to the prince.¹ The point was finally adjusted, and Nahar was brought to court, and invested with the sword by the hand of the sovereign, and he is now lord of Deogurh Madaria, one of the richest and most powerful fiefs² of Méwar. Madaria was the ancient name of the estate; and Singramgurh, of which Nahar was the heir, was severed from it, but by some means had reverted to the crown, of which it now holds. The adoption of Nahar by Gokul Das leaves the paternal estate without an immediate heir; and his actual father being mad, if more distant claims are not admitted, it is probable that Singramgurh will eventually revert to the fisc.

REFLECTIONS.—The system of feuds must have attained considerable maturity amongst the Rajpoots, to have left such traces, notwithstanding the desolation that has swept the land: but without circumspection these few remaining customs will become a dead letter. Unless we abstain from all internal interference, we must destroy the links which connect the prince and his vassals; and, in lieu of a system decidedly imperfect, we should leave them none at all, or at least not a system of feuds, the only one they can comprehend. Our friendship has rescued them from exterior foes, and time will restore the rest. With the dignity and establishments of their chiefs, ancient usages will revive; and *nuzzarana* (relief), *kuwg bundai* (investiture), *dussoond* (aids or benevolence, literally 'the tenth'), and other incidents, will cease to be mere ceremonies. The desire of every liberal mind, as well as the professed wish of the British Government, is to aid in their renovation, and this will be best effected by not meddling with what we but imperfectly understand.³

We have nothing to apprehend from the Rajpoot States if raised to their ancient prosperity. The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction that they were never capable of uniting, even for their own preservation: a breath, a scurrilous stanza of a bard, has severed their closest confederacies. No national head exists amongst them as amongst the Mahrattas; and each chief being master of his own house and followers, they are individually too weak to cause us any alarm.

No feudal government can be dangerous as a neighbour; for defence

¹ Apollo is the patron both of physicians and poets; and though my friend Umra does not disgrace him in either calling, it was his wit, rather than his medical degree, that maintained him at court. He said it was not fitting that the sovereign of the world should be served by clowns or opium-eaters; and that young Nahar, when educated at court under the Rana's example, would do credit to the country: and what had full as much weight as any of the bard's arguments was, that the fine of relief on the *Yulwar bundai* (or girding on of the sword) of a lack of rupees, should be immediately forthcoming.

² Putta.

³ Such interference, when inconsistent with past usage and the genius of the people, will defeat the very best intentions. On the grounds of policy and justice, it is alike incumbent on the British Government to secure the maintenance of their present form of government, and not to repair, but to advise the repairs of the fabric, and to let their own artists alone be consulted. To employ ours would be like adding a Corinthian capital to a column of Ellora, or replacing the mutilated statue of Buldeva with a limb from the Hercules Farnese.

To have a chain of prosperous independent states on our only exposed frontier, the north-west, attached to us from benefits, and the moral conviction that we do not seek their overthrow, must be a desirable policy.

it has in all countries been found defective ; and for aggression, totally inefficient. Let there exist between us the most perfect understanding and identity of interests ; the foundation-step to which is to lessen or remit the galling, and to us contemptible tribute, now exacted, enfranchise them from our espionage and agency, and either unlock them altogether from our dangerous embrace, or let the ties between us be such only as would ensure grand results : such as general commercial freedom and protection, with treaties of friendly alliance. Then, if a Tatar or a Russian invasion threatened our eastern empire, fifty thousand Rajpoots would be no despicable allies.

Let us call to mind what they did when they fought for Aurungzéb : they are still unchanged, if we give them the proper stimulus. Gratitude, honour, and fidelity, are terms which at one time were the foundation of all the virtues of a Rajpoot. Of the theory of these sentiments he is still enamoured ; but, unfortunately, for his happiness, the times have left him but little scope for the practice of them. Ask a Rajpoot which is the greatest of crimes ? he will reply, '*goonchor*,' 'forgetfulness of favours.' This is his most powerful term for ingratitude. - Gratitude with him embraces every obligation of life, and is inseparable from *swamdherma*, 'fidelity to his lord.' He who is wanting in these is not deemed fit to live, and is doomed to eternal pains in Pluto's ¹ realm hereafter.²

"It was a powerful feeling," says an historian ³ who always identifies his own emotions with his subject, "which could make the bravest of men put up with slights and ill-treatment at the hand of their sovereign, or call forth all the energies of discontented exertion for one whom they never saw, and in whose character there was nothing to esteem. Loyalty has scarcely less tendency to refine and elevate the heart than patriotism itself." That these sentiments were combined, the past history of the Rajpoots will show ; ⁴ and to the strength of these ties do they owe their political existence, which has outlived ages of strife. But for these, they would have been converts and vassals to the Tatars, who would still have been enthroned in Dehli. Neglect, oppression, and religious interference, sunk one of the greatest monarchies of the world ; ⁵ made Sévaji a hero, and

¹ *Yamaloca*.

² The *goonchor* (ungrateful) and *satchor* (violator of his faith) are consigned, by the authority of the bard, to sixty-thousand years' residence in hell. Europeans, in all the pride of mastery, accuse the natives of want of gratitude, and say their language has no word for it. They can only know the *nimmuk-haram* of the Ganges. *Goonchor* is a compound of powerful import, as ingratitude and infidelity are the highest crimes. It means, literally, "abandoner (from *chorna*, 'to quit') of virtue (*goon*)."

³ Hallam, vol. i. p. 323.

⁴ Of the effects of loyalty and patriotism combined, we have splendid examples in Hindu history and tradition. A more striking instance could scarcely be given than in the recent civil distractions at Kotah, where a mercenary army raised and maintained by the Regent, either openly or covertly declared against him, as did the whole feudal body to a man, the moment their young prince asserted his subverted claims, and in the cause of their rightful lord abandoned all consideration of self, their families and lands, and with their followers offered their lives to redeem his rights or perish in the attempt. No empty boast, as the conclusion testified. God forbid that we should have more such examples of Rajpoot devotion to their sense of fidelity to their lords !

⁵ See statement of its revenues during the last emperor, who had preserved the empire of Dehli united.

converted the peaceful husbandman of the Kistna and Godavery into a brave but rapacious soldier.

We have abundant examples, and I trust need not exclaim with the wise minister of Akber, "who so happy as to profit by them?"¹

The Rajpoot, with all his turbulence, possesses in an eminent degree both loyalty and patriotism; and though he occasionally exhibits his refractory spirit to his father and sovereign,² we shall see of what he is capable when his country is threatened with dismemberment, from the history of Méwar, and the reign of Ajeet Sing of Marwar. In this last we have one of the noblest examples history can afford of unbounded devotion. A prince, whom not a dozen of his subjects had ever seen, who had been concealed from the period of his birth throughout a tedious minority to avoid the snares of a tyrant,³ by the mere magic of a name kept the discordant materials of a great feudal association in subjection, till, able to bear arms, he issued from his concealment to head these devoted adherents, and reconquer what they had so long struggled to maintain. So glorious a contest, of twenty years' duration, requires but an historian to immortalise it. Unfortunately we have only the relation of isolated encounters, which, though exhibiting a prodigality of blood and acts of high devotion, are deficient in those minor details which give unity and interest to the whole.

Let us take the Rajpoot character from the royal historians themselves, from Akber, Jehangir, Aurungzéb. The most brilliant conquests of these monarchs were by their Rajpoot allies; though the little regard the latter had for opinion alienated the sympathies of a race, whom when rightly managed, encountered at command the Afghan amidst the snows of Caucasus, or made the furthest Chersonese tributary to the empire. Assam, where the British arms were recently engaged, and for the issue of which such anxiety was manifested in the metropolis of Britain, was conquered by a Rajpoot prince,⁴ whose descendant is now an ally of the British Government.

But Englishmen in the east, as elsewhere, undervalue everything not national. They have been accustomed to conquest, not reverses: though it is only by studying the character of those around them that the latter can be avoided and this superiority maintained. Superficial observers imagine that from lengthened predatory spoliation the energy of the Rajpoot has fled: an idea which is at once erroneous and dangerous. The vices now manifest from oppression will disappear with the cause, and with reviving prosperity new feelings will be generated, and each national tie and custom be strengthened. The Rajpoot would glory in putting on

¹ Abul Fuzil uses this expression when moralising on the fall of Shabudin, king of Ghizni and first established monarch of India, slain by Pirthwirájá, the Hindu sovereign of Dehli.

² The Rajpoot, who possesses but an acre of land, has the proud feeling of common origin with his sovereign, and in styling him *bapjee* (sire), he thinks of him as the common father or representative of the race. What a powerful incentive to action!

³ Aurungzéb.

⁴ Raja Maun of Jeipoor, who took Aracan, Orissa, and Assam. Raja Jeswunt Sing of Marwar retook Caubul for Aurungzéb, and was rewarded by poison. Raja Ram Sing Hara, of Kotah, made several important conquests; and his grandson, Raja Essuree Sing, and his five brothers, were left on one field of battle.

his saffron robes ¹ to fight for such a land, and for those who disinterestedly laboured to benefit it.

Let us, then, apply history to its proper use. We need not turn to ancient Rome for illustration of the dangers inseparable from wide dominion and extensive alliances. The twenty-two Satrapies of India, the greater part of which are now the appanage of Britain, exhibited, even a century ago, one of the most splendid monarchies history has made known, too extensive for the genius of any single individual effectually to control. Yet was it held together, till encroachment on their rights, and disregard to their habits and religious opinions, alienated the Rajpoots, and excited the inhabitants of the south to rise against their Mogul oppressors. Then was the throne of Aurungzéb at the mercy of a Brahmin, and the grandson ² of a cultivator in the province of Candeish held the descendants of Timoor pensioners on his bounty !

¹ When a Rajpoot is determined to hold out to the last in fighting, he always puts on a robe dyed in saffron.

² Sindia.

APPENDIX

PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE SKETCH OF A FEUDAL
SYSTEM IN RAJAST'HAN

BEING

LITERAL TRANSLATIONS *from* INSCRIPTIONS *and* ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,
most of which are in the AUTHOR'S POSSESSION

No. I.

*Translation of a Letter from the expatriated Chiefs¹ of Marwar to the Political
Agent of the British Government, Western Rajpoot States.*

After compliments.

We have sent to you a confidential person, who will relate what regards us. The Sirkar company are sovereigns of Hindust'han, and you know well all that regards our condition. Although there is nothing which respects either ourselves or our country hid from you, yet is there matter immediately concerning us which it is necessary to make known.

Sri Maharaja and ourselves are of one stock, all Rahtores. He is our head, we his servants: but now anger has seized him, and we are dispossessed of our country. Of the estates, our patrimony and our dwelling, some have been made khalisa,² and those who endeavour to keep aloof expect the same fate. Some under the most solemn pledge of security have been inveigled and suffered death, and others imprisoned. Moot-suddies,³ officers of state, men of the soil and those foreign to it, have been seized, and the most unheard-of deeds and cruelties inflicted, which we cannot even write. Such a spirit has possessed his mind as never was known to any former prince of Jodpoor. His forefathers have reigned for generations; our forefathers were their ministers and advisers, and whatever was performed was by the collective wisdom of the council of our chiefs. Before the face of his ancestors, our own ancestors have slain and been slain; and in performing services to the kings,⁴ they made the state of Jodpoor what it is. Wherever Marwar was concerned, there our fathers were to be found, and with their lives preserved the land. Sometimes our head was a minor; even then by the wisdom of our fathers and their services, the land was kept firm under our feet, and thus has it descended from generation to generation. Before his eyes (Raja Maun's) we have performed good service: when at that perilous time the host of Jeipoor⁵ surrounded Jodpoor, on the field we attacked it; our lives and fortunes were at stake, and God granted us success; the witness is God

¹ The names omitted to prevent any of them falling a sacrifice to the blind fury of their prince. The brave chief of Nîmaj has sold his life, but dearly. In vain do we look in the annals of Europe for such devotion and generous despair as marked his end, and that of his brave clan. He was a perfect gentleman in deportment, modest and mild, and head of a powerful clan.

² Fiscal, that is, sequestered.

³ Clerks, and inferior officers of government.

⁴ Alluding to the sovereigns of Dehli. In the magnificent feudal assemblage at this gorgeous court, where seventy-six princes stood in the Divan (*Dewan Khas*) each by a pillar covered with plates of silver, the Marwar prince had the right hand of all. I have an original letter from the great-grandfather of Raja Maun to the Rana, elate with this honour.

⁵ In 1806.

Almighty. Now, men of no consideration are in our prince's presence ; hence this reverse. *When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord ; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land.*

He desires to dispossess us ; but can we let ourselves be dispossessed ? The English are masters of all India. The chief of — sent his agent to Ajmér ; he was told to go to Dehli. Accordingly T'hacoor — went there, but no path was pointed out. If the English chiefs will not hear us, who will ? The English allow no one's lands to be usurped, and our birth-place is Marwar—from Marwar we must have bread. A hundred thousand Rahtores—where are they to go to ? From respect to the English alone have we been so long patient, and without acquainting your government of our intentions, you might afterwards find fault ; therefore we make it known, and we thereby acquit ourselves to you. What we brought with us from Marwar we have consumed, and even what we could get on credit ; and now, when want must make us perish, we are ready and can do anything.¹

The English are our rulers, our masters. Sri Maun Sing has seized our lands ; by your government interposing these troubles may be settled, but without its guarantee and intervention we can have no confidence whatever. Let us have a reply to our petition. We will wait it in patience ; but if we get none, the fault will not be ours, having given everywhere notice. Hunger will compel man to find a remedy. For such a length of time we have been silent from respect to your government alone : our own Sirkar is deaf to complaint. But to what extreme shall we wait ? Let our hopes be attended to. Sumbut 1878, Sawun sood dooj. (August 1821.)

True Translation :

(Signed) JAMES TOD.

No. II.

Remonstrance of the Sub-Vassals of Deogurh against their chief, Rawut Gokul Das.

1. He respects not the privileges or customs established of old.
2. To each Rajpoot's house a churras² or hide of land was attached : this he has resumed.
3. Whoever bribes him is a true man : who does not, is a thief.
4. Ten or twelve villages established by his puttaéts³ he has resumed, and left their families to starve.
5. From time immemorial sanctuary (*sirnah*) has been esteemed sacred : this he has abolished.
6. On emergencies he would pledge his oath to his subjects (*ryots*), and afterwards plunder them.
7. In old times, it was customary when the presence of his chiefs and kindred was required, to invite them by letter : a fine is now the warrant of summons : thus lessening their dignity.
8. Such messengers, in former times, had a tacka⁴ for their ration (*bhatta*) ; now he imposes two rupees.

¹ The historian of the Middle Ages justly remarks, that "the most deadly hatred is that which men, exasperated by proscription and forfeitures, bear their country."

² Hide or skin, from the vessel used in irrigation being made of leather.

³ The vassals, or those holding fiefs (*putta*) of Deogurh.

⁴ A copper coin, equal to twopence.

9. Formerly, when robberies occurred in the mountains within the limits of Deogurh, the loss was made good : now all complaint is useless, for his foudjar¹ receives a fourth of all such plunder. The Mers² range at liberty ; but before they never committed murder : now they slay as well as rob our kin ; nor is there any redress, and such plunder is even sold within the town of Deogurh.

10. Without crime, he resumes the lands of his vassals for the sake of imposition of fines ; and after such are paid, he cuts down the green crops, with which he feeds his horses.

11. The cultivators³ on the lands of the vassals he seizes by force, extorts fines, or sells their cattle to pay them. Thus cultivation is ruined and the inhabitants leave the country.

12. From oppression the town magistrates⁴ of Deogurh have fled to Raepoor. He lays in watch to seize and extort money from them.

13. When he summons his vassals for purposes of extortion and they escape his clutches, he seizes on their wives and families. Females, from a sense of honour, have on such occasions thrown themselves into wells.

14. He interferes to recover old debts, distraining the debtor of all he has in the world : half he receives.

15. If any one have a good horse, by fair means or foul he contrives to get it.

16. When Deogurh was established, at the same time were our allotments : as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony.⁵ Thousands have been expended in establishing and improving them, yet our rank, privileges, and rights he equally disregards.

17. From these villages, founded by our forefathers, he, at will, takes four or five skins of land and bestows them on foreigners ; and thus the ancient proprietors are reduced to poverty and ruin.

18. From of old, all his Rajpoot kin had daily rations, or portions of grain : for four years these rights have been abolished.

19. From ancient times the puttaéts formed his council ; now he consults only foreigners. What has been the consequence ? the whole annual revenue derived from the mountains is lost.

20. From the ancient Bhoom⁶ of the Frerage⁷ the mountaineers carry off the cattle, and instead of redeeming them, this foudjar sets the plunderers up to the trick of demanding rekwalee.⁸

21. Money is justice, and there is none other : whoever has money may be heard. The bankers and merchants have gone abroad for protection, but he asks not where they are.

22. When cattle are driven off to the hills, and we do ourselves justice and recover them, we are fined, and told that the mountaineers have his pledge. Thus our dignity is lessened. Or if we seize one of these marauders, a party is sent to liberate him, for which the foudjar receives a bribe. Then a feud ensues at the instigation of the liberated Mër, and the unsupported Rajpoot is obliged to abandon his patrimony.⁹ There is

¹ Military commander ; a kind of inferior *maire du palais*, on every Rajpoot chieftain's estate, and who has the military command of the vassals. He is seldom of the same family, but generally of another tribe.

² Mountaineers.

³ Of the Jit and other labouring tribes.

⁴ Chohutias, from *chohut*, 'civil jurisdiction.' In every town there is an unpaid magistracy, of which the head is the Nuggur Sét'h, or chief citizen, and the four Chotias, tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who hold their courts and decide in all civil cases.

⁵ Here are the precise sentiments embodied in the remonstrances of the great feudal chiefs of Marwar to their prince ; see Appendix, No. I.

⁶ The old allodial allotments.

⁷ Bhyád.

⁸ The *salvamenta* of our feudal writers ; the *black-mail* of the north.

⁹ 'Wuttun.'

neither protection nor support. The chief is supine, and so regardless of honour, that he tells us to take money to the hills and redeem our property. Since this foudar had power, 'poison has been our fate.' Foreigners are all in all, and the home-bred are set aside. Dekhanis and plunderers enjoy the lands of his brethren. Without fault, the chiefs are deprived of their lands, to bring which into order time and money have been lavished. Justice there is none.

Our rights and privileges in his family are the same as his in the family of the Presence.¹ Since you² entered Méwar, lands long lost have been recovered. What crimes have we committed that at this day we should lose ours?

We are in great trouble.³

No. III.

Maharaja Sri Gokul Das to the four ranks (*char misal*) of Puttaéts of Deogurh, commanding. Peruse.

Without crime no vassal shall have his estate or chursas disseized. Should any individual commit an offence, it shall be judged by the *four ranks* (*chár misal*), my brethren, and then punished. Without consulting them on all occasions I shall never inflict punishment.⁴ To this I swear by Sri Nat'hjee. No departure from this agreement shall ever occur. S. 1874; the 6th Paush.

No. IV.

Grant from Maharana Ur Sing, Prince of Méwar, to the Sindie Chief, Abdool Ruhm Beg.

Ramji !⁵

Gunésji !⁵

Eklingji !⁵

Sri Maharaja Dhéraj Maharana Ur Sing to Mirza Abdool Ruhm Beg Adilbégoite, commanding.

Now some of our chiefs having rebelled and set up the impostor Rutna Sing, brought the Dekhany army and erected batteries against Oodipoor, in which circumstances your services have been great and tended to the preservation of our sovereignty : therefore, in favour towards you, I have made this grant, which your children and children's children shall continue to enjoy. You will continue to serve faithfully ; and whoever of

¹ The Rana.

² The Author.

³ With the articles of complaint of the vassals of Deogurh and the short extorted charter, to avoid future cause for such, we may contrast the following :— " Pour avoir une idée du brigandage que les nobles exerçaient à l'époque où les premières chartes furent accordées, il suffit d'en lire quelques-unes, et l'on verra que le seigneur y disait :— Je promets de ne point *voler, extorquer* les biens et les meubles des habitans, de les délivrer des *tôtes* ou *rapines*, et autres *mauvaises coutumes*, et de ne plus commettre envers eux d'exactions.—En effet, dans ces tems malheureux, vivres, meubles, chevaux, voitures, dit le savant Abbé de Mably, tout était enlevé par l'insatiable et aveugle avidité des seigneurs."—Art. " Chartes," *Dict. de l'anc. Régime*.

⁴ This reply to the remonstrance of his vassals is perfectly similar in point to the 43rd article of *Magna Charta*.

⁵ Invocations to Ram, Gunés (god of wisdom), and Eklinga, the patron-divinity of the Sesodia Gehlotes.

my race shall dispossess you or yours, on him be Eklingji and the sin of the slaughter of Chectore.

Particulars.

- 1st. In estates, 200,000 rupees.
- 2nd. In cash annually, 25,000.
- 3rd. Lands outside the Debarri gate, 10,000.
- 4th. As a residence, the dwelling-house called Bharat Sing's.
- 5th. A hundred beegas of land outside the city for a garden.
- 6th. The town of Mittoon in the valley, to supply wood and forage.
- 7th. To keep up the tomb of Ajméri Bég, who fell in action, one hundred beegas of land.

Privileges and Honours.

- 8th. A seat in Durbar and rank in all respects equal to the chieftain of Sadree.¹
- 9th. Your kettle-drums (Nakarra) to beat to the exterior gate, but with one stick only.
- 10th. Umr Bulaona,² and a dress of honour on the Dusréwa³ festival.
- 11th. Drums to beat to Ahar. All other privileges and rank like the house of Saloombra.⁴ Like that house, yours shall be from generation to generation; therefore according to the valuation of your grant you will serve.
- 12th. Your brothers or servants, whom you may dismiss, I shall not entertain or suffer my chief to entertain.
- 13th. The Chaours⁵ and Kirnia⁶ you may use at all times when alone, but never in the presence.
- 14th. Munowur Bég, Unwur Bég, Chumun Bég, are permitted seats in front of the throne; Umr Bulaona, and honorary dresses on Dusréwa, and seats for two or three other relatives who may be found worthy the honour.
- 15th. Your agent (*Vakeel*) shall remain at court with the privileges due to his rank.

By command :

SAH MOOTIE RAM BOLIA,

S. 1826 (A.D. 1770) Bhadoon (August) sood 11 Somwar (Monday).

No. V.

Grant of the Putla of Bhynsrore to Rawut Lal Sing, one of the sixteen great vassals of Méwar.

Maharaja Juggut Sing to Rawut Lal Sing Kesurisingote,⁷ commanding. Now to you the whole Pergunna of Bhynsrore⁸ is granted as *Gras*, viz. :

| | | |
|---|--------|---------------------|
| Town of Bhynsrore | 3,000 | 1,500 |
| Fifty-two others (names uninteresting), besides one in the valley of the capital. Total value | 62,000 | 31,000 ⁹ |

¹ The first of the foreign vassals of the Rana's house.

² A horse furnished by the prince, always replaced when he dies, therefore called *Umr*, or immortal.

³ The grand military festival, when a muster is made of all the Rajpoot quotas.

⁴ The first of the home-chieftains.

⁵ The tail of the wild ox, worn across the saddle-bow.

⁶ An umbrella or shade against the sun; from *kirn*, 'a ray.'

⁷ Clan (*gote*) of Kesuri Sing, one of the great branches of the Chondawants.

⁸ On the left bank of the Chumbul.

⁹ To explain these double *rêkhs*, or estimates, one is the full value, the other the deteriorated rate.

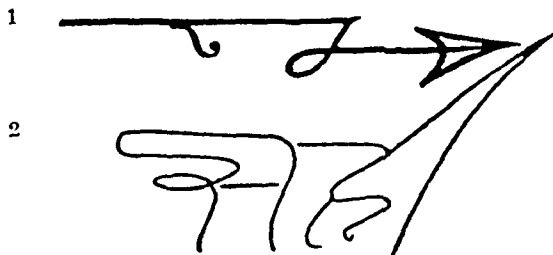
With two hundred and forty-eight horse and two hundred and forty-eight foot, good horse and good Rajpoots, you will perform service. Of this, forty-eight horse and forty-eight foot are excused for the protection of your fort; therefore with two hundred foot and two hundred horse you will serve when and wherever ordered. The first grant was given in Pos, S. 1798, when the income inserted was over-rated. Understanding this, the presence (t'huzoor) ordered sixty thousand of annual value to be attached to Bhynsrore.

No. VI.

Grant from Maharana Singram Sing of Mēwar to his Nephew, the Prince Madhú Sing, heir apparent to the principality of Jeipoor.

SRI RAMJEYTI.

(Victory to Rama).

SRI GUNÉS PRESAD
(By favour of Gunés).SRI EKLING PRESAD
(By favour of Eklinga).

Maharaja Dhéraj Maharana Sri Singram Sing, Adesatoo, commanding. To my nephew, Komar Madhú Sing-ji, *gras* (a fief) has been granted, viz.:

The fief (*putta*) of Rampoorā; therefore, with one thousand horse and two thousand foot, you will perform service during six months annually; and when foreign service is required, three thousand foot and three thousand horse.

While the power of the presence is maintained in these districts you will not be dispossessed.

By command :

PANCHOULI RAECHUND and MEHTA MUL DAS.

S. 1785 (A.D. 1729); Cheit-sood 7th (); Mungulwar (Tuesday).

Addressed in the Rana's own hand.

To my nephew Madhú Sing.³ My child, I have given you Rampoorā : while mine, you shall not be deprived of it. Done.

No. VII.

Grant of Bhom Rekwali (Salvamenta) from the village of Dongla to Maharaja Khooshial Sing.

S. 1806 (A.D. 1750), the first of Sawun (July).

1st. A field of one hundred and fifty-one beegas, of which thirty-six are irrigated.

2nd. One hundred and two beegas of waste and unirrigated, viz. :

Six beegas cultivated by Govinda the oilman.

Three, under Heera and Tara the oilmen.

Seventeen cultivated by the mason Hunso, and Lal the oilman.

¹ The b'hala, or lance, is the sign-manual of the Saloombra chieftain, as hereditary premier of the state.

² Is a monogram forming the word *Suhaie*, being the sign-manual of the prince.

³ *Bhanaij* is sister's son; as *Bhatija* is brother's son. It will be seen in the Annals, that to support this prince to the succession of the Jeipoor Gadi, both Mēwar and Jeipoor were ruined, and the power of the Dekhanvs established in both countries.

Four beegas of waste and forest land (*purte, ariyana*) which belonged to Govinda and Heera, etc., etc.; and so on enumerating all the fields composing the above aggregate.

Dues and Privileges.

Pieces of money 12
 Grain 24 maunds.
 On the festivals of Rakhi, Dewalee, and Hooli, one copper coin from each house.
 Seeranoh at harvest.
 Sookrie from the Brahmins.
 Transit duties for protection of merchandise, viz., a pice on every cart-load, and half a pice for each bullock.
 Two platters on every marriage feast.

No. VIII.

Grant of Bhom by the Inhabitants of Amlee to Rawut Futteh Sing of Amait.
 S. 1814 (A.D. 1758).

The Ranawuts Sawunt Sing and Sobagh Sing had Amlee in grant; but they were oppressive to the inhabitants, slew the patéls Joda and Bhaggi, and so ill-treated the Brahmins, that Koosul and Nat'hoo sacrificed themselves on the pyre. The inhabitants demanded the protection of the Rana, and the puttaéts were changed; and now the inhabitants grant in rekwalee one hundred and twenty-five beegas as bhom to Futteh Sing.¹

No. IX.

Grant of Bhom by the Inhabitants of the Town of Dongla to Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, of Bheendir.

To Sri Maharaja Zoorawur Sing, the patéls, traders, merchants, brahmins, and united inhabitants of Dongla, make agreement.

Formerly the "runners" in Dongla were numerous: to preserve us from whom we granted bhom to the Maharaja. To wit:

One well, that of Heera the oilman.

One well, that of Deepa the oilman.

One well, that of Déwa the oilman.

In all, three wells, being forty-four beegas of irrigated (*peewul*), and one hundred and ninety-one beegas of unirrigated (*mál*) land. Also a field for jooar.

Customs or Dignities (Murjád) attached to the Bhom.

1st. A dish (*khansa*) on every marriage.

2nd. Six hundred rupees ready cash annually.

3rd. All *bhomias*, *grasias*, the high roads, passes from raids and "runners," and all disturbances whatsoever, the Maharaja must settle.

¹ This is a proof of the value attached to bhom, when granted by the inhabitants, as the first act of the new proprietor though holding the whole town from the crown, was to obtain these few beegas as bhom. After having been sixty years in that family, Amlee has been resumed by the crown: the bhom has remained with the chief.

When the Maharaja is pleased to let the inhabitants of Dongla re-inhabit their dwellings, then only can they return to them.¹

Written by the accountant Kutchia, on the full moon of Jeit, S. 1858, and signed by all the traders, brahmins, and towns-people.

No. X.

Grant of Bhom by the Prince of Méwar to an inferior Vassal.

Maharana Bheem Sing to Baba Ram Sing, commanding.

Now a field of two hundred and twenty-five beegas in the city of Jehajpoor, with the black orchard (*sham bagh*) and a farm-house (*nohara*) for cattle, has been granted you in bhom.

Your forefathers recovered for me Jehajpoor and served with fidelity; on which account this bhom is renewed. Rest assured no molestation shall be offered, nor shall any puttaët interfere with you.

Privileges.

One secranoh.²

Two hulmohs.

Offerings of cocoa-nuts on the Holi and Dusréwa festivals.

From every hundred bullock-loads⁴ of merchandise, twelve annas.

From every hundred and twenty-five ass-loads, six annas.

From each horse sold within Jehajpoor, two annas.

From each camel sold, one anna.

From each oil-mill, one puloh.

From each iron mine (*madri*), a quarter rupee.

From each distillation of spirits, a quarter rupee.

From each goat slain, one pice.

On births and marriages,⁵ five platters (*khansa*).

¹ This shows how bhom was extorted in these periods of turbulence, and that this individual gift was as much to save them from the effects of the Maharaja's violence as to gain protection from that of others.

² A seer on each maund of produce.

³ The labour of two ploughs (*hul*). *Hulmoh* is the personal service of the husbandman with his plough for such time as is specified. *Hulmoh* is precisely the detested *corvée* of the French régime. "Les *corvées* sont tout ouvrage ou service, soit de corps ou de charrois et bêtes, pendant le jour, qui est dû à un seigneur. Il y avait deux sortes de *corvées*: les réelles et les personnelles, etc. Quelquefois le nombre des *corvées* était fixé: mais, le plus souvent, elles étaient à volonté du seigneur, et c'est ce qu'on appelait *corvées à merci*."—Art. "Corvée," *Dict. de l'anc. Régime*. Almost all the exactions for the last century in Méwar may come under this latter denomination.

⁴ A great variety of oppressive imposts were levied by the chiefs during these times of trouble, to the destruction of commerce and all facility of travelling. Everything was subject to tax, and a long train of vexatious dues exacted for "repairs of forts, boats at ferries, night-guards, guards of passes," and other appellations, all having much in common with the "Droit de Pêage" in France. "Il n'y avait pas de ponts, de gués, de chaussées, d'écluses, de défilés, de portes, etc., où les féodaux ne fissent payer un droit à ceux que leurs affaires ou leur commerce forçaient de voyager."—*Dict. de l'anc. Régime*.

⁵ The privileges of our Rajpoot chieftains on the marriages of their vassals and cultivating subjects are confined to the best dishes of the marriage feast or a pecuniary commutation. This is, however, though in a minor degree, one of the vexatious claims of feudality of the French system, known under the term *noçages*, where the seigneur or his deputy presided, and had the right to be placed in front of the bride, "et de chanter à la fin du repas, une chanson guillerette." But they even carried their insolence further, and "poussèrent leur mépris

The handful (*eech*) from every basket of greens.
With every other privilege attached to bhom.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|-------------|
| Irrigated land (<i>peewul</i>) | . | . | . | 51 beegas. |
| Unirrigated „ (<i>mál</i>) | . | . | . | 110 „ |
| Mountain „ (<i>mugro</i>) | . | . | . | 40 „ |
| Meadow „ (<i>beera</i>) | . | . | . | 25 „ |
| | | | | 226 beegas. |

Asar (June) S. 1853 (A.D. 1797).

No. XI.

Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted to the town of Jhalra Patun, engraved on a Pillar in that City.

S. 1853 (A.D. 1797), corresponding with the Saka 1718, the sun being in the south, the season of cold, and the happy month of Kartika,¹ the enlightened half of the month, being Monday the full moon.

Maharaja Dheraj Sri Omeid Sing Deo,² the Foujdar³ Raj Zalim Sing and Komar Madhu Sing, commanding. To all the inhabitants of Jhalra Patun, Patéls,⁴ Putwarries,⁵ Mahajins,⁶ and to all the thirty-six castes, it is written.

At this period entertain entire confidence, build and dwell.

Within this abode all forced contributions and confiscations are for ever abolished. The taxes called Bulmunsie,⁷ Annie,⁸ and Rék Burrar,⁹ and likewise all Bhét-Bégar,¹⁰ shall cease.

To this intent is this stone erected, to hold good from year to year, now and evermore. There shall be no violence in this territory. This is sworn by the cow to the Hindu and the hog to the Mussulman : in the presence of Captain Dellil Khan, Choudree Saroop Chund, Patél Lallo, the Mahésri Patwarri Balkishen, the architect Kaloo Ram, and the stone-mason Balkishen.

Purmoh¹¹ is for ever abolished. Whoever dwells and traffics within the town of Patun, one half of the transit duties usually levied in Haravati are remitted ; and all mauppa (meter's) duties are for ever abolished.

No. XII.

Abolitions, Immunities, Prohibitions, etc., etc. Inscription in the Temple of Latchmi Narrain at Akola.

In former times tobacco was sold in one market only. Rana Raj Sing commanded the monopoly to be abolished. S. 1645.

pour les villains (the agricultural classes of the Rajpoot system) jusqu'à exiger que leurs chiens eussent leur couvert auprès de la mariée, et qu'on les laissât manger sur la table."—Art. "Noçages," *Dict. de l'anc. Régime*.

¹ December.

² The Raja of Kotah.

³ Commander of the forces and regent of Kotah.

⁴ Officers of the land revenue.

⁵ Land accountants.

⁶ The mercantile class.

⁷ Literally 'good behaviour.'

⁸ An agricultural tax.

⁹ Tax for registering.

¹⁰ This includes in one word the forced labour exacted from the working classes : the *corvée* of the French system.

¹¹ Grain thrown on the inhabitants at an arbitrary rate ; often resorted to at Kotah, where the regent is farmer general.

Rana Juggut Sing prohibited the seizure of the cots and quilts by the officers of his government from the printers of Akola.

No. XIII.

Privileges and Immunities granted to the Printers of Calico and Inhabitants of the Town of Great Akola in Méwar.

Maharana Bheem Sing, commanding, to the inhabitants of Great Akola.

Whereas the village has been abandoned from the assignments levied by the garrison of Mandelgurh, and it being demanded of its population how it could again be rendered prosperous, they unanimously replied : " Not to exact beyond the dues and contributions (*dind dor*) established of yore ; to erect the pillar promising never to exact above half the produce of the crops, or to molest the persons of those who thus paid their dues."

The Presence agreed, and this pillar has been erected. May Eklinga look to him who breaks this command. The hog to the Mussulman and the cow to the Hindu.

Whatever contributions (*dind*) purmoh,¹ poolee,² heretofore levied shall be paid.

All crimes committed within the jurisdiction of Akola to be tried by its inhabitants, who will sit in justice on the offender and fine him according to his faults.

On Amavus³ no work shall be done at the well⁴ or at the oil-mill, nor printer put his dye-pot on the fire.⁵

Whoever breaks the foregoing, may the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore be upon him.

This pillar was erected in the presence of Mehta Sirdar Sing, Sawul Das, the Choudries Bhoput Ram and Doulut Ram, and the assembled Punch of Akola.

Written by the Choudrie Bhopji, and engraved by the stone-cutter Bheema.

S. 1856 (A.D. 1800).

No. XIV.

Prohibition against Guests carrying away Provisions from the Public Feast.⁶

Sri Maharana Singram Sing to the inhabitants of Mirmi.

On all feasts of rejoicing, as well as those on the ceremonies for the

¹ Grain, the property of the government, thrown on the inhabitants for purchase at an arbitrary valuation.

² The handful from each sheaf at harvest.

³ A day sacred to the Hindu, being that which divides the month.

⁴ Meaning, they shall not irrigate the fields.

⁵ This part of the edict is evidently the instigation of the Jains, to prevent the destruction of life, though only that of insects.

⁶ The cause of this sumptuary edict was a benevolent motive, and to prevent the expenses on these occasions falling too heavily on the poorer classes. It was customary for the women to carry away under their petticoats (*ghagra*) sufficient sweetmeats for several days' consumption. The great Jey Sing of Amér had an ordinance restricting the number of guests to fifty-one on these occasions, and prohibited to all but the four wealthy classes the use of sugar-candy : the others were confined to the use of molasses and brown sugar. To the lower vassals and the cultivators these feasts were limited to the coarser fare ; to joar flour, greens and oil. A dyer who on the Hooli feasted his friends with sweetmeats of fine

dead, none shall carry away with them the remains of the feast. Whoever thus transgresses shall pay a fine to the crown of one hundred and one rupees. S. 1769 (A.D. 1713), Cheit Sood 7th.

No. XV.

Maharana Singram Sing to the merchants and bankers of Bákrole.

The custom of furnishing quilts (*see-rak*)¹ of which you complain, is of ancient date. Now when the collectors of duties, their officers, or those of the land revenue stop at Bákrole, the merchants will furnish them with beds and quilts. All other servants will be supplied by the other inhabitants.

Should the dam of the lake be in any way injured, whoever does not aid in its repair shall, as a punishment, feed one hundred and one Brahmins. Asar 1715, or June A.D. 1659.

No. XVI.

Warrant of the Chief of Bijolli to his Vassal, Gopal Das Suktawut.

Maharaja Mandhata to Suktawut Gopal Das, be it known.

At this time a daily fine of four rupees is in force against you. Eighty are now due; Gunga Ram having petitioned in your favour, forty of this will be remitted. Give a written declaration to this effect—that with a specified quota you will take the field; if not, you will stand the consequences.

Viz.: One good horse and one matchlock, with appurtenances complete, to serve at home and abroad (*dés purdés*), and to run the country² with the Khér.

sugar and scattered about balls made of brown sugar, was fined five thousand rupees for setting so pernicious an example. The *sád*, or marriage present, from the bridegroom to the bride's father, was limited to fifty-one rupees. The great sums previously paid on this score were preventives of matrimony. Many other wholesome regulations of a much more important kind, especially those for the suppression of infanticide, were instituted by this prince.

¹ 'Defence against the cold weather' (*see*). This in the ancient French régime came under the denomination of "*Albergie* ou Hébergement, un droit royal. Par exemple, ce ne fut qu'après le règne de Saint Louis, et moyennant finances, que les habitants de Paris et de Corbeil s'affranchirent, les premiers de fournir au roi et à sa suite de bons oreillers et d'excellens lits de plumes, tant qu'il séjournait dans leur ville, et les seconds de le régaler quand il passait par leur bourg."

² The '*douraéts*' or runners, the term applied to the bands who swept the country with their forays in those periods of general confusion, are analogous to the armed bands of the Middle Ages, who in a similar manner desolated Europe under the term *routiers*, tantamount to our *raburs* (on the road), the *laburs* of the Pindarries in India. The Rajpoot *douraét* has as many epithets as the French *routier*, who were called '*escorcheurs*, *tard veneurs* (of which class Gopal Das appears to have been), *mille-diabls*, *Guilleries*, etc.

From the Crusades to the sixteenth century, the nobles of Europe, of whom these bands were composed (like our Rajpoots), abandoned themselves to this sort of life; who, to use the words of the historian, "préfèrent la vie vagabonde à laquelle ils s'étoient accoutumés; dans le camp, à retourner cultiver leurs champs. C'est alors que se formèrent ces bandes qu'on vit parcourir le royaume et étendre sur toutes les provinces le fléau de leurs inclinations destructives, répandre partout léffroi, la misère, le deuil et le désespoir; mettre les villes à contribution, piller et incendier les villages, égorger les laboureurs, et se livrer à des accès de cruauté qui font frémir."—*Dict. de l'ancien régime et des abus féodaux*, art. "Routier," p. 422.

We have this apology for the Rajpoot *routiers*, that the nobles of Europe had

When the levy (*khér*) takes the field, Gopal Das must attend in person. Should he be from home, his retainers must attend, and they shall receive rations from the presence.

Sawun sood dos (August 10) S. 1782.

No. XVII.

Maharaja Odykurn to the Suktawut Simboo Sing. Be it known.

I had annexed Gooroh to the fisc, but now, from favour, restore it to you. Make it flourish, and serve me at home and abroad, with one horse, and one foot soldier.

When abroad you shall receive rations (*bhatta*) as follows :—

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|--|
| Flour | . | . | 3 lb. |
| Pulse | . | . | 4 ounces. |
| Butter (<i>ghce</i>) | . | . | 2 pice weight. |
| Horses' feed | . | . | 4 seers at 22 takas each seer. of daily allowance. |

If for defence of the fort you are required, you will attend with all your dependents, and bring your wife, family, and chattels ; for which, you will be exempted from two years of subsequent service.

Asar 14, S. 1834.

No. XVIII.

Bhoom in Moond-kati, or Compensation for Blood, to Jait Sing Chondawut.

The Patél's son went to bring home his wife with Jait's Rajpoots as a guard. The party was attacked, the guard killed, and there having been no redress for the murder, twenty-six beegas have been granted in moond-kati ¹ (compensation).

No. XIX.

Rawut Megh Sing to his natural brother, Jumna Das, a putta (*fief*) has been granted, viz. :

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|--------|-----|
| The village of Rajpoora, value | . | . | . | Rupces | 401 |
| A garden of mogra flower | . | . | . | | 1,1 |

Rupces . . . 412

Serve at home and abroad with fidelity : contributions and aids pay according to custom, and as do the rest of the vassals. Jait 14th, S. 1874.

No. XX.

Charter given by the Rana of Méwar, accepted and signed by all his Chiefs ; defining the duties of the contracting Parties. A.D. 1818.

Sid Sri Maharana Dhéraj, Maharana Bheem Sing, to all the nobles my brothers and kin, Rajas, Patéls, Jhalas, Chohans, Chondawuts, Powars, Sarangdeots, Suktawuts, Rahtores, Ranawuts, etc., etc.

not ; they were driven to it by perpetual aggressions of invaders. I invariably found that the reformed *routier* was one of the best subjects : it secured him from indolence, the parent of all Rajpoot vices.

¹ *Moond*, 'the head' ; *kati*, 'cut.'

Now, since S. 1822 (A.D. 1776), during the reign of Sri Ur Sing-ji,¹ when the troubles commenced, laying ancient usages aside, undue usurpations of the land have been made: therefore on this day, Bysák badi 14th, S. 1874 (A.D. 1818), the Maharana assembling all his chiefs, lays down the path of duty in new ordinances.

1st. All lands belonging to the crown obtained since the troubles, and all lands seized by one chief from another, shall be restored.

2nd. All Rekwali,² Bhom, Lagut,³ established since the troubles, shall be renounced.

3rd. Dhan,⁴ Biswo,⁵ the right of the crown alone, shall be renounced.

4th. No chiefs shall commit thefts or violence within the boundaries of their estates. They shall entertain no Thugs,⁶ foreign thieves or thieves of the country, as Mogees,⁶ Baories,⁶ Thories :⁶ but those who shall adopt peaceful habits may remain ; but should any return to their old pursuits, their heads shall instantly be taken off. All property stolen shall be made good by the proprietor of the estate within the limits of which it is plundered.

5th. Home or foreign merchants, traders, Kaffilas,⁷ Bunjarries,⁸ who enter the country, shall be protected. In no wise shall they be molested or injured, and whoever breaks this ordinance, his estate shall be confiscated.

6th. According to command, at home or abroad service must be performed. Four divisions (*chokies*) shall be formed of the chiefs, and each division shall remain three months in attendance at court, when they shall be dismissed to their estates. Once a year, on the festival of the Dosérá,⁹ all the chiefs shall assemble with their quotas ten days previous thereto; and twenty days subsequent they shall be dismissed to their estates. On urgent occasions, and whenever their services are required, they shall repair to the Presence.

7th. Every Puttawut holding a separate putta from the Presence, shall perform separate service. They shall not unite or serve under the greater Puttawuts : and the sub-vassals of all such chiefs shall remain with and serve their immediate Puttawut.¹⁰

8th. The Maharana shall maintain the dignities due to each chief according to his degree.

9th. The Ryots shall not be oppressed : there shall be no new exactions or arbitrary fines. This is ordained.

10th. What has been executed by Thacoor Ajeet Sing and sanctioned by the Rana, to this all shall agree.¹¹

11th. Whosoever shall depart from the foregoing, the Maharana shall punish. In doing so the fault will not be the Rana's. Whoever fails, on him be the oath (*an*) of Eklinga and the Maharana.

[Here follow the signatures of all the chieftains of rank in Méwar, which it is needless to insert.]

¹ The rebellion broke out during the reign of this prince.

² Salvamenta.

³ Dues.

⁴ Transit duty.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Different descriptions of thieves.

⁷ Caravans of merchandise, whether on camels, bullocks or in carts.

⁸ Caravans of bullocks, chiefly for the transport of grain and salt.

⁹ On this festival the muster of all the feudal retainers is taken by the Rana in person, and honorary dresses and dignities are bestowed.

¹⁰ This article had become especially necessary, as the inferior chiefs, particularly those of the third class, had amalgamated themselves with the head of their clans, to whom they had become more accountable than to their prince.

¹¹ This alludes to the treaty which this chief had formed, as the ambassador of the Rana, with the British Government.

ANNALS OF MÉWAR

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Gehlote princes of Méwar—Authorities—Keneksén the founder of the present dynasty—His descent from Rama—He emigrates to Saurashtra—Balabhipoora—Its sack and destruction by the Huns or Parthians.

WE now proceed to the history of the states of Rajpootana, and shall commence with the annals of Méwar, and its princes.

These are styled *Ranas*, and are the elder branch of the Sooryavansi, or 'children of the sun.' Another patronymic is Raghoovansi, derived from a predecessor of Rama, the focal point of each scion of the solar race. To him, the conqueror of Lanka,¹ the genealogists endeavour to trace the solar lines. The titles of many of these claimants are disputed; but the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Méwar as the legitimate heir to the throne of Rama, and style him *Hindua Sooraj*, or 'Sun of the Hindus.'² He is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes'; nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent. Many of these tribes³ have been swept away by time; and the genealogist, who abhors a vacuum in his mystic page, fills up their place with others, mere scions of some ancient but forgotten stem.

With the exception of Jessulmér, Méwar is the only dynasty of these races³ which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination, in the same lands where conquest placed them. The Rana still possesses nearly the same extent of territory which his ancestors held when the conqueror from Guzni first crossed the 'blue waters'⁴ of the Indus to invade India; while the other families now ruling in the north-west of Rajast'han are the relics of ancient dynasties driven from their pristine seats of power, or their junior branches, who have erected their own fortunes. This circumstance adds to the dignity of the Ranas, and is the cause of the general homage which they receive, notwithstanding the diminution of their power. Though we cannot give the princes of Méwar an ancestor in the Persian Noshirwan, nor assert so confidently as Sir Thomas Roe his

¹ Said to be Ceylon; an idea scouted by the Hindus, who transfer Lanka to a very distant region.

² This descendant of one hundred kings shows himself in cloudy weather from the *soorya-gokra*, or 'balcony of the sun.'

³ See *History of the Tribes*.

⁴ *Níláb*, from *nil*, 'blue,' and *áb*, 'water'; hence the name of the Nile in Egypt and in India. *Sinde*, or *Sind'hu*, appears to be a Scythian word: *Sin* in the Tatar, *'sin* in Chinese, 'river.' Hence the inhabitants of its higher course termed it *aba sin*, 'parent stream'; and thus, very probably, *Abyssinia* was formed by the Arabians; 'the country on the Nile,' or *aba sin*.

the *Rahmi*, or even the *Rhanæ* of Ozene, to be connected with this family, yet Ptolemy appears to have given the real ancestor in his *Baleocuri*, the Balhara monarchs of the Arabian travellers, the Balabhi-raes of Saurashtra, who were the ancestors of the princes of Méwar.¹

Before we proceed, it is necessary to specify the sources whence materials were obtained for the Annals of Méwar, and to give some idea of the character they merit as historical data.

For many years previous to sojourning at the court of Oodipoor, sketches were obtained of the genealogy of the family from the rolls of the bards. To these was added a chronological sketch, drawn up under the eye of Raja Jey Sing of Ambér, with comments of some value by him, and which served as a ground-work. Free access was also granted to the Rana's library, and permission obtained to make copies of such MSS. as related to his history. The most important of these was the *Khomán Rásá*,² which is evidently a modern work founded upon ancient materials, tracing the genealogy to Rama, and halting at conspicuous beacons in this long line of crowned heads, particularly about the period of the Mahomedan irruption in the tenth century, the sack of Cheetore by Alla-oo-din in the thirteenth century, and the wars of Rana Pertáp with Akber, during whose reign the work appears to have been recast.

The next in importance were the *Raj Vulas*, in the Vrij Bakha, by Mán Kubésvara ;³ and the *Raj Rutnakur*,⁴ by Sudasheo Bhut ; both written in the reign of Rana Raj Sing, the opponent of Arungzéb : also the *Jey Vulas*, written in the reign of Jey Sing, son of Raj Sing. They all commence with the genealogies of the family, introductory to the military exploits of the princes whose names they bear.

The *Mamadéva Prasist'ha* is a copy of the inscriptions⁵ in the temple of 'the Mother of the Gods' at Komulmér. Genealogical rolls of some antiquity were obtained from the widow of an ancient family bard, who had left neither children nor kindred to follow his profession. Another roll was procured from a priest of the Jains residing in Sanderai, in Marwar, whose ancestry had enjoyed from time immemorial the title of *Gooru*, which they held at the period of the sack of Balabhipoora in the fifth century, whence they emigrated simultaneously with the Rana's ancestors. Others were obtained from Jain priests at Jawud in Malwa. Historical documents possessed by several chiefs were readily furnished, and extracts were made from works, both Sanscrit and Persian, which incidentally mention the family. To these were added traditions or biographical anecdotes furnished in conversation by the Rana, or men of intellect amongst his chiefs, ministers, or bards, and inscriptions calculated to reconcile dates ; in short, every corroborating circumstance was treasured

¹ The Balhara kings, and their capital Nehrwalla, or Anhulwarra Putun, have given rise to much conjecture amongst the learned. We shall, before this work is closed, endeavour to condense what has been said by ancient and modern authorities on the subject ; and from manuscripts, ancient inscriptions, and the result of a personal visit to this ancient domain, to set the matter completely at rest.

² *Khoman* is an ancient title of the earlier princes, and still used. It was borne by the son of *Bappa*, the founder, who retired to Transoxiana, and there ruled and died : the very country of the ancient Scythic *Khomani*.

³ Lord of rhyme.

⁴ Sea of gems.

⁵ These inscriptions will be described in the Personal Narrative.

up which could be obtained by incessant research during sixteen years. The Commentaries of Baber and Jehangir, the Institutes of Akber, original grants, public and autograph letters of the emperors of Dehli and their ministers, were made to contribute more or less ; yet, numerous as are the authorities cited, the result may afford but little gratification to the general reader, partly owing to the unpopularity of the subject, partly to the inartificial mode of treating it.

At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Keneksén the founder of this dynasty ; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in S. 201, or A.D. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset ; though it may be premised that Jey Sing, the royal historian and astronomer of Ambér, connects the line with Soomitra (the fifty-sixth descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the contemporary of Vicramaditya, A.C. 56.

The country of which Ayodia (now Oude) was the capital, and Rama monarch, is termed, in the geographical writings of the Hindus, *Koshula* ; doubtless from the mother of Rama, whose name was *Koshulya*. The first royal emigrant from the north is styled, in the Rana's archives, *Koshula-pootra*, 'son of Koshula.'

Rama had two sons, Loh and Cush : from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, the ancient Loh-kote ; and the branch from which the princes of Méwar are descended resided there until Keneksén emigrated to Dwarica. The difficulty of tracing these races through a long period of years is greatly increased by the custom of changing the appellation of the tribe, from conquest, locality, or personal celebrity. *Sén*¹ seems to have been the martial termination for many generations : this was followed by *Dit*, or *Aditya*, a term for the 'sun.' The first change in the name of the tribe was on their expulsion from Saurashtra, when for the generic term of *Sooryavansi* was substituted the particular appellation of *Gehlote*. This name was maintained till another event dispersed the family, and when they settled in Ahar,² *Aharya* became the appellative of the branch. This continued till loss of territory and new acquisitions once more transferred the dynasty to Seesoda,³ a temporary capital in the western mountains. The title of *Ranawut*, borne by all descendants of the blood royal since the eventful change which removed the seat of government from Cheetore to Oodipoor, might in time have superseded that of *Seesodia*, if continued warfare had not checked the increase of population ; but the Gehlote branch of the Sooryavansi still retain the name of *Seesodia*.

Having premised thus much, we must retrograde to the darker ages, through which we shall endeavour to conduct this celebrated dynasty, though the clue sometimes nearly escapes from our hands in these labyrinths of antiquity.⁴ When it is recollected to what violence this family

¹ *Sén*, 'army' ; *kenh*, 'war.'

² *Ahar*, or *Ar*, is in the valley of the present capital, Oodipoor.

³ The origin of this name is from the trivial occurrence of the expelled prince of Cheetore having erected a town to commemorate the spot, where after an extraordinarily hard chase he killed a hare (*sussoo*).

⁴ The wild fable which envelops or adorns the cradle of every illustrious family is not easily disentangled. The bards weave the web with skill, and it clings like ivy round each modern branch, obscuring the aged stem, in the time-worn

has been subjected during the last eight centuries, often dispossessed of all but their native hills and compelled to live on their spontaneous produce, we could scarcely expect that historical records should be preserved. Cheetore was thrice sacked and destroyed, and the existing records are formed from fragments, registers of births and marriages, or from the oral relations of the bards.

By what route Keneksén, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Loh-kote, is uncertain: he, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagara in the second century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards, Vijya Sén, whom the prince of Ambér calls *Noshirwan*, founded Vijyapoor, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of the Saurashtra peninsula. Vidurba was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Seehore. But the most celebrated was the capital, Balabhipoora, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Balbhi, ten miles north-west of Bhownugger. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the *Satroonjya Mahatma*.¹ The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the table-land forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory, which appeals to the 'walls of Balabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Sing opens with these words: "In the west is Sooratdés,² a country well known: the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-ca-nat'h*; ³ all fell in the sack of Balabhipoora, except the daughter of the Pramara." And the Sanderai roll thus commences: "When the city of Balabhî was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and Nadole in Mordur dés."⁴ These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Balabhipoora when sacked by the '*barbarian*.' The records preserved by the Jains give S.B. 205 (A.D. 524) as the date of this event.

The tract about Balabhipoora and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from the tribe of *Balla*, which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of *Grahilote*; and most probably Moolt'han, and all these regions of the Catti, Balla, etc., were dependent on Lokkote, whence emigrated Keneksén; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama. The sun was the deity of this northern tribe, as of the Rana's ancestry, and the remains of numerous temples to this grand object of Scythic homage are still to be found scattered over the peninsula; whence its name, *Saurashtra*, the country of the *Sauras*, or *Sun-worshippers*; the *Surostrene* or *Syrastrene* of ancient geographers; its inhabitants, the *Suros* (Σύρω) of Strabo.

branches of which monsters and demi-gods are perched, whose claims of affinity are held in high estimation by these 'children of the sun,' who would deem it criminal to doubt that the *loin-robe* (*dhoti*) of their great founder, Bappa Rawul, was less than five hundred cubits in circumference, that his two-edged sword (*khanda*), the gift of the Hindu Proserpine, weighed an ounce less than sixty-four pounds, or that he was an inch under twenty feet in height.

¹ Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

² Soorat or Saurashtra.

³ The 'lord of Bhal.'

⁴ Marwar.

Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni¹ as the last refuge of the family when expelled Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences : "The barbarians had captured Gajni. The house of Silladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell ; of his seed but the name remained."

These invaders were Scythic, and in all probability a colony from the Parthian kingdom, which was established in sovereignty on the Indus in the second century, having their capital at *Saminagara*, where the ancient Yadu ruled for ages : the *Minagara*² of Arrian, and the *Mankir* of the Arabian geographers. It was by this route, through the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, that the various hordes of Getes or Jits, Huns, Camari, Catti, Macwahana, Balla and Aswaria, had peopled this peninsula, leaving traces still visible. The period is also remarkable when these and other Scythic hordes were simultaneously abandoning higher Asia for the cold regions of Europe and the warm plains of Hindusthan. From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, various records exist of these irruptions from the north. Gibbon, quoting De Guignes, mentions one in the second century, which fixed permanently in the Saurashtra peninsula ; and the latter, from original authorities, describes another of the Getes or Jits, styled by the Chinese *Yu-chi*, in the north of India.³ But the

¹ Gayni, or Gajni, is one of the ancient names of Cambay (the port of Balabhipoor), the ruins of which are about three miles from the modern city. Other sources indicate that these princes held possessions in the southern continent of India, as well as in the Saurashtra peninsula. Tilatilpoor Putun, on the Godavery, is mentioned, which tradition asserts to be the city of Deogir ; but which, after many years' research, I discovered in Saurashtra, it being one of the ancient names of Kundala. In after times, when succeeding dynasties held the title of Bhal-ca-rae, though the capital was removed inland to Anhulwarra Putun, they still held possession of the western shore, and Cambay continued the chief port.

² The position of Minagara has occupied the attention of geographers from D'Anville to Pottinger. Since being conquered by Omar, general of the caliph Al-Mansoor (Abbasi), the name of *Minagara* was changed to *Mansoor*, "une ville célèbre sur le rivage droit du Sind ou Mehran." "Ptolémée fait aussi mention de cette ville ; mais en la déplaçant," etc. D'Anville places it about 26°, but not so high as Ulug Bég, whose tables make it 26° 40'. I have said elsewhere that I had little doubt that Minagara, handed down to us by the author of the *Periplus* as the *μετρόπολις τῆς Σκυθίας*, was the *Saminagara* of the Yadu Jharéjas, whose chronicles claim Sewisthan as their ancient possession, and in all probability was the stronghold (*nagara*) of Sambus, the opponent of Alexander. On every consideration, I am inclined to place it on the site of Schwan. The learned Vincent, in his translation of the *Periplus*, enters fully and with great judgment upon this point, citing every authority, Arrian, Ptolemy, Al-Biruni, Edrisi, D'Anville, and De la Rochette. He has a note (26, p. 386, vol. i.) which is conclusive, could he have applied it : "Al-Birun [equi-distant] between Debeil and Mansura." D'Anville also says : "de Mansora à la ville nommée Birun, la distance est indiquée de quinze parasanges dans Abulféda," who fixes it, on the authority of Abu-Rehan (surnamed Al-Biruni from his birthplace), at 26° 40'.

The ancient name of Hyderabad, the present capital of Sinde, was Neroon (نیرون) or Nirun, and is almost equi-distant, as Abulféda says, between Dabul (Dewul or Tatta) and Mansoor, Schwan, or Minagara, the latitude of which, according to my construction, is 26° 11'. Those who wish to pursue this may examine the *Eclaircissement sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 37 et seq., and Dr. Vincent's estimable translation, p. 386.

³ See *History of the Tribes*, p. 107, and translation of Inscription No. I. Vide Appendix.

authority directly in point is that of Cosmas, surnamed Indopleustes, who was in India during the reign of Justinian, and that of the first monarch of the Chinese dynasty of Leam.¹ Cosmas had visited Callian, included in the Balhara kingdom; and he mentions the *Abtelites*, or white Huns, under their king Golas, as being established on the Indus at the very period of the invasion of Balabhipoora.

Arrian, who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Baroach), describes a Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbudda. Their capital has already been mentioned, Minagara. Whether these, the *Abtelites*² of Cosmas, were the Parthian dynasty of Arrian, or whether the Parthians were supplanted by the Huns, we must remain in ignorance, but to one or the other we must attribute the sack of Balabhipoora. The legend of this event affords scope for speculation, both as regards the conquerors and the conquered, and gives at least a colour of truth to the reputed Persian ancestry of the Rana: a subject which will be distinctly considered. The solar orb, and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Balabhipoora. Whether to these was added that of the lingam, the symbol of Bálnat'h (the sun), the primary object of worship with his descendants, may be doubted. It was certainly confined to these, and the adoption of 'strange gods' by the Sooryavansi Gehlote is comparatively of modern invention.³

There was a fountain (*Sooryacoonda*) 'sacred to the sun' at Balabhipoora, from which arose, at the summons of Silladitya (according to the legend) the seven-headed horse Septaswa, which draws the car of Soorya, to bear him to battle. With such an auxiliary no foe could prevail; but a wicked minister revealed to the enemy the secret of annulling this aid, by polluting the sacred fountain with blood. This accomplished, in vain did the prince call on Septaswa to save him from the strange and barbarous foe: the charm was broken, and with it sunk the dynasty of Balabhi. Who the 'barbarian' was that defiled with blood of kine the fountain of the sun,⁴ whether Gete, Parthian, or Hun, we are left to conjecture. The

¹ Considerable intercourse was carried on between the princes of India and China from the earliest periods; but particularly during the dynasties of Sum, Leam and Tām, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, when the princes from Bengal and Malabar to the Punjāb sent embassies to the Chinese monarchs. The dominions of these Hindu princes may yet be identified.

² D'Herbelot (vol. i. p. 179) calls them the *Haiathelah* or *Indoscythæ*, and says that they were apparently from Thibet, between India and China. De Guignes (tome i. p. 325) is offended with this explanation, and says: "Cette conjecture ne peut avoir lieu, les Euthélites n'ayant jamais demeuré dans le Thibet." A branch of the Huns, however, did most assuredly dwell in that quarter, though we will not positively assert that they were the *Abtelites*. The *Hya* was a great branch of the Lunar race of Yayat, and appears early to have left India for the northern regions, and would afford a more plausible etymology for the *Haiathelah* than the *Te-le*, who dwelt on the waters (*āb*) of the *Oxus*. This branch of the Hunnish race has also been termed *Nephthalite*, and fancied one of the lost tribes of Israel.

³ Ferishta, in the early part of his history, observes that, some centuries prior to Vicramaditya, the Hindus abandoned the simple religion of their ancestors, made idols, and worshipped the host of heaven, which faith they had from Cashmere, the foundry of magic superstition.

⁴ Divested of allegory, it means simply that the supply of water was rendered impure, and consequently useless to the Hindus, which compelled them to abandon their defences and meet death in the open field. Alla-o-din practised the same ruse against the celebrated Achil, the Kheechie prince of Gagrown,

Persian, though he venerated the bull, yet sacrificed him on the altar of Mithras ;¹ and though the ancient Guebre purifies with the urine² of the cow, he will not refuse to eat beef ; and the iniquity of Cambyzes, who thrust his lance into the flank of the Egyptian Apis, is a proof that the bull was abstractedly no object of worship. It would be indulging a legitimate curiosity, could we by any means discover how these 'strange' tribes obtained a footing amongst the Hindu races ; for so late as seven centuries ago we find Getes, Huns, Catti, Ariaspas, Dahæ, definitively settled, and enumerated amongst the *Chatées rajcûla*.³ How much earlier the admission, no authority states ; but mention is made of several of them aiding in the defence of Cheetore, on the first appearance of the faith of Islam upwards of eleven hundred years ago.

CHAPTER II

Birth of Goha—He acquires Edur—Derivation of the term 'Gehlote'—Birth of Bappa—Early religion of the Gehlotes—Bappa's history—Oguna Panora—Bappa's initiation into the worship of Siva—He gains possession of Cheetore—Remarable end of Bappa—Four epochs established, from the second to the eleventh century.

Of the prince's family, the queen Pooshpavati alone escaped the sack of Balabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Silladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother, Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown. Excessive grief closed her pilgrimage. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountains of Mallia, she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahminee of Birnugger named Camlavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahmin, but to marry him to a Rajpootnee, she mounted the funeral pile to join her

which caused the surrender of this impregnable fortress. "It matters not," observes an historian whose name I do not recollect, "whether such things are true, it is sufficient that they were believed. We may smile at the mention of the ghost, the evil genius of Brutus, appearing to him before the battle of Pharsalia ; yet it never would have been stated, had it not assimilated with the opinions and prejudices of the age." And we may deduce a simple moral from 'the parent orb refusing the aid of his steed to his terrestrial offspring,' viz. that he was deserted by the deity. Fountains sacred to the sun and other deities were common to the Persians, Scythians, and Hindus, and both the last offered steeds to him in sacrifice. Vide *History of the Tribes*, article "Aswamedha," p. 76.

¹ The Bul-dan, or sacrifice of the bull to Bâl-nat'h, is on record, though now discontinued amongst the Hindus.

² Pinkerton, who is most happy to strengthen his aversion for the Celt, seizes on a passage in Strabo, who describes him as having recourse to the same mode of purification as the Guebre. Unconscious that it may have had a religious origin, he adduces it as a strong proof of the uncleanness of their habits.

³ See Table, p. 69.

lord. Camlavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha, or 'cave-born.' The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajpoot children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, "How should they hide the ray of the sun?"

At this period Edur was governed by a chief of the savage race of Bhil; his name, Mandalica. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with the Bhils, whose habits better assimilated with his daring nature than those of the Brahmins. He became a favourite with the Vena-pootras, or 'children of the forest,' who resigned to him Edur with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abul Fuzil, and is still repeated by the bards, with a characteristic version of the incident, of which doubtless there were many. The Bhils having determined in sport to elect a king, the choice fell on Goha; and one of the young savages, cutting his finger, applied the blood as the teeka of sovereignty to his forehead. What was done in sport was confirmed by the old forest chief. The sequel fixes on Goha the stain of ingratitude, for he slew his benefactor, and no motive is assigned in the legend for the deed. Goha's name became the patronymic of his descendants, who were styled *Gohilote*, classically *Grahilote*, in time softened to *Gehlote*.

We know very little concerning these early princes but that they dwelt in this mountainous region for eight generations; when the Bhils, tired of a foreign rule, assailed Nagadit, the eighth prince, while hunting, and deprived him of life and Edur. The descendants of Camlavati (the Birnuggur Brahmin), who retained the office of priest in the family, were again the preservers of the line of Balabhi. The infant Bappa, son of Nagadit, then only three years old, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere,¹ where he was protected by a Bhil of Yadu descent. Thence he was removed for greater security to the wilds of Parassur. Within its impervious recesses rose the three-peaked (*tri-cûta*) mountain, at whose base was the town of Nagindra,² the abode of Brahmins, who performed the rites of the 'great god.' In this retreat passed the early years of Bappa, wandering through these Alpine valleys, amidst the groves of Bâl and the shrines of the brazen calf.

The most antique temples are to be seen in these spots—within the dark gorge of the mountain, or on its rugged summit—in the depths of the forest, and at the sources of streams, where sites of seclusion, beauty, and sublimity alternately exalt the mind's devotion. In these regions the creative power appears to have been the earliest, and at one time the sole, object of adoration, whose symbols, the serpent-wreathed phallus (lingam), and its companion, the bull, were held sacred even by the 'children of the forest.' In these silent retreats Mahadeva continued to rule triumphant, and the most brilliant festivities of Oodipoor were those where his rites are celebrated in the nine days sacred to him, when the Jains and Vaishnus mix

¹ Fifteen miles south-west of Jarrole, in the wildest region in India.

² Or Nagda, still a place of religious resort, about ten miles north of Oodipoor. Here I found several very old inscriptions relative to the family, which preserve the ancient denomination *Gohil* instead of *Gehlote*. One of these is about nine centuries old.

with the most zealous of his votaries ; but the strange gods from the plains of the Yamuna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose deewan,¹ or vicegerent, is the Rana. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital, is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished ; but lying in the route of a bigoted foe, it has undergone many dilapidations. The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow flank in search of treasure.²

Tradition has preserved numerous details of Bappa's³ infancy, which resembles the adventures of every hero or founder of a race. The young prince attended the sacred kine, an occupation which was honourable even to the 'children of the sun,' and which they still pursue : possibly a remnant of their primitive Scythic habits. The pranks of the royal shepherd are the theme of many a tale. On the Jul Jhoolni, when swinging is the amusement of the youth of both sexes, the daughter of the Solanki chief of Nagda and the village maidens had gone to the groves to enjoy this festivity, but they were unprovided with ropes. Bappa happened to be at hand, and was called by the Rajpoot damsels to forward their sport. He promised to procure a rope if they would first have a game at marriage. One frolic was as good as another, and the scarf of the Solankini was united to the garment of Bappa, the whole of the village lassies joining hands with his as the connecting link ; and thus they performed the mystical number of revolutions round an aged tree. This frolic caused his flight from Nagda, and originated his greatness, but at the same time burthened him with all these damsels ; and hence a heterogeneous issue, whose descendants still ascribe their origin to the prank of Bappa round the old mango-tree of Nagda. A suitable offer being shortly after made for the young Solankini's hand, the family priests of the bridegroom, whose duty it was, by his knowledge of palmistry, to investigate the fortunes of the bride, discovered that she was already married : intelligence which threw the family into the greatest consternation. Though Bappa's power over his brother shepherds was too strong to create any dread of disclosure as to his being the principal in this affair, yet was it too much to expect that a secret, in which no less than six hundred of the daughters of Eve were concerned, could long remain such ? Bappa's mode of swearing his companions to secrecy is preserved. Digging a small pit, and taking a pebble in his hand, "Swear," cried he, "secrecy and obedience to me in good and in evil ; that you will reveal to me all that you hear, and failing, desire that the good deeds of your forefathers may, like this pebble

¹ Ekling-ca-Deewan is the common title of the Rana.

² Amongst the many temples where the brazen calf forms part of the establishment of Bal-César, there is one sacred to Nanda alone, at Naen in the valley. This lordly bull has his shrine attended as devoutly as was that of Apis at Memphis ; nor will Eklinga yield to his brother Serapis. The changes of position of the Apis at Naen are received as indications of the fruitfulness of the seasons, though it is not apparent how such are contrived.

³ *Bappa* is not a proper name, it signifies merely a 'child.' He is frequently styled *Syeel*, and in inscriptions *Syeel Ahdes*, 'the mountain lord.'

(dropping it into the pit) fall into the Washerman's well." ¹ They took the oath. The Solanki chief, however, heard that Bappa was the offender, who, receiving from his faithful scouts intimation of his danger, sought refuge in one of the retreats which abound in these mountains, and which in after-times proved the preservation of his race. The companions of his flight were two Bhils : one of Oondree, in the valley of the present capital ; the other of Solanki descent, from Oguna Panora, in the western wilds. Their names, Baleo and Dewa, have been handed down with Bappa's ; and the former had the honour of drawing the teeka of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince, on the occasion of his taking the crown from the Mori.

It is pleasing to trace, through a series of ages, the knowledge of a custom still 'honoured in the observance.' The descendants of Baleo of Oguna and the Oondree Bhil still claim the privilege of performing the teeka on the inauguration of the descendants of Bappa.

OGUNA PANORA is the sole spot in India which enjoys a state of natural freedom. Attached to no state, having no foreign communications, living under its own patriarchal head, its chief, with the title of Rana, whom one thousand hamlets scattered over the forest-crowned valleys obey, can, if requisite, appear at 'the head of five thousand bows.' He is a Bhoomia Bhil of mixed blood, from the Solanki Rajpoot, on the old stock of pure (*oojla*) Bhils, the autochthones (if such there be of any country) of Méwar. Besides making the teeka of blood from an incision in the thumb, the Oguna chief takes the prince by the arm and seats him on the throne, while the Oondree Bhil holds the salver of spices and sacred grains of rice ² used in making the teeka.

But the solemnity of being seated on the throne of Méwar is so expensive, that many of these rites have fallen into disuse. Juggut Sing was the last prince whose coronation was conducted with the ancient magnificence of this princely house. It cost the sum of ninety lacks of rupees (£1,125,000), nearly one entire year's revenue of the state in the days of its prosperity, and which, taking into consideration the comparative value of money, would amount to upwards of *four millions sterling*.³

To resume the narrative : though the flight of Bappa and its cause are perfectly natural, we have another episode ; when the bard assuming a

¹ Deemed in the East the most impure of all receptacles. These wells are dug at the sides of streams, and give a supply of pure water filtering through the sand.

² Hence, perhaps, the name *kúshkeh* for teeka. Grains of ground rice in curds is the material of the primitive teeka, which the author has had applied to him by a lady in Goojurgar, one of the most savage spots in India, amidst the *levy en masse*, assembled hostilely against him, but separated amicably.

³ Such the pride of these small kingdoms in days of yore, and such their resources, till reduced by constant oppression ! But their public works speak what they could do, and have done ; witness the stupendous work of marble, and its adjacent causeway, which dams the lake of Rajsund at Kankerowli, and which cost upwards of a million. When the spectator views this expanse of water, this 'royal sea' (*rajsund*) on the borders of the plain ; the pillar of victory towering over the plains of Malwa, erected on the summit of Cheetore by Rana Mokul ; their palaces and temples in this ancient abode ; the regal residence erected by these princes when ejected, must fill the observer with astonishment at the resources of the state. They are such as to explain the metaphor of my ancient friend Zalim Sing, who knew better than we the value of this country : 'Every pinch of the soil of Méwar contains gold.'

higher strain has recourse to celestial machinery for the *dénouement* of this simple incident : but "an illustrious race must always be crowned with its proper mythology." Bappa, who was the founder of a line of a 'hundred kings,' feared as a monarch, adored as more than mortal, and, according to the legend, 'still living (*chernjīva*),' deserves to have the source of his pre-eminent fortune disclosed, which, in Méwar, it were sacrilege to doubt. While he pastured the sacred kine in the valleys of Nagindra, the princely shepherd was suspected of appropriating the milk of a favourite cow to his own use. He was distrusted and watched, and although indignant, the youth admitted that they had reason to suspect him, from the habitual dryness of the brown cow when she entered the pens at even.¹ He watched, and traced her to a narrow dell, when he beheld the udder spontaneously pouring its stores amidst the shrubs. Under a thicket of cane a hermit was reposing in a state of abstraction, from which the impetuosity of the shepherd soon roused him. The mystery was revealed in the phallic symbol of the 'great God,' which daily received the lacteal shower, and raised such doubts of the veracity of Bappa.

No eye had hitherto penetrated into this natural sanctuary of the rites of the Hindu Creator, except the sages and hermits of ancient days (of whom this was the celebrated Harita),² whom this bounteous cow also fed.

Bappa related to the sage all he knew of himself, received his blessing, and retired ; but he went daily to visit him, to wash his feet, carry milk to him, and gather such wild flowers as were acceptable offerings to the deity. In return he received lessons of morality, and was initiated into the mysterious rites of Śiva : and at length he was invested with the triple cordon of faith (*teen purwa zīnār*) by the hands of the sage, who became his spiritual guide, and bestowed on his pupil the title of 'Regent (Dewan) of Eklinga.' Bappa had proofs that his attentions to the saint and his devotions to Eklinga were acceptable, by a visit from his consort, 'the lion-born goddess.' From her hand he received the panoply of celestial fabrication, the work of Viswacarma (the Vulca of Eastern mythology), which outvies all the arms ever forged for Greek or Trojan. The lance, bow, quiver, and arrows ; a shield and sword (more famed than Balisarda) which the goddess girded on him with her own hand : the oath of fidelity and devotion was the 'relief' of this celestial investiture. Thus initiated into the mysteries of 'the first' (*ad*), admitted under the banners of Bhavani, Harita resolved to leave his pupil to his fortunes, and to quit the worship of the symbol for the presence of the deity in the mansions above. He informed Bappa of his design, and commanded him to be at the sacred spot early on the following morn ; but Bappa showed his materiality by oversleeping himself, and on reaching the spot the sage had already made some progress in his car, borne by the Apsaras, or celestial messengers. He checked his aerial ascent to give a last token of affection to his pupil ; and desiring him to reach up to receive his blessing, Bappa's stature was extended to twenty cubits ; but as he did not reach the car,

¹ *Gaoda-luk*, the time when the cows come home.

² On this spot the celebrated temple of Eklinga was erected, and the present high priest traces sixty-six descents from Harita to himself. To him (through the Rana) I was indebted for the copy of the *Shco (Śiva) Pooran* presented to the Royal Asiatic Society.

he was commanded to open his mouth, when the sage did what was recorded as performed, about the same period, by Mahomed, who spat into the mouth of his favourite nephew, Hussein, the son of Ali. Bappa showed his disgust and aversion by blinking, and the projected blessing fell on his foot, by which squeamishness he obtained only invulnerability by weapons instead of immortality : the saint was soon lost in the cerulean space. Thus marked as the favourite of heaven, and having learned from his mother that he was nephew to the Mori prince of Cheetore, he 'disdained a shepherd's slothful life,' and with some companions from these wilds quitted his retreat, and for the first time emerged into the plains. But, as if the brand of Bhavani was insufficient, he met with another hermit in the forest of the Tiger Mount,¹ the famed Goruknat'h, who presented to him the double-edged sword,² which, with the proper incantation, could 'sever rocks.' With this he opened the road to fortune leading to the throne of Cheetore.

Cheetore was at this period held by the Mori prince of the Pramara race, the ancient lords of Malwa, then paramount sovereigns of Hindusthan : but whether this city was then the chief seat of power is not known. Various public works, reservoirs, and bastions, yet retain the name of this race.

Bappa's connection with the Mori³ obtained him a good reception ; he was enrolled amongst the samunts or leaders, and a suitable estate conferred upon him. The inscription of the Mori prince's reign, so often alluded to, affords a good idea of his power, and of the feudal manners of his court. He was surrounded by a numerous nobility, holding estates on the tenure of military service, but whom he had disgusted by his neglect, and whose jealousy he had provoked by the superior regard shown to Bappa. A foreign foe appearing at this time, instead of obeying the summons to attend, they threw up their grants, and tauntingly desired him to call on his favourite.⁴

Bappa undertook the conduct of the war, and the chiefs, though dispossessed of their estates, accompanied him from a feeling of shame. The foe was defeated and driven out of the country ; but instead of returning to Cheetore, Bappa continued his course to the ancient seat of his family, Gajni, expelled the 'barbarian' called Selim, placed on the throne a chief of the Chawura tribe, and returned with the discontented nobles. Bappa, on this occasion, is said to have married the daughter of his enemy. The nobles quitted Cheetore, leaving their defiance with their prince. In vain

¹ The *Nahra Mugra*, seven miles from the eastern pass leading to the capital, where the prince has a hunting seat surrounded by several others belonging to the nobles, but all going to decay. The tiger and wild boar now prowl unmolested, as none of the 'unlicensed' dare shoot in these royal preserves.

² They surmise that this is the individual blade which is yet annually worshipped by the sovereign and chiefs on its appropriate day, one of the nine sacred to the god of war ; a rite completely Scythic. I had this relation from the chief genealogists of the family, who gravely repeated the incantation : "By the preceptor, Goruknat'h and the great god, Eklinga ; by Takyac the serpent, and the sage Harita ; by Bhavani (Pallas), strike !"

³ Bappa's mother was a Pramara, probably from Aboo or Chandravati, near to Edur ; and consequently Bappa was nephew to every Pramara in existence.

⁴ We are furnished with a catalogue of the tribes which served the Mori prince, which is extremely valuable, from its acquainting us with the names of tribes no longer existing.

were the spiritual preceptor (*Goorn*) and foster-brother (*Dabhae*) sent as ambassadors : their only reply was, that as they had 'eaten his salt,' they would forbear their vengeance for twelve months. The noble deportment of Bappa won their esteem, and they transferred to him their service and homage. With the temptation of a crown, the gratitude of the Grailote was given to the winds. On return they assaulted and carried Cheetore, and, in the words of the chronicle, "Bappa took Cheetore from the Mori and became himself the mor (crown) of the land" : he obtained by universal consent the title of 'sun of the Hindus (*Hindua sooraj*), preceptor of princes (*Raj Goorn*), and universal lord (*Chukwa*).'

He had a numerous progeny, some of whom returned to their ancient seats in Saurashtra, whose descendants were powerful chieftains in that tract so late as Akber's reign.¹ Five sons went to Marwar, and the ancient Gohils 'of the land of Kheir,' expelled and driven to Gohilwal,² have lost sight of their ancestry, and by a singular fatality are in possession of the wreck of Balabhipoora, ignorant of its history and their connection with it, mixing with Arabs and following marine and mercantile pursuits ; and the office of the bard having fallen into disrepute, they cannot trace their forefathers beyond Kheirdhur.³

The close of Bappa's career is the strangest part of the legend, and which it might be expected they would be solicitous to suppress. Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorassan, and there established himself, and married new wives from among the 'barbarians,' by whom he had a numerous offspring.⁴

Bappa had reached the patriarchal age of one hundred when he died. An old volume of historical anecdotes, belonging to the chief of Dailwara, states that he became an ascetic at the foot of Méru, where he was buried alive after having overcome all the kings of the west, as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferist'han ; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Nosheyra Pathans. Each of these founded a tribe, bearing the name of the mother. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called *Agni-oopasi Sooryavansi*, or 'sunborn fire-worshippers.' The chronicles also record that (in like manner as did the subjects of the Bactrian king Menander, though from a different motive) the subjects of Bappa quarrelled for the disposal of his remains. The Hindu wished the fire to consume them ; the 'barbarian' to commit them to earth ; but on raising the pall while the dispute was raging, innumerable flowers of the lotus were found in the place of the remains of mortality : these were conveyed and planted in the lake. This is precisely what is related of the end of the Persian Noshirwan.

Having thus briefly sketched the history of the founder of the Gehlote dynasty in Méwar, we must now endeavour to establish the epoch of

¹ See *Ayen Akberi*, who states fifty thousand Gehlotes in Sorat.

² Peparra Gohilotes.

³ The 'land of Kheir,' on the south-west frontier of Marwar, near the Loony river.

⁴ The reigning prince told the author that there was no doubt of Bappa having ended his days among 'the Toorks' : a term now applied to all Mahomedans by the Hindu, but at that time confined to the inhabitants of Toorkistan, the Toorushka of the Poorans, and the Takshac of early inscriptions.

this important event in its annals. Although Bappa Rawul was nine generations after the sack of Balabhipoora, the domestic annals give S. 191 (A.D. 135) for his birth; which the bards implicitly following, have vitiated the whole chronology. An important inscription¹ in a character little known, establishes the fact of the Mori dynasty being in possession of Cheetore in S. 770 (A.D. 714). Now the annals of the Rana's house expressly state Bappa Rawul to be the nephew of the Mori prince of Cheetore; that at the age of fifteen he was enrolled amongst the chieftains of his uncle, and that the vassals (before alluded to), in revenge for the resumption of their grants by the Mori, dethroned him and elevated as their sovereign the youthful Bappa. Notwithstanding this apparently irreconcilable anachronism, the family traditions accord with the inscription, except in date. Amidst such contradictions the development of the truth seemed impossible. Another valuable inscription of S. 1024 (A.D. 968), though giving the genealogy from Bappa to Sacti Komar and corroborating that from Cheetore, and which furnished convincing evidence, was not sanctioned by the prince or his chroniclers, who would admit nothing as valid that militated against their established era 191 for the birth of their founder. After six years' residence and unremitting search amid ruins, archives, inscriptions, traditions, and whatever could throw light upon this point, the author quitted Oodipoor with all these doubts in his mind, for Saurashtra, to prosecute his inquiries in the pristine abodes of the race. Then it was that he was rewarded, beyond his most sanguine expectations, by the discovery of an inscription which reconciled these conflicting authorities and removed every difficulty. This marble, found in the celebrated temple of Somnat'h,² made mention of a distinct era, viz. the *Balabhi Samvat*, as being used in Saurashtra; which era was three hundred and seventy-five years subsequent to Vicramaditya.

On the sack of Balabhi thirty thousand families abandoned this 'city of a hundred temples,' and led by their priests found a retreat for themselves and their faith in Mordur-dés (Marwar), where they erected the towns of Sanderai and Balhi, in which latter we recognise the name of the city whence they were expelled. The religion of Balabhi, and consequently of the colonists, was the Jain; and it was by a priest descended from the survivors of this catastrophe, and still with their descendants inhabiting those towns, that these most important documents were furnished to the author. The Sanderai roll assigns the year 305 (Balabhi era) for the destruction of Balabhi: another, also from Jain authority, gives 205; and as there were but nine princes from Vijya Sén, the founder, to its fall, we can readily believe the first a numerical error. Therefore $205 + 375 = 580$ S. Vicrama (A.D. 524), for the invasion of Saurashtra by 'the barbarians from the north,' and sack of Balabhipoora.

Now if from 770, the date of the Mori tablet, we deduct 580, there remains 190; justifying the pertinacity with which the chroniclers of Méwar adhered to the date given in their annals for the birth of Bappa, viz., 191: though they were ignorant that this period was dated from the flight from Balabhipoora.

Bappa, when he succeeded to the Mori prince, is said to have been fifteen years old; and his birth being one year anterior to the Mori in-

¹ Vide Appendix, Translation, No. II.

² See Translation, No. III.

scription of $770 + 14 = \text{S.V. } 784$ (A.D. 728),¹ is the period for the foundation of the Gehlote dynasty in Méwar : since which, during a space of eleven hundred years, fifty-nine princes lineally descended from Bappa have sat on the throne of Cheetore.

Though the bards and chroniclers will never forgive the temerity which thus curtails the antiquity of their founder, he is yet placed in the dawn of chivalry, when the Carlovingian dynasty was established in the west, and when Walid, whose bands planted 'the green standard' on the Ebro, was 'commander of the faithful.'

From the deserted and now forgotten 'city of the sun,' Aitpoor, the abode of wild beasts and savage Bhils, another memorial² of the princes of Méwar was obtained. It relates to the prince Sacti Komar. Its date is S. 1024 (A.D. 968), and it contains the names of fourteen of his ancestors in regular succession. Amongst these is Bappa, or Syeel. When compared with the chronicles and family archives, it was highly gratifying to find that, with the exception of one superfluous name and the transposition of others, they were in perfect accordance.

Hume says, "Poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth, when they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations." The remark is applicable here ; for the names which had been mouldering for nine centuries, far from the abode of man, are the same they had worked into their poetical legends. It was at this exact epoch that the arms of Islam, for the first time, crossed the Indus. In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira,³ Mahomed Bin Kasim, the general of the Caliph Walid, conquered Sinde, and penetrated (according to early Arabian authors) to the Ganges ; and although Elmacin mentions only Sinde, yet other Hindu states were at this period convulsed from the same cause : witness the overthrow of Manik-raé of Ajmér, in the middle of the eighth century, by a foe 'coming in ships,' Anjar specified as the point where they landed. If any doubt existed that it was Kasim who advanced to Cheetore⁴ and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore 'Dahir,'⁵ the Prince of Debeil.' Abul Fuzil records, from Arabian authorities, that Dahir was lord of Sinde, and resided at his capital, Debeil, the first place captured by Kasim in 95. His miserable end, and the destruction of his house, are mentioned by the historian, and account for the son being found with the Mori prince of Cheetore.

Nine princes intervened between Bappa and Sacti Komar, in two centuries (twenty-two years to each reign) : just the time which should

¹ This will make Bappa's attainment of Cheetore fifteen years posterior to Kasim's invasion. I have observed generally a discrepancy of ten years between the Samvat and Hegira ; the Hegira reckoned from the sixteenth year of Mohamed's mission, and would if employed reconcile this difficulty.

² See Translation of Inscription, No. IV.

³ A.D. 713, or S. 769 : the Inscription 770 of Maun Mori, against whom came the 'barbarian.'

⁴ I was informed by a friend, who had seen the papers of Captain Macmurdo, that he had a notice of Kasim's having penetrated to Dongerpoor. Had this gentleman lived, he would have thrown much light on these Western antiquities.

⁵ By an orthographical error, the modern Hindu, ignorant of Debeil, has written Dehli. But there was no lord of Dehli at this time : he is styled Dahir, Désput (lord) of Debeil, from *dés*, 'a country,' and *put*, 'the head.'

elapse from the founder, who 'abandoned his country for Iran,' in S. 820, or A.D. 764. Having thus established four epochs in the earlier history of the family, viz.—1, Keneksen, A.D. 144; 2, Silladitya, and sack of Balabhi, A.D. 524; 3, Establishment in Cheetore and Méwar, A.D. 720; 4, Sacti Komar, A.D. 1068; we may endeavour to relieve this narrative by the notices which regard their Persian descent.

CHAPTER III

Alleged Persian extraction of the Ranas of Méwar—Authorities for it—Implied descent of the Ranas from a Christian princess of Byzantium—The Author's reflections upon these points.

HISTORIC truth has, in all countries, been sacrificed to national vanity: to its gratification every obstacle is made to give way; fictions become facts, and even religious prejudices vanish in this *mirage* of the imagination. What but this spurious zeal could for a moment induce any genuine Hindu to believe that, only twelve centuries ago, 'an eater of beef' occupied the chair of Rama, and enjoyed by universal acclaim the title of 'Sun of the Hindus'; or that the most ancient dynasty in the world could owe its existence to the last of the Sassanian kings: ¹ that a slip from such a tree could be surreptitiously grafted on that majestic stem, which has flourished from the golden to the iron age, covering the land with its branches? That there existed a marked affinity in religious rites between the Rana's family and the Guebres, or ancient Persians, is evident. With both, the chief object of adoration was the sun; each bore the image of the orb on their banners. The chief day in the seven ² was dedicated to the sun; to it is sacred the chief gate of the city, the principal bastion of every fortress. But though the faith of Islam has driven away the fairy inhabitants from the fountains of Mithras, that of Soorya has still its devotees on the summit of Cheetore, as at Balabhi: and could we trace with accuracy their creeds to a distant age, we might discover them to be of one family, worshipping the sun at the fountains of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

The darkest period of Indian history is during the six centuries following Vicramaditya, which are scarcely enlightened by a ray of knowledge: but India was undergoing great changes, and foreign tribes were pouring in from the north. To this period, the sixth century, the genealogies of the *Pooráns* are brought down, which expressly declare (adopting the prophetic spirit to conceal the alterations and additions they then underwent) that at this time the genuine line of princes would be extinct, and that a mixed race would rule conjointly with foreign barbarians; as the Turshka,³ the Mauna,³ the Yavan,⁴ the Gor-ind, and Gardha-bin. There is much of

¹ Yezdegird died A.D. 651.

² *Sooraj-war*, or *Adit-war*, Sun-day; and the other days of the week, from the other planets, which Western nations have taken from the East.

³ See *History of the Tribes*, pp. 103, 113, articles "Takshac," and "J'hala," or *Macwahana*, in all probability the *Mauna* of the *Pooráns*.

⁴ The *Yavan*, or Greek princes, who apparently continued to rule within the Indus after the Christian era, were either the remains of the Bactrian dynasty

truth in this ; nor is it to be doubted that many of the Rajpoot tribes entered India from the north-west regions about this period. *Gor* and *Gardha* have the same signification ; the first is Persian ; the second its version in Hindi, meaning the 'wild ass,' an appellation of the Persian monarch Bahram, surnamed *Gor* from his partiality to hunting that animal. Various authorities state Byramgor being in India in the fifth century, and his having there left progeny by a princess of Kanouj. A passage extracted by the author from an ancient Jain MS., indicates that "in S. 523, Raja Gardha-bhéla, of Cacoost'ha, or Sooryavansa, ruled in Balabhipoor." It has been surmised that Gardha-bhéla was the son of Byramgor, a son of whom is stated to have obtained dominion at Putun ; which may be borne in mind when the authorities for the Persian extraction of the Rana's family are given.

The Hindus, when conquered by the Mahomedans, naturally wished to gild the chains they could not break. To trace a common, though distant, origin with the conquerors, was to remove some portion of the taint of dishonour which arose from giving their daughters in marriage to the Tatar emperors of Dehli ; and a degree of satisfaction was derived from assuming that the blood thus corrupted once flowed from a common fountain.¹

Further to develop these claims of Persian descent, we shall commence with an extract from the *Oopdés Presád*, a collection of historic

or the independent kingdom of Demetrius or Apollodotus, who ruled in the Punjab, having as their capital *Sagala*, changed by Demetrius to Euthymedia. Bayer says, in his *Hist. Reg. Bact.*; p. 84 : "I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that there was a city within the Hydaspes yet nearer the Indus, called *Sagala*, also Euthymedia ; but I scarcely doubt that Demetrius called it Euthydemia, from his father, after his death and that of Menander. Demetrius was deprived of his patrimony A.U.C. 562."

On this ancient city, *Sagala*, I have already said much ; conjecturing it to be the *Salbhanpoora* of the Yadus when driven from Zabulist'han, and that of the *Yuchi* or *Yuti*, who were fixed there from Central Asia in the fifth century, and if so early as the second century, when Ptolemy wrote, may have originated the change to *Yuti-media*, the 'Central Yuti.' The numerous medals which I possess, chiefly found within the probable limits of the Greek kingdom of *Sagala*, either belong to these princes or the Parthian kings of Minagara on the Indus. The legends are in Greek on one side, and in the Sassanian character on the reverse. Hitherto I have not deciphered the names of any but those of Apollodotus and Menander ; but the titles of 'Great King,' 'Saviour,' and other epithets adopted by the Arsacidæ, are perfectly legible. The devices, however, all incline me to pronounce them Parthian. It would be curious to ascertain how these Greeks and Parthians gradually merged into the Hindu population.

¹ The Hindu genealogist, in ignorance of the existence of Oguz Khan, the Tatar patriarch, could not connect the chain of Chagitai with Chandra. The Brahmin, better read, supplied the defect, and with his doctrine of the metempsychosis animated the material frame of the beneficent Akber with the 'good genius' of a Hindu ; and that of their mortal foe, Arungzéb, with one of evil destiny, being that of Kal-jumun, the foe of Crishna. They gravely assert that Akber visited his ancient hermitage at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, and excavated the implements of penance used by him in his former shape, as one of the sages of ancient times ; while such is their aversion to Arungzéb, that they declare the final avatar, Time (*Kal*), on his white steed, will appear in his person.

The Jessulmér annals affirm that the whole Turkish (*Toorshka*) race of Chagitai are of Yadu stock ; while the Jam Jharéja of Kutch traces his descent from the Persian Jamshid, contemporary with Solomon. These are curious claims, but the Rana's family would consider such vanity criminal.

fragments in the Magadhi dialect. "In Goojur-dés (Guzzerat) there are eighty-four cities. In one of these, Kaira, resided the Brahmin Devadit, the expounder of the Vedas. He had an only child, Soobhagna (*of good fortune*) by name, at once a maiden and a widow. Having learned from her preceptor the solar incantation, incautiously repeating it, the sun appeared and embraced her, and she thence became pregnant. The affliction of her father was diminished when he discovered the parent; nevertheless [as others might be less charitable] he sent her with a female attendant to Balabhipoora, where she was delivered of twins, male and female. When grown up the boy was sent to school; but being eternally plagued about his mysterious birth, whence he received the nickname of *Gybie* ('concealed'), in a fit of irritation he one day threatened to kill his mother if she refused to disclose the author of his existence. At this moment the sun revealed himself: he gave the youth a pebble, with which it was sufficient to touch his companions in order to overcome them. Being carried before the Balhara prince, who menaced Gybie, the latter slew him with the pebble, and became himself sovereign of Saurashtra, taking the name of Silladitya¹ (from *silla*, 'a stone or pebble,' and *aditya*, 'the sun'): his sister was married to the Rajah of Baroach." Such is the literal translation of a fragment totally unconnected with the history of the Rana's family, though evidently bearing upon it. The father of Silladitya, according to the Sanderai roll and other authorities of that period, is Sooraj (the sun) Rao, though two others make a Somaditya intervene.²

Let us see what Abul Fuzil says of the descent of the Ranas from Noshirwan: "The Rana's family consider themselves to be descendants of Noshirwan. They came to Berar (Berat), and became chiefs of Pernalla, which city being plundered eight hundred years prior to the writing of this book,³ his mother fled to Méwar, and was protected by Mandalica Bhil, whom the infant Bappa slew, and seized his territory."⁴

The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Méwar princes is the *Maaser-al-Omra*, or that (in the author's possession) founded on it, entitled *Bisat-al-Ganaém*, or

¹ This is probably the Silladitya of the Satroonja Mahatma, who repaired the temple on Satroonja in S. 477 (A.D. 421).

² In perusing this fragment we are struck by the similarity of production of these Hindu Heliadæ and that of the celebrated Tatar dynasty from which Jungheez Khan was descended. The *Nooranyon*, or 'children of light,' were from an amour of the sun with Elancua, from which Jungheez was the ninth in descent. Authorities quoted by Petis de la Croix, in his life of this conqueror, and likewise by Marigny, in his *History of the Saracens*, affirm Jungheez Khan to be a descendant of Yezdegird, the last Sassanian prince. Jungheez was an idolater, and hated the very name of Mahomedan.

A courtier telling Arungzéb of his celestial ancestry, gravely quoting the affair of the mother of the race of Timoor with the sun, the bigoted monarch coarsely replied, "Mama cába bood," which we will not translate.

³ Akber commenced his reign A.D. 1555, and had been forty years on the throne when the 'Institutes' were composed by Abul Fuzil.

⁴ Orme was acquainted with this passage, and shows his knowledge of the Hindu character by observing, that it was a strange pedigree to assign a Hindu prince, for Khoosru, of the religion of Zoroaster, though compelled to many abstinences, was not restrained from eating beef: and Anquetil du Perron says of the Parsees, their descendants, that they have refrained since their emigration from slaying the cow merely to please the Hindu.

'Display of the Foe,' written in A.H. 1204.¹ The writer of this work styles himself *Latchmi Narrain Shufceek Arungabadi*, or 'the rhymer of Arungabad.' He professes to give an account of Sevaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire; for which purpose he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Méwar, from whom Sevaji was descended,² quoting at length the *Maaser-al-Omra*, from which the following is a literal translation: "It is well known that the Rajahs of Oodipoor are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or tiluk of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these princes is made with human blood: their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (*i.e.* the Just), who conquered the countries of ———, and many parts of Hindust'han. During his life-time his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Késar of Room,⁴ quitted the ancient worship and embraced the 'faith' of the Christians,' and with numerous followers entered Hindust'han. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who despatched his general, Rambarzeen,⁵ with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued, in which Noshizad was slain; but his issue remained in Hindust'han, from whom are descended the Ranas of Oodipoor. Noshirwan had a wife from the

¹ The cryptographic date is contained in the numerical value of the letters which compose the title:

| | |
|---|--|
| B. S. A. T. a. l. G. N. A. E. M. | { As the total is only 1183, either the date is wrong, or a deficient value given to the numerals. |
| 2. 60. 1. 9. 1. 9. 1000. 50. 1. 10. 40. | |

² Wilford, who by his indefatigable research and knowledge of Sanscrit had accumulated extensive materials, unhappily deteriorated by a too credulous imagination, yet containing much valuable matter available to those sufficiently familiar with the subject to select with safety, has touched on this, and almost on every other point in the circle of Hindu antiquities. Ali Ibrahim, a learned native of Benares, was Wilford's authority for asserting the Rana's Persian descent, who stated to him that he had seen the original history, which was entitled, *Origin of the Peishwas from the Ranas of Méwar*. (Ibrahim must have meant the Satarra princes, whose ministers were the Peishwas.) From this authority three distinct emigrations of the Guebres, or ancient Persians, are recorded, from Persia into Guzzerat. The first in the time of Abu Beker, A.D. 631; the second on the defeat of Yezdegird, A.D. 651; and the third when the descendants of Abbas began to prevail, A.D. 749. Also that a son of Noshirwan landed near Surat with eighteen thousand of his subjects, from Larist'han, and were well received by the prince of the country.

Abul Fuzil confirms this account by saying, "the followers of Zerdeshit (Zoroaster), when they fled from Persia, settled in *Surat*, the contracted term for the peninsular of Saurashtra, as well as the city of this name."

³ The names are obliterated in the original. Ferishta informs us that Ramdeo Rahtore, sovereign of Kanouj, was made tributary by Feroz 'Sassan'; and that Pertap Chund, who usurped the throne of Ramdeo, neglecting to pay this tribute, Noshirwan marched into India to recover it, and in his progress subdued Caubul and the Punjáb. From the striking coincidence of these original and decisive authorities, we may rest assured that they had recourse to ancient records, both of the Guebres and the Hindus, for the basis of their histories, which research may yet discover.

⁴ Maurice, emperor of Byzantium.

⁵ *Decn-i-Tersdr*. See Ebn Haukal, art. "Serir," or Russia; whose king, a son of Byram Chassin, whom he styles a *Tersdr* or Christian, first possessed it about the end of the sixth century.

⁶ The *Verames* of Western historians.

Khakhan¹ of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir to the throne shortly before his death. As according to the faith of the fire-worshippers² it is not customary either to bury or to burn the dead, but to leave the corpse exposed to the rays of the sun, so it is said the body of Noshirwan has to this day suffered no decay, but is still fresh."

I now come to the account of Yezd, "the son of Shariar, the son of Khoosru Purves, the son of Hormuz, the son of Noshirwan.

"Yezd was the last king of Ajim. It is well known he fought many battles with the Mahomedans. In the fifteenth year of the caliphate, Roostum, son of Feroch, a great chief, was slain in battle by Said-ul-kas, who commanded for Omar, which was the death-blow to the fortunes of the house of Sassan: so that a remnant of it did not remain in A.H. 31, when Iran was seized by the Mahomedans. This battle had lasted four days when Roostum Feroch Zad was slain by the hand of Hillal, the son of Il Kumna, at Said's command; though Ferdusi asserts by Said himself. Thirty thousand Moslems were slain, and the same number of the men of Ajim. To count the spoils was a torment. During this year (the thirty-first), the sixteenth of the prophet,³ the era of the Hegira was introduced. In A.H. 17, Abu Musa of Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle of Yezdegird, whom he sent with Yezdegird's daughter to Imam Hosein, and another daughter to Abubeker.

"Thus far have I⁴ extracted from the history of the fire-worshippers. He who has a mind to examine these, let him do so. The people of the religion of Zerdusht have a full knowledge of all these events, with their dates; for the pleasure of their lives is the obtaining accounts of antiquity and astronomical knowledge, and their books contain information of two and three thousand years. It is also told, that when the fortunes of Yezdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shehr Banoo, was married to Imam Hosein, who when he fell a martyr (*shuheed*), an angel carried her to heaven. The third daughter, Banoo, was seized by a plundering Arab and carried into the wilds of Chichik, thirty coss from Yezd. Praying to God for deliverance, she instantly disappeared; and the spot is still held sacred by the Parsees, and named 'the secret abode of perfect purity.' Hither, on the twenty-sixth of the month Bahman, the Parsees yet repair to pass a month in pilgrimage, living in huts under indigenous vines skirting the rock, out of whose fissures water falls into a fountain below: but if the unclean approach the spring, it ceases to flow.

"Of the eldest daughter of Yezdegird, Maha Banoo, the Parsees have no accounts; but the books of Hind give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. *But, at all events,*

¹ *Khakhan* was the title of the kings of Chinese Tartary. It was held by the leader of the Huns, who at this period held power on the Caspian: it was also held by the Ooroos, Khozr, Bulgar, Serir, all terms for Russia, before its *Késar* was cut down into *Czar*, for the original of which, the kings of Rome, as of Russia, were indebted to the Sanscrit *Késar*, a 'lion.'—*Vide* Ebn Haukal, art. "Khozr."

² *Deen-i-Majoosa*; literally, 'faith of the Magi.'

³ Mahomed, born A.D. 578; the Hegira, or flight, A.D. 622.

⁴ It must be borne in mind that it is the author of the *Maaser-al-Omra*, not the rhymor of Arungabad, who is speaking.

*this race is either of the seed of Noshizad, the son of Noshirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yezdegird."*¹

Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all the points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Noshizad, who mounted the throne A.D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Balabhi, A.D. 524. The army he collected in Larist'han to depose his father might have been from the Parthians, Getes, Huns, and other Scythic races then on the Indus, though it is unlikely, with such an object in view as the throne of Persia, that he would waste his strength in Saurashtra. Khoosru Purves, grandson of Noshirwan the great, and who assumed this title according to Ferdusi, married Marian, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him *Shirooeh* (the *Siroes* of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Noshirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or 'just.'

According to the 'Tables' in Moréri,² Noshizad, son of Khoosru the great, reigned from A.D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maaser-al-Omra*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes, son of Khoosru (the second Noshirwan) by his wife Marian, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and met the fate attributed to Noshizad; on which Yezdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirooeh's younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India.

These revolutions in the Sassanian house were certainly simultaneous with those which occurred in the Rana's, and no barrier existed to the political intercourse at least between the princely worshippers of Soorya and Mithras. It is, therefore, curious to speculate even on the possibility of such a pedigree to a family whose ancestry is lost in the mists of time; and it becomes interesting when, from so many authentic sources, we can raise testimonies which would furnish, to one even untinctured with the love of hypothesis, grounds for giving ancestors to the Ranas in Maurice of Byzantium and Cyrus (Khoosru) of Persia. We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Balabhi a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Noshirwan who captured Balabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Silladitya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of *The Annals of Princes*, namely, "that the Sesodia race is of the seed of Noshizad, son of Noshirwan, or of that of Maha-Banoo, daughter of Yezdegird," we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, viz. that the 'Hindua Sooraj, descendant of a hundred kings,' the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess: that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the

¹ For the extract from "The Annals of Princes (*Maaser-al-Omra*)" let us laud the memory of the rhymer of Arungabad. An original copy, which I in vain attempted to procure in India, is stated by Sir William Ouseley to be in the British Museum. We owe that country a large debt, for we have robbed her of all her literary treasures, leaving them to sleep on the shelves of our public institutions.

² Vide *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*.

emperors of 'the mistress of the world,' though at a time when her glory had waned, and her crown had been transferred from the Tiber to the Bosphorus.

But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any *male* branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Maha-Banoo, the fugitive daughter of Yezdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Soobhagna (mother of Silladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun'¹ compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grandchild should there seek protection in the reverses of her family.

The Salic law is here in full force, and honours, though never acquired by the female, may be stained by her; yet a daughter of the noble house of Sassan might be permitted to perpetuate the line of Rama without the reproach of taint.²

We shall now abandon this point to the reader, and take leave of Yezdegird,³ the last of the house of Sassan, in the words of the historian of Rome: "Avec lui, on voit périr pour jamais la gloire et l'empire des Perses. Les rochers du Mazendaran et les sables du Kerman, furent les seuls⁴ asiles que les vainqueurs laissèrent aux sectateurs de Zoroastre."⁵

¹ It will be recollected that the various authorities given state Raja Soóraj (*sun*), of Cacoost'ha race, to be the father of Silladitya. *Cacoost'ha* is a term used synonymously with *Sooryavansa*, according to the Solar genealogists. Those who may be inclined to the Persian descent may trace it from *Kai-caous*, a well-known epithet in the Persian dynasties. I am unacquainted with the etymology of Cacoost'ha; but it may possibly be from *ca*, 'of or belonging to,' *Coosa* (Cush), the second son of Rama. I have already hinted that the Assyrian Medes might be descendants of Hyaspa, a branch of the Indu-Mede of the family of Yayat which bore the name of *Causika*.

² "The moral consequence of a pedigree," says Hume, "is differently marked by the influence of law and custom. The male sex is deemed more noble than the female. The association of our ideas pursues the regular descent of honour and estates from father to son, and their wives, however essential, are considered only in the light of foreign auxiliaries" (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 192). Not unlike the Rajpoot axiom, though more coarsely expressed: "It is, who planted the tree, not where did it grow," that marks his idea of the comparative value of the side whence honours originate; though purity of blood in both lines is essential.

³ A new era had commenced, not of Yezdegird's accession, as is supposed, which would have been vain indeed, when the throne was tottering under him, but consequent to the completion of the grand cycle of 1440 years. He was slain at Murve in A.D. 651, the 31st of the Hegira; on the eleventh year of which, or A.D. 632 (according to Moreri), he commenced his reign.

⁴ Gibbon was wrong. India afforded them an asylum, and their issue constitutes the most wealthy, the most respected, and the most enlightened part of the native community of Bombay and the chief towns of that presidency.

⁵ Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works*, "Sur la Monarchie des Médés," vol. iii.

CHAPTER IV

Intervening sovereigns between Bappa and Samarsi—Bappa's descendants—
Irruptions of the Arabians into India—Catalogue of Hindu princes who
defended Cheetore.

HAVING established Bappa on the throne of Cheetore S. 784 (A.D. 728), we will proceed to glean from the annals, from the period of his departure for Iran, S. 820 (A.D. 764) to another halting point—the reign of Samarsi, S. 1249 (A.D. 1193); an important epoch, not only in the history of Méwar, but to the whole Hindu race; when the diadem of sovereignty was torn from the brow of the Hindu to adorn that of the Tatar. We shall not, however, overleap the four intervening centuries, though we may not be able to fill up the reigns of the eighteen princes¹ whose “banner at this time was a golden sun on a crimson field,”² and several of whose names yet live recorded “with an iron pen on the rock” of their native abodes.

An intermediate period, from Bappa to Samarsi, that of *Sacti Komar*, is fixed by the Aitpoor inscription in S. 1024 (A.D. 968); and from the more perishable yet excellent authority of an ancient Jain MS. the era of Ullut, the ancestor of Sacti Komar, was S. 922 (A.D. 866), four generations anterior. From Bappa's departure for Iran in A.D. 764, to the subversion of Hindu dominion in the reign of Samarsi, in A.D. 1193, we find recorded an intermediate Islamite invasion. This was during the reign of Khomán, between A.D. 812 and 836, which event forms the chief subject of the *Khomán-Rásá*, the most ancient of the poetic chronicles of Méwar.

As the history of India at this period is totally dark, we gladly take advantage of the lights thus afforded. By combining these facts with what is received as authentic, though scarcely less obscure or more exact than these native legends, we may furnish materials for the future historian. With this view, let us take a rapid sketch of the irruptions of the Arabians into India, from the rise of Islamism to the foundation of the Gaznivid empire, which sealed the fate of the Hindus. The materials are but scanty. El-Makin, in his history of the Caliphs, passes over such intercourse almost without notice. Abul Fuzil, though not diffuse, is minute in what he does say, and we can confide in his veracity. Ferishta has a chapter devoted to this subject, which merits a better translation than yet exists.³ We shall, however, in the first place, touch on Bappa's descendants, till we arrive at the point proper for the introduction of the intended sketch.

¹ See Genealogical Table.

² This, according to the roll, was the standard of Bappa.

³ Amongst the passages which Dow has slurred over in his translation, is the interesting account of the origin of the Afghans; who, when they first came in contact with those of the new faith, in A.H. 62, dwelt around the Koh-i-Sooliman. Ferishta, quoting authority, says: “The Afghans were Copts, ruled by Pharaon, many of whom were converted to the laws and religion of Moses; but others, who were stubborn in their worship to their gods, fled towards Hindust'han, and took possession of the country adjoining the Koh-i-Sooliman. They were visited by Kasim from Sinde, and in the 143rd year of the Hegira had possessed themselves of the provinces of Kirman, Peshawur, and all within their bounds (*sinoran*),” which Dow has converted into a province. The whole geographical description of the Kohistan, the etymology of the term *Rohilla*, and other important matter, is omitted by him.

Of the twenty-four tribes of Gehlote, several issued from the founder, Bappa. Shortly after the conquest of Cheetore, Bappa proceeded to Saurashtra and married the daughter of Esupgole, prince of the island of Bunderdhiva.¹ With his bride he conveyed to Cheetore the statue of Vyán-mata, the tutelary goddess of her race, who still divides with Eklinga the devotion of the Gehlote princes. The temple in which he enshrined this islandic goddess yet stands on the summit of Cheetore, with many other monuments assigned by tradition to Bappa. This princess bore him Aprajeet, who from being born in Cheetore was nominated successor to the throne, to the exclusion of his less fortunate elder brother, Asil (born of the daughter of the Kaba (Pramara) prince of Kalibao near Dwarica), who, however, obtained possessions in Saurashtra, and founded a race called the *Asila Gehlotes*,² whose descendants were so numerous, even in Akber's reign, as to be supposed able to bring into the field fifty thousand men at arms. We have nothing important to record of the actions of Aprajeet, who had two sons, Khalbhøj³ and Nundkomar. Khalbhøj succeeded Aprajeet, and his warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription discovered by the author in the valley of Nagda. Nundkomar slew Bhimsén Dor (*Doda*), and possessed himself of Deogurh in the Dekhan.

Khoman succeeded Khalbhøj. His name is remarkable in the history of Méwar. He came to the throne at the beginning of the ninth century, when Cheetore was assailed by another formidable invasion of Mahomedans. The chief object of the *Khomán Rásá* is to celebrate the defence made on this occasion, and the value of this *rasa* consists in the catalogue of the princes who aided in defending this bulwark of the Hindu faith. The bard, in an animated strain, makes his sovereign on this occasion successfully defend the 'crimson standard' of Méwar, treat with contempt the demand for tribute, and after a violent assault, in which the 'barbarian' is driven back, follow and discomfit him in the plain, carrying back the hostile leader, *Mahmood*, captive. With this event, which introduces the name of Mahmood two centuries before the conqueror of Gazni, we will pause, and resume the promised sketch of the intercourse of Arabia and Hindust'han at this period.

The first intimation of the Moslems attempting the invasion of India is during the caliphate of Omar, who built the port of Bassorah at the mouth of the Tigris, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzzerat and Sinde; into which

¹ Esupgole is stated to have held Chowal on the main land. He was most probably the father of *Venraj* Chawura, the founder of Putun Anhulwara, whose ancestors, on the authority of the *Komarpal Charitra*, were princes of Bunderdhiva, held by the Portuguese since the time of Albuquerque, who changed its name to Deo.

² The ancient roll from which this is taken mentions Asil giving his name to a fortress, called Asilgurh. His son, Beejy Pal, was slain in attempting to wrest Khumbayet (Cambay) from Singram Dabi. One of his wives, from a violent death, was prematurely delivered of a boy, called Setoo; and as, in such cases, the Hindu supposes the deceased to become a discontented spirit (*choorail*) Chooraila became the name of the tribe. Beeja, the twelfth from Asil, obtained Sonul from his maternal uncle, Khengar Dabi, prince of Ginnar, but was slain by Jey Sing Deo, prince of Surat. From these names compounded, *Dabi* and *Chooraila*, we may have the *Dabisailima* of Mahmood.

³ Also called Kurna. He it was who excavated the Boraila lake, and erected the grand temple of Eklinga on the site of the hermitage of Harita, whose descendant, the present officiating priest, reckons sixty-six descents, while the princes of Méwar amount to seventy-two in the same period.

latter country a powerful army penetrated under Abul Aas, who was killed in battle at Arore. The Caliph Oosman, who succeeded Omar, sent to explore the state of India, while he prepared an army to invade it in person : a design which he never fulfilled. The generals of the Caliph Ali made conquests in Sinde, which they abandoned at Ali's death. While Yezid was governor of Khorassan several attempts were made on India, as also during the caliphate of Abdool Melek, but without any lasting results. It was not till the reign of Walid¹ that any successful invasion took place. He not only finally conquered Sinde and the adjoining continent of India, but rendered tributary all that part of India on this side the Ganges.² What an exalted idea must we not form of the energy and rapidity of such conquests, when we find the arms of Islam at once on the Ganges and the Ebro, and two regal dynasties simultaneously cut off, that of Roderic, the last of the Goths of Andaloos, and Dahir Despati in the valley of the Indus. It was in A.H. 99 (A.D. 718, S. 774) that Mahomed bin Kasim vanquished and slew Dahir prince of Sinde, after numerous conflicts. Amongst the spoils of victory sent to the caliph on this occasion were the

¹ GEHLOTE AND CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

| GEHLOTE PRINCES. | Eras. | | CALIPHS OF BAGDAD and KINGS OF GAZNI. | Eras. | | Remarks. |
|---|------------|------------|--|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| | Samvat. | Christian. | | A.H. | A.D. | |
| Bappa, born | 769 | 713 | <i>Caliphs of Bagdad.</i> Walid (11th Caliph) | 86 to 96 | 705 to 715 | Conquered India to the Ganges. Sindi conquered. The Mori prince of Cheetore attacked by Mahomed (son of Kasim), the General of Omar. Battle of Tours, A.D. 732, and defeat of the Caliph's army, under Abdulrahman, by Charles Martel. Final conquest of Sinde, and the name of its capital, Arore, changed to Mansoorah. Bappa, founder of the Gehlote race in Mewar, retires to Iran. |
| — obtained Cheetore | 784 | 728 | Omar II. (13th do.) | 99 to 102 | 718 to 721 | |
| — governs Méwar. | — | — | Husham (15th do.) | 101 to 125 | 723 to 742 | |
| — abandons Cheetore | 820 | 764 | Al-Mansoor (21st do.) | 136 to 158 | 754 to 775 | |
| Aprajeet. Khalbhaj. | — | — | Haroon al Rashid (24th do.) | 170 to 193 | 786 to 809 | Partition of the caliphate amongst Haroon's sons. The second, Al-Mamoon, obtains Zabulist'han, Sinde, and India, and ruled them till A.D. 813, when he became Caliph. |
| Khoman. | 808 to 892 | 812 to 836 | Al-Mamoon (26th do.) | 198 to 218 | 813 to 833 | |
| Bhartribhat. Sing-ji. Ullut. Nurbahan. Salbahan. Sacti Komar. | 1024 | 968 | <i>Kings of Gazni.</i> Aleptegin . . . | 350 | 957 | Inscription of Sacti-komar from ruins of Aitpoor. |
| Umha Pussao. Narvarma. Jussoovarma. | — | — | Soobektegin . . . Mahmood . . . | 367 387 to 418 | 977 997 to 1027 | Invasion of India. Invasions of India, destruction of Aitpoor. |

² Marigny (quoting El-Makin), *Hist. of the Arabians*, vol. ii. p. 283; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 47.

daughters of the subjugated monarch, who were the cause of Kasim's destruction,¹ when he was on the eve of carrying the war against Raja Harchund of Kanouj. Some authorities state that he actually prosecuted it; and as Sinde remained a dependency of the caliphate during several successive reigns, the successor of Kasim may have executed his plans. Little is said of India from this period to the reign of Al-Mansoor, except in regard to the rebellion of Yezid in Khorassan, and the flight of his son to Sinde. The eight sovereigns, who rapidly followed, were too much engaged with the Christians of the west and the Huns on the Caspian to think of India. Their armies were then in the heart of France, which was only saved from the Koran by their overthrow at Tours by Charles Martel.

Al-Mansoor, when only the lieutenant of the Caliph Abbas, held the government of Sinde and of India, and made the island of Bekher on the Indus, and the adjacent Arore,² the ancient capital, his residence, naming it Mansoorah; and it was during his government that Bappa Rawul abandoned Cheetore for Iran.

The celebrated Haroon al Rashid, contemporary of Charlemagne, in apportioning his immense empire amongst his sons, gave to the second, Al-Mamoon, Khorassan, Zabulist'han, Cabulist'han, Sinde, and Hindust'han.³ Al-Mamoon, on the death of Haroon, deposed his brother, and became caliph in A.H. 198 or A.D. 813, and ruled to 833, the exact period of the reign of Khoman, prince of Cheetore. The domestic history brings the enemy assailant of Cheetore from Zabulist'han; and as the leader's name is given *Mahmood Khorasan Put*, there can be little doubt that it is an error arising from ignorance of the copyist, and should be *Mahmoon*.

Within twenty years after this event, the sword of conquest and conversion was withdrawn from India, and Sinde was the only province left to Motawekel (A.D. 850), the grandson of Haroon, for a century after whom the throne of Bagdad, like that of ancient Rome, was sold by her prætorians to the highest bidder. From this time we find no mention whatever of Hindust'han, or even of Sinde, until Soobektegin,⁴ governor of Khorassan, hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty at Gazni. In A.H. 365 (A.D. 975) he carried his arms across the Indus, forcing the inhabitants to abandon the religion of their ancestors, and to read the Koran from the altars of Bal and Krishna. Towards the close of this century he made his last invasion, accompanied by his son, the celebrated Mahmood, destined to be the scourge of the Hindu race, who early imbibed the paternal lesson inculcating the extirpation of infidels. Twelve several visitations did Mahmood make with his Tatar hordes, sweeping India of her riches, de-

¹ "The two young princesses, in order to revenge the death of their father, represented falsely to the Khalif that Mahommed Kasim had been connected with them. The Khalif, in a rage, gave order for Mahommed Kasim to be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to court. When the mandate arrived at Tatta, Kasim was prepared to carry an expedition against Harchund, monarch of Kanouj. When he arrived at court, the Khalif showed him to the daughters of Dahir, who expressed their joy upon beholding their father's murderer in such a condition" (Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 119).

² Arore is seven miles east of Bekher.

³ Marigny, vol. iii. p. 83; *Univ. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 162.

⁴ His father's name was Aleptegin, termed a slave by Ferishta and his authorities; though El-Makin gives him an ancestor in Yesdegiird.

stroying her temples and architectural remains, and leaving the country plunged in poverty and ignorance. From the effect of these incursions she never recovered; for though she had a respite of a century between Mahmood and the final conquest, it was too short to repair what it had cost ages to rear: the temples of Somnat'h, of Cheetore, and Girnar are but types of the magnificence of past times. The memorial of Sacti Komar proves him to have been the contemporary of Soobektegin, and to one of his son's visitations is attributed the destruction of the 'city of the sun' (Aitpoor),¹ his capital.

Having thus condensed the little information afforded by Mahomedan historians of the connection between the caliphs of Badgad and princes of Hind, from the first to the end of the fourth century of the Hegira, we shall revert to the first recorded attack on the Mori prince of Cheetore, which brought Bappa into notice. This was either by Yezid or Mahomed bin Kasim from Sinde. Though in the histories of the caliphs we can only expect to find recorded those expeditions which were successful, or had some lasting results, there are inroads of their revolted lieutenants or their frontier deputies, which frequently, though indistinctly, alluded to in Hindu annals, have no place in Mahomedan records. Throughout the period mentioned there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unknown invader, who is described as coming sometimes by Sinde, sometimes by sea, and not unfrequently as a demon and magician; but invariably as *m'lectcha*, or 'barbarian.'² From S. 750 to S. 780 (A.D. 694 to 724), the annals of the Yadus, the Chohans, the Chawuras, and the Gehlotes, bear evidence to simultaneous convulsions in their respective houses at this period. In S. 750 (A.H. 75), the Yadu Bhatti was driven from his capital Salpoora in the Punjáb, across the Sutledge into the Indian desert; the invader named

¹ *Ait*, contracted from *Aditya*: hence *Ait-wár*, 'Sun-day.'

² Even from the puerilities of Hindu legends something may be extracted. A mendicant dervish, called Roshun Ali (*i.e.* the 'light of Ali'), had found his way to Gur'h Beetli (the ancient name of the Ajmér fortress), and having thrust his hand into a vessel of curds destined for the Rajah, had his finger cut off. The disjointed member flew to Mecca, and was recognised as belonging to the saint. An army was equipped in the disguise of horse-merchants, which invaded Ajmér, whose prince was slain. May we not gather from this incident, that an insult to the first Islamite missionary in the person of Roshun Ali, brought upon the prince the arms of the Caliph? The same Chohan legends state that Ajpal was prince of Ajmér at this time; that in this invasion by sea he hastened to Anjar (on the coast of Cutch), where he held the 'guard of the ocean' (*Samoodra ca Choky*), where he fell in opposing the landing. An altar was erected on the spot, on which was sculptured the figure of the prince on horseback, with his lance at rest, and which still annually attracts multitudes at the 'fair (Mêla) of Ajpal.'

The subsequent invasion alluded to in the text, of S. 750 (A.D. 694), is marked by a curious anecdote. When the 'Assoors' had blockaded Ajmér, Lot, the infant son of Manika Rac, was playing on the battlements, when an arrow from the foe killed the heir of Ajmér, who has ever since been worshipped amongst the lares and penates of the Chohans; and as he had on a silver chain anklet at the time, this ornament is forbid to the children of the race. In all these Rajpoot families there is a pootra (*adolescens*) amongst the penates, always one who has come to an untimely end, and chiefly worshipped by females; having a strong resemblance to the rites in honour of Adonis. We have traced several Roman and Grecian terms to Sanscrit origin; may we add that of *lares*, from *larla*, 'dear' or 'beloved'?

Ferid. At the same period, Manika Rae, the Chohan prince of Ajmér, was assailed and slain.

The first of the Keechie princes who occupied the Do-ábeh of Sind-sagur in the Punjáb, as well as the ancestor of the Haras established in Golcoonda, was expelled at the same time. The invader is treated in the genuine Hindu style as a danoo, or demon, and is named 'Gyraram' (*i.e.* restless), from *Gujlibund*,¹ a term geographically given to a portion of the Himalaya mountains about the glaciers of the Ganges. The ancestor of the founder of Putun was expelled from his petty islandic dominion on the coast of Saurashtra at the same time. This is the period when Yezid was the caliph's lieutenant in Khorassan, and when the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges; nor is there a doubt that Yezid or Kasim was the author of all these revolutions in the Hindu dynasties. We are supported in this by the names of the princes contained in the catalogue, who aided to defend Cheetore and the Mori prince on this occasion. It is evident that Cheetore was, alternately with Oojein, the seat of sovereignty of the Pramara at this period, and, as it became the rallying point of the Hindus, that this race was the first in consequence.² We find the prince of Ajmér, and the quotas of Saurashtra and Guzzerat; Ungutsi, lord of the Huns; Boosa, the lord of the North; Seo, the prince of the Jharéjas; the Johya, lord of Junguldés; the Aswuria, the Seput, the Koolhur, the Malun, the Ohir, the Hool, and many others, having nothing of the Hindu in name, now extinct. But the most conspicuous is "Dahir

¹ Signifying 'Elephant forests,' and described in a Hindu map (stamped on cloth and painted) of India from Gujlibund to Lanka, and the provinces west of the Indus to Calcutta; presented by me to the Royal Asiatic Society.

² The list of the vassal princes at the court of the Mori confirms the statement of the bard Chund, of the supremacy of Ram Pramara, and the partition of his dominion, as described (see p. 44, note) amongst the princes who founded separate dynasties at this period; hitherto in vassalage or subordinate to the Pramara. We can scarcely suppose the family to have suffered any decay since their ancestor, Chandragoopta, connected by marriage with as well as the ally of the Grecian Seleucus, and who held Greeks in his pay. From such connection, the arts of sculpture and architecture may have derived a character hitherto unnoticed. Amidst the ruins of Barolli are seen sculptured the Grecian helmet; and the elegant ornament, the *Camcoomp*, or 'vessel of desire,' on the temple of *Ana-poorna* (*i.e.* 'giver of food'), the Hindu Ceres, has much affinity to the Grecian device.

From the inscription (see No. 2) it is evident that Cheetore was an appanage of Oojein, the seat of Pramara empire. Its monarch, Chandragoopta (Mori), degraded into the barber (maurya) tribe, was the descendant of Srenica, prince of Rajgraha, who, according to the Jain work, *Calpoodrum Calka*, flourished in the year 477 before Vicramaditya, and from whom Chandragoopta was the thirteenth in descent. The names as follows: Konika, Oodsén, and nine in succession of the name of Nanda, thence called the *No-nanda*. These, at twenty-two years to a reign (see p. 45), would give 286 years, which—477=191 s.v.+56=247 A.C. Now it was in A.C. 260, according to Bayer, that the treaty was formed between Seleucus and Chandragoopta; so that this scrap of Jain history may be regarded as authentic and valuable. Asoca (a name of weight in Jain annals) succeeded Chandragoopta. He by Koonāl, whose son was Sumpriti, with whose name ends the line of Srenica, according to the authority from which I made the extract. The name of Sumpriti is well known from Ajmér to Saurashtra, and his era is given in a valuable chronogrammatic catalogue in an ancient Jain manuscript from the temple of Nadole, at 202 of the Virat Samvat. He is mentioned both traditionally and by books, as the great supporter of the Jain faith, and the remains of temples dedicated to Mahavira, erected by this prince, yet exist at Ajmér, on Aboó, Komulmér, and Gírnar.

Déspáti from Deweil." This is erroneously written Dehli, the seat of the Túars; whereas we recognise the name of the prince of Sinde, slain by Kasim, whose expatriated son doubtless found refuge in Chectore.

This attack on the Mori prince was defeated chiefly through the bravery of the youthful Gehlote. The foe from Gujlibund, though stated to have advanced by Mat'hoora, retreated by Saurashtra and Sinde, pursued by Bappa. He found the ancient seat of his ancestors, Gajni,¹ still in the possession of the 'Assoor': a term as well as *m'letcha*, or 'barbarian,' always given to the Islamite at this period. Selim, who held Gajni, was attacked and forced to surrender, and Bappa inducted into this stronghold of his ancestors a nephew of his own. It is no less singular than honourable to their veracity, that the annals should record the fact, so contrary to their religion, of Bappa having married the daughter of the conquered Selim; and we have a right to infer that it was from the influence acquired by this union, that he ultimately abandoned the sovereignty of Méwar and the title of 'Hindua Sooraj,' to become the founder of the 'one hundred and thirty tribes of Nosheyra Pat'hans' of the west. It is fair to conclude from all these notices regarding the founder of the Gehlote race in Chectore, that he must have abjured his faith for that of Islam; and it is probable (though the surmise must ever remain unproved), that, under some new title applicable to such change, we may have, in one of the early distinguished leaders of 'the Faith,' the ancestor of the Gehlotes.

Let us now proceed to the next irruption of the Islamite invaders in the reign of Khoman, from A.D. 812 to 836. Though the leader of this attack is styled 'Mahmood Khorasan Put,' it is evident from the catalogue of Hindu princes who came to defend Chectore, that this 'lord of Khorassan' was at least two centuries before the son of Soobektegin; and as the period is in perfect accordance with the partition of the caliphate by Haroon amongst his sons, we can have no hesitation in assigning such invasion to Mahmoon, to whose share was allotted Khorassan, Sinde, and the Indian dependencies. The records of this period are too scanty to admit of our passing over in silence even a barren catalogue of names, which, as texts, with the aid of collateral information, may prove of some benefit to the future antiquarian and historian.

"From Gajuni came the Gehlote; the Tâk from Asér; from Nadolaye the Chohan; the Chalook from Rahirgurrh; from Sét-Bunder the Jirkéra; from Mundore the Khairávi; from Mangrole the Macwahana; from Jeitgurrh the Joria; from Taragurrh the Réwur; the Cutchwaha from Nirwur; from Sanchole the Kalum; from Joengurrh the Dussanoh; from Ajmér the Gor; from Lohadurgurrh the Chundano; from Kasoondi the Dor; from Dehli the Túar; from Patun the Chawura, preserver of royalty (*Rijdhur*); from Jhalore the Sonigurra; from Sirohi the Deora; from Gagrown the Keechie; the Jadoo from Joonagurrh; the J'hala from Patri; from Kanouj the Rahtore; from Chotiala the Balla; from Perun-

¹ It has already been stated that the ancient name of Cambay was Gayni or Gajni, whose ruins are three miles from the present city. There is also a Gajni on the estuary of the Myhic, and Abul Fuzil incidentally mentions a *Gujnagar* as one of the most important fortresses of Guzerat, belonging to Ahmed Shah; in attempting to obtain which by stratagem, his antagonist, Hoshung, king of Malwa, was made prisoner. I am unaware of the site of this place, though there are remains of an extensive fortress near the capital, founded by Ahmed, and which preserves no name. It may be the ancient Gujnagar.

gurb the Gohil ; from Jesulgurb the B'hatti ; the Boosa from Lahoré ; the Sanlda from Ronéja ; the Sehut from Kherligurb ; from Mandelgurb the Nacoompa ; the Birgoojur from Rajore ; from Kurrungurb the Chundail ; from Sikur the Sikurwal ; from Omergurb the Jaitwa ; from Palli the Birgota ; from Khunturgurb the Jaréja ; from Jirgah the Kherwur ; from Cashmér the Purihara."

Of the Gehlote from Gajuni we have said enough ; nor shall we comment on the Tâk, or his capital, Asér, which now belongs to the British government. The Chohan, who came from Nadolaye, was a celebrated branch of the Ajmér house, and claims the honour of being the parent of the Sonigurras of Jhalore and the Deoras of Sirohi. Nadole¹ is mentioned by Ferishta as falling a prey to one of Mahmood's invasions, who destroyed its ancient temples ; but from erroneous punctuation it is lost in the translation as Bazule. Of Rahirgurb and the Jirkhéra from Sétbunder (on the Malabar coast) nothing is known. Of the Kheiravi from Mundore we can only say that it appears to be a branch of the Pramaras (who reckoned Mundore one of the nine strongholds, '*No-kote*,' under its dominion), established anterior to the Puriharas, who at this period had sovereignty in Cashmér. Both the Dor and his capital, Dussoondi, are described in ancient books as situated on the Ganges below Kanouj.

It is a subject of regret that the annals do not mention the name of the Túar prince of Dehli, which city could not have been re-founded above a century, when this call was made upon its aid. Abul Fuzil, Ferishta, their translators, and those who have followed them, have been corrected by the *Edinburgh Review*, whose critical judgment on this portion of ancient history is eminently good. I possess the original Hindu record used by Abul Fuzil, which gives S. 829 for the first Anungpal instead of S. 429 ; and as there were but nineteen princes who intervened until his dynasty was set aside by the Chohan, it requires no argument to support the *four* instead of *eight* centuries. The former will give the just average of twenty-one years to a reign. The name of Anungpal was titular in the family, and the epithet was applied to the last as to the first of the race.

The name of the Chawura prince of Putun (Anhulwara) being recorded amongst the auxiliaries of Khoman, is another satisfactory proof of the antiquity of this invasion ; for this dynasty was extinct, and succeeded by the Solankis, in S. 998 (A.D. 942), fifty years prior to Mahmood of Gazni, who captured Putun during the reign of Chaond, the second Solanki prince.

The Sonigurra, who came from Jhalore, is a celebrated branch of the Chohan race, but we are ignorant of the extent of time that it held this fortress : and as nothing can invalidate the testimonies afforded by the names of the Chawura of Putun, the Cutchwaha of Nirwur, the Túar of Dehli, and the Rahtore from Kanouj, there can be no hesitation at pointing out the anachronisms of the chronicle, which states the Deora from Sirohi, the Keechie from Gagrown, or the Bhatti from Jessulgurb, amongst the

¹ I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated S. 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the prince of Chectore. He was the contemporary of Mahmood, who devastated Nadole. I also discovered inscriptions of the twelfth century relative to this celebrated Chohan family, in passing from Oodipoor to Jodpoor.

levies on this occasion ; and which we must affirm to be decided interpolations, the two first being at that period in possession of the Pramara, and the latter not erected for three centuries later. That the Deoras, the Kechhies, and the Bhattis, came to the aid of Khoman, we cannot doubt ; but the copyist, ignorant even of the names of the ancient capitals of these tribes, Chotun, Sind-Sagur, and Tannote, substituted those which they subsequently founded.

The Jadu (Yadu) from Joonagurh (Girnar), was of the race of Chrishna, and appeared long to have held possession of this territory ; and the names of the Khengars, of this tribe, will remain as long as the stupendous monuments they reared on this sacred hill. Besides the Jadu, we find Samrashttra sending forth the J'halas, the Ballas, and the Gohils, to the aid of the descendant of the lord of Balabhipoora, whose paramount authority they once all acknowledged, and who appeared to have long maintained influence in that distant region.

Of the tribe of Boosa, who left their capital, Lahore, to succour Chectore, we have no mention, further than the name being enumerated amongst the unassigned tribes of Rajpoots.¹ Ferishta frequently notices the princes of Lahore in the early progress of Islamism, though he does not tell us the name of the tribe. In the reign of the caliph Al-Mansoor, A.H. 143 (A.D. 761), the Afghans of Kirman and Peshawur, who according to this authority were a Coptic colony expelled from Egypt, had increased in such numbers as to abandon their residence about the 'hill of Suliman,' and crossing the Indus, wrested possessions from the Hindu princes of Lahore. This frontier warfare with a tribe which, though it had certainly not then embraced the faith of Islam, brought to their succour the forces of the caliph in Zabilust'han, so that in five months seventy battles were fought with varied success ; but the last, in which the Lahore prince carried his arms to Peshawur,² produced a peace. Hence arose a union of interests between them and the hill tribe of Ghiker, and all the Kohistan west of the Indus was ceded to them, on the condition of guarding this barrier into Hindust'han against invasion. For this purpose the fortress of Khyber was erected in the chief pass of the Koh-i-Damaun. For two centuries after this event Ferishta is silent on this frontier warfare, stating that henceforth Hindust'han was only accessible through Sindh. When Aliptegin first crossed the Indus, the prince of Lahore and the Afghans still maintained this alliance and united to oppose him. Jeipal was then prince of Lahore ; and it is on this event that Ferishta, for the first time, mentions the tribe of Bhatti,³ "at the advice of whose prince he conferred the command of the united forces on an Afghan chief," to whom he assigned the provinces of Mooltan and Limgham. From this junction of interests the princes of Lahore enjoyed comparative security, until Soobektegin and Mahmood compelled the Afghans to serve them : then Lahore was captured. The territory dependent upon Lahore, at this period, extended from Sirhind to Limgham, and from Cashmér to Mooltan. Bhatinda divided with Lahore the residence of its princes. Their first encounter was at Limgham, on which occasion young Mahmood first distinguished

¹ See p. 99.

² The scene of action was between Peshawur and Kirman, the latter lying ninety miles south-west of the former.

³ Dow omits this in his translation.

himself, and as the historian says, "the eyes of the heavens were obscured at seeing his deeds."¹ A tributary engagement was the result, which Jeipal soon broke; and being aided by levies from all the princes of Hindust'han, marched an army of one hundred thousand men against Soobektegin, and was again defeated on the banks of the Indus. He was at length invested and taken in Bhatinda by Mahmood, when he put himself to death. The successors of Jeipal are mentioned merely as fugitives, and always distinct from the princes of Dehli. It is most probable that they were of the tribe termed Boosa in the annals of Méwar, possibly a subdivision of another; though Ferishta calls the prince of Lahore a Brahmin.

The Sankla from Ronéja. Both tribe and abode are well known: it is a subdivision of the Pramara. Hurba Sankla was the Paladin of Marwar, in which Ronéja was situated.

The Sehat from Kherligurh was a northern tribe, dwelling about the Indus, and though entirely unknown to the modern genealogists of India, is frequently mentioned in the early history of the Bhattis, when their possessions extended on both sides of the Hyphasis. As intermarriages between the Bhattis and Sehats are often spoken of, it must have been Rajpoot. It most probably occupied the province of Séwad, the *Suvat* of D'Anville, a division of the province of Ash-nagar, where dwelt the Assacani of Alexander; concerning which this celebrated geographer says, "Il est mention de Suvat comme d'un canton du pays d'Ash-nagar dans la même géographie Turque" (*Ecl.* p. 25). The whole of this ground was sacred to the Jadu tribe from the most remote antiquity, from Mooltan, the hills of Joud, to Aswini-kote (the *Tshehin-kote* of D'Anville) which, built on the point of confluence of the Choaspes of the Greeks with the Indus, marks the spot where dwelt the Asaséni, corroborated by the Pooráns, which mention the partition of all these territories amongst the sons of Baj-aswa, the lord of Kampilnagara, the grand subdivision of the Yadu race. In all likelihood, the Sehat, who came to the aid of Khoman of Cheetore, was a branch of these Asaséni, the opponents of Alexander. The modern town of Deenkote appears to occupy the site of Aswini-kote, though D'Anville feels inclined to carry it into the heart of Bijore and place it on the rock (*silla*) Aornus. Such the Sehat; not improbably the *Soha*, one of the eight subdivisions of the Yadu.² When, in S. 785, the Bhatti chief Rao Tannoo was driven across the Sutledge, the Sehats are mentioned with other tribes as forming the army of Hussein Shah, with the Barahas, the Joudis, and Johyas (the Juds and Jinjohyas of Baber), the Bootas, and the 'men of Doodé.'

The Chundail, from Kurrungurh, occupied the tracts now termed Boondékhund.

We shall pass over the other auxiliary tribes and conclude with the Purihar, who came from Cashmér on this occasion: a circumstance entirely overlooked in the dissertation on this tribe;³ nor does this isolated fact afford room for further discussion on a race which expelled the Pramaras from Mundore.

Such aids, who preserved Khoman when assailed by the 'Khorasan Put,' fully demonstrate the antiquity of the annals, which is further attested by inscriptions. Khoman fought twenty-four great battles,

¹ The sense of this passage has been quite perverted by Dow.

² See p. 73.

³ See p. 83.

and his name, like that of Cæsar, became a family distinction. At Oodipoor, if you make a false step, or even sneeze, you hear the ejaculation of 'Khoman aid you !' Khoman, by the advice of the Brahmins, resigned the Gadi to his younger son, Jograz ; but again resumed it, slaying his advisers and execrating the name of Brahmin, which he almost exterminated in his own dominions. Khoman was at length slain by his own son, Mangul ; but the chiefs expelled the parricide, who seized upon Lodurwa in the northern desert, and there established the Mangulia Gehlotes.

Bhartribhut (familiarily Bhatto) succeeded. In his reign, and in that of his successor, the territory dependent on Cheetore was greatly increased. All the forest tribes, from the banks of the Myhie to Aboo, were subjugated, and strongholds erected, of which D'horungurh and Ujargurh still remain to maintain them. He established no less than thirteen¹ of his sons in independent possessions in Malwa and Guzzerat, and these were distinguished as the Bhatéwra Gehlotes.

We shall now leap over fifteen generations ; which, though affording a few interesting facts to the antiquarian, would not amuse the general reader. We will rest satisfied with stating that the Chohans of Ajmér and the Gehlotes of Cheetore were alternately friends and foes ; that Doorlub Chohan was slain by Bérsi Raoul in a grand battle fought at Kowario, of which the Chohan annals state ' that their princes were now so powerful as to oppose the chief of Cheetore.' Again, in the next reign, we find the renowned Beesuldeo, son of Doorlub, combining with Raoul Téjsi of Cheetore to oppose the progress of Islamite invasion : facts recorded by inscriptions as well as by the annals. We may close these remarks on the fifteen princes, from Khoman to Samarsi, with the words of Gibbon on the dark period of Guelphic annals : " It may be presumed that they were illiterate and valiant ; that they plundered in their youth, and reared churches in their old age ; that they were fond of arms, horses, and hunting " ; and, we may add, continued bickering with their vassals within, when left unemployed by the enemy from without.

CHAPTER V

Historical facts furnished by the bard Chund—Anungpal—Pirthi Raj—Samarsi—Overthrow of the Chohan monarch by the Tatars—Posterity of Samarsi—Rahup—Changes in the title and the tribe of its prince—Successors of Rahup.

ALTHOUGH the whole of this chain of ancestry, from Keneksén in the second, Vijya the founder of Balabhi in the fourth, to Samarsi in the thirteenth century, cannot be discriminated with perfect accuracy, we may affirm, to borrow a metaphor, that " the two extremities of it are riveted in truth " : and some links have at intervals been recognised as equally valid. We will now extend the chain to the nineteenth century.

Samarsi was born in S. 1206. Though the domestic annals are not silent on his acts, we shall recur chiefly to the bard of Dehli² for his charac-

¹ By name, Koolanugger, Champanair, Choréta, Bhojpoor, Loonara, Neémthore, Sodarui, Jodghur, Sandpoor, Actpoor, and Gungabhéva. The remaining two are not mentioned.

² The work of Chund is a universal history of the period in which he wrote.

ter and actions, and the history of the period. Before we proceed, however, a sketch of the political condition of Hindust'han during the last of the Tûar sovereigns of Dehli, derived from this authority and in the bard's own words, may not be unacceptable. "In Putun is Bhola Bheem the Chalook, of iron frame. On the mountain Aboo, Jeit Pramara, in battle immovable as the star of the north. In Méwar is Samar Sing, who takes tribute from the mighty, a wave of iron in the path of Dehli's foe. In the midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundore's prince, the arrogant Nahar Rao, the might of Maroo, fearing none. In Dehli the chief of all Anunga, at whose summons attended the princes of Mundore, Nagore, Sinde, Julwut ¹ and others on its confines, Peshawur, Lahore, Kangra and its mountain chiefs, with Kasi, ² Priag, ³ and Gurh Deogir. The lords of Seemar ⁴ were in constant danger of his power." The Bhatti, since their expulsion from Zabulist'han, had successively occupied as capitals, Salbahana in the Punjáb, Tannote, Derawul, which last they founded, and the ancient Lodurwa, which they conquered in the desert; and at the period in question were constructing their present residence, Jessulmér. In this nook they had been fighting for centuries with the lieutenants of the Caliph at Arore, occasionally redeeming their ancient possessions as far as the city of the Tâk on the Indus. Their situation gave them little political interest in the affairs of Hindust'han until the period of Pirthi Raj, one of whose principal leaders, Achilés, was the brother of the Bhatti prince. Anungpal, from this description, was justly entitled to be termed the paramount sovereign of Hindust'han; but he was the last of a dynasty of nineteen princes, who had occupied Dehli nearly four hundred years, from the time of the founder Beelun Deo, who, according to a manuscript in the author's possession, was only an opulent Thacoor when he assumed the ensigns of royalty in the then deserted Indraprest'ha, taking the name of Anungpal, ⁵ ever after titular in the family. The Chohans of Ajmér owed at least homage to Dehli at this time, although Beesildeo had rendered it almost nominal; and to Soméswar, the fourth in descent,

In the sixty-nine books, comprising one hundred thousand stanzas, relating to the exploits of Pirthi Raj, every noble family of Rajast'han will find some record of their ancestors. It is accordingly treasured amongst the archives of each race having any pretensions to the name of Rajpoot. From this he can trace his martial forefathers who 'drank of the wave of battle' in the passes of Kirman, when 'the cloud of war rolled from Himachil' to the plains of Hindust'han. The wars of Pirthi Raj, his alliances, his numerous and powerful tributaries, their abodes and pedigrees, make the works of Chund invaluable as historic and geographical memoranda, besides being treasures in mythology, manners, and the annals of the mind. To read this poet well is a sure road to honour, and my own *Gooru* was allowed, even by the professional bards, to excel therein. As he read I rapidly translated about thirty thousand stanzas. Familiar with the dialects in which it is written, I have fancied that I seized occasionally the poet's spirit; but it were presumption to suppose that I embodied all his brilliancy, or fully comprehended the depth of his allusions. But I knew for whom he wrote. The most familiar of his images and sentiments I heard daily from the mouths of those around me, the descendants of the men whose deeds he rehearses. I was enabled thus to seize his meaning, where one more skilled in poetic lore might have failed, and to make my prosaic version of some value.

¹ Unknown, unless the country on the 'waters' (*jul*) of Sinde.

² Benares. ³ Allahabad. ⁴ The cold regions (see 'cold').

⁵ *Anunga* is a poetical epithet of the Hindu Cupid, literally 'incorporeal': but, according to good authority, applicable to the founder of the desolate abode, *palna* being 'to support,' and *unga*, with the primitive *an*, 'without body.'

Anungpal was indebted for the preservation of this supremacy against the attempts of Kanouj, for which service he obtained the Túar's daughter in marriage, the issue of which was Pirthi Raj, who when only eight years of age was proclaimed successor to the Dehli throne. Jychund of Kanouj and Pirthi Raj bore the same relative situation to Anungpal; Beejipal, the father of the former, as well as Soméswar, having had a daughter of the Túar to wife. This originated the rivalry between the Chohans and Rahtores, which ended in the destruction of both. When Pirthi Raj mounted the throne of Dehli, Jychund not only refused to acknowledge his supremacy, but set forth his own claims to this distinction. In these he was supported by the prince of Putun Anhulwara (the eternal foe of the Chohans), and likewise by the Purihars of Mundore. But the affront given by the latter, in refusing to fulfil the contract of bestowing his daughter on the young Chohan, brought on a warfare, in which this first essay was but the presage of his future fame. Kanouj and Putun had recourse to the dangerous expedient of entertaining bands of Tatars, through whom the sovereign of Gazni was enabled to take advantage of their internal broils.

Samarsi, prince of Cheetore, had married the sister of Pirthi Raj, and their personal characters, as well as this tie, bound them to each other throughout all these commotions, until the last fatal battle on the Caggar. From these feuds Hindust'han never was free. But unrelenting enmity was not a part of their character: having displayed the valour of the tribe, the bard or Nestor of the day would step in, and a marriage would conciliate and maintain in friendship such foes for two generations. From time immemorial such has been the political state of India, as represented by their own epics, or in Arabian or Persian histories: thus always the prey of foreigners, and destined to remain so. Samarsi had to contend both with the princes of Putun and Kanouj; and although the bard says, "he washed his blade in the Jumna," the domestic annals slur over the circumstance of Sid Rae Jey Sing having actually made a conquest of Cheetore; for it is not only included in the eighteen capitals enumerated as appertaining to this prince, but the author discovered a tablet¹ in Cheetore, placed there by his successor, Komarpal, bearing the date S. 1206, the period of Samarsi's birth. The first occasion of Samarsi's aid being called in by the Chohan emperor was on the discovery of treasure at Nagore, amounting to seven millions of gold, the deposit of ancient days. The princes of Kanouj and Putun, dreading the influence which such sinews of war would afford their antagonist, invited Shabudín to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan, who in this emergency sent an embassy to Samarsi. The envoy was Chund Poondir, the vassal chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier. He is conspicuous from this time to the hour "when he planted his lance at the ford of the Ravee," and fell in opposing the passage of Shabudín. The presents he carries, the speech with which he greets the Cheetore prince, his reception, reply, and dismissal, are all preserved by Chund. The style of address and the apparel of Samarsi betoken that he had not laid aside the office and ensigns of a 'Regent of Mahadeva.' A simple necklace of the seeds of the lotus adorned his neck; his hair was braided, and he is addressed as Jogindra, or chief of ascetics. Samarsi proceeded to Dehli; and it was arranged,

¹ See Inscription No. 5.

as he was connected by marriage with the prince of Putun, that Pirthi Raj should march against this prince, while he should oppose the army from Gazni. He (Samarsi) accordingly fought several indecisive battles, which gave time to the Chohan to terminate the war in Guzzerat and rejoin him. United, they completely discomfited the invaders, making their leader prisoner. Samarsi declined any share of the discovered treasure, but permitted his chiefs to accept the gifts offered by Chohan. Many years elapsed in such subordinate warfare, when the prince of Cheetore was again constrained to use his buckler in defence of Dehli and its prince, whose arrogance and successful ambition, followed by disgraceful inactivity, invited invasion with every presage of success. Jealousy and revenge rendered the princes of Putun, Kanouj, D'har, and the minor courts, indifferent spectators of a contest destined to overthrow them all.

The bard gives a good description of the preparations for his departure from Cheetore, which he was destined never to see again. The charge of the city was entrusted to a favourite and younger son, Kurna : which disgusted the elder brother, who went to the Dekhan to Biedur, where he was well received by an Abyssinian chief,¹ who had there established himself in sovereignty. Another son, either on this occasion or on the subsequent fall of Cheetore, fled to the mountains of Nepal, and there spread the Gehlote line. It is in this, the last of the books, of Chund, termed *The Great Fight*, that we have the character of Samarsi fully delineated. His arrival at Dehli is hailed with songs of joy as a day of deliverance. Pirthi Raj and his court advance seven miles to meet him, and the description of the greeting of the king of Dehli and his sister, and the chiefs on either side who recognise ancient friendships, is most animated. Samarsi reads his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity, and throughout the book divides attention with him.

In the planning of the campaign, and march towards the Caggar to meet the foe, Samarsi is consulted, and his opinions are recorded. The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host : brave, cool, and skilful in the fight ; prudent, wise, and eloquent in council ; pious and decorous on all occasions ; beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chohan. In the line of march no augur or bard could better explain the omens, none in the field better dress the squadrons for battle, none guide his steed or use his lance with more address. His tent is the principal resort of the leaders after the march or in the intervals of battle, who were delighted by his eloquence or instructed by his knowledge. The bard confesses that his precepts of government are chiefly from the lips of Khoman ;² and of his best episodes and allegories, whether on morals, rules for the guidance of ambassadors, choice of ministers, religious or social duties (but especially those of the Rajpoot to the sovereign), the wise prince of Cheetore is the general organ.

On the last of three days' desperate fighting Samarsi was slain, together with his son Calian, and thirteen thousand of his household troops and most renowned chieftains. His beloved Pirtha, on hearing the fatal issue, her husband slain, her brother captive, the heroes of Dehli and Cheetore

¹ Styled Hubshee Padsha.

² I have already mentioned, that Khoman became a patronymic and title amongst the princes of Cheetore.

"asleep on the banks of the Caggar, in the wave of the steel," joined her lord through the flame, nor waited the advance of the Tatar king, when Dehli was carried by storm, and the last stay of the Chohans, prince Rainsi, met death in the assault. The capture of Dehli and its monarch, the death of his ally of Cheetore, with the bravest and best of their troops, speedily ensured the further and final success of the Tatar arms; and when Canouj fell, and the traitor to his nation met his fate in the waves of the Ganges, none were left to contend with Shabudin the possession of the regal seat of the Chohan. Scenes of devastation, plunder, and massacre commenced, which lasted through ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders. The noble Rajpoot, with a spirit of constancy and enduring courage, seized every opportunity to turn upon his oppressor. By his perseverance and valour he wore out entire dynasties of foes, alternately yielding 'to his fate,' or restricting the circle of conquest. Every road in Rajast'han was moistened with torrents of blood of the spoiled and the spoiler. But all was of no avail; fresh supplies were ever pouring in, and dynasty succeeded dynasty, heir to the same remorseless feeling which sanctified murder, legalised spoliation, and deified destruction. In these desperate conflicts entire tribes were swept away, whose names are the only memento of their former existence and celebrity.

What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilisation, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rajpoot? Though ardent and reckless, he can, when required, subside into forbearance and apparent apathy, and reserve himself for the opportunity of revenge. Rajast'han exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure, and making calamity a whetstone to courage. How did the Britons at once sink under the Romans, and in vain strive to save their groves, their druids, or the altars of Bal from destruction! To the Saxons they alike succumbed; they, again, to the Danes; and this heterogeneous breed to the Normans. Empire was lost and gained by a single battle, and the laws and religion of the conquered merged in those of the conquerors. Contrast with these the Rajpoots; not an iota of their religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of land. Some of their states have been expunged from the map of dominion; and, as a punishment of national infidelity, the pride of the Rahtore, and the glory of the Chalook, the overgrown Canouj and gorgeous Anhulwarra, are forgotten names! Méwar alone, the sacred bulwark of religion, never compromised her honour for her safety, and still survives her ancient limits; and since the brave Samarsi gave up his life, the blood of her princes has flowed in copious streams for the maintenance of this honour, religion, and independence.

Samarsi had several sons; ¹ but Kurna was his heir, and during his minority his mother, Korundevi, a princess of Patun, nobly maintained what his father left. She headed her Rajpoots and gave battle ² in person

¹ Calianraé, slain with his father; Koomkurna, who went to Biedur; a third, the founder of the Gorkas.

² This must be the battle mentioned by Ferishta. See Dow, p. 169, vol. ii.

to Kootub-o-din, near Ambér, when the viceroy was defeated and wounded. Nine Rajas, and eleven chiefs of inferior dignity with the title of Rawut, followed the mother of their prince.

Kurna (the radiant) succeeded in S. 1249 (A.D. 1193); but he was not destined to be the founder of a line in Méwar.¹ The annals are at variance with each other on an event which gave the sovereignty of Cheetore to a younger branch, and sent the elder into the inhospitable wilds of the west, to found a city² and perpetuate a line. It is stated generally that Kurna had two sons, Mahup and Rahup; but this is an error: Samarsi and Soorajmul were brothers: Kurna was the son of the former and *Mahup* was his son, whose mother was a Chohan of Bhagur. Soorajmul had a son named Bharut, who was driven from Cheetore by a conspiracy. He proceeded to Sindé, obtained Arore from its prince, a Moosulman, and married the daughter of the Bhatti chief of Poogul, by whom he had a son named *Rahup*. Kurna died of grief for the loss of Bharut and the unworthiness of Mahup, who abandoned him to live entirely with his maternal relations, the Chohans.

The Sonigurra chief of Jhalore had married the daughter of Kurna, by whom he had a child named Rindhole,³ whom by treachery he placed on the throne of Cheetore, slaying the chief Gehlotes. Mahup being unable to recover his rights, and unwilling to make any exertion, the chair of Bappa Rawul would have passed to the Chohans but for an ancient bard of the house. He pursued his way to Arore, held by old Bharut as a fief of Cabul. With the levies of Sindé he marched to claim the right abandoned by Mahup and at Palli encountered and defeated the Sonigurras. The retainers of Méwar flocked to his standard, and by their aid he enthroned himself in Cheetore. He sent for his father and mother, Ranungdevi, whose dwelling on the Indus was made over to a younger brother, who bartered his faith for Arore, and held it as a vassal of Cabul.

Rahup obtained Cheetore in S. 1257 (A.D. 1201), and shortly after sustained the attack of Shemsudin, whom he met and overcame in a battle at Nagore. Two great changes were introduced by this prince; the first in the title of the tribe, to Sesodia; the other in that of its prince, from Rawul to Rana. The puerile reason for the former has already been noticed;⁴ the cause of the latter is deserving of more attention. Amongst the foes of Rahup was the Purihar prince of Mundore: his name Mokul, with the title of Rana. Rahup seized him in his capital and brought him to Sesodia, making him renounce the rich district of Godwar, and his title of Rana, which he assumed himself, to denote the completion of his feud. He ruled thirty-eight years in a period of great distraction, and appears to have been well calculated, not only to uphold the fallen fortunes of the state, but to rescue them from utter ruin. His reign is the more remarkable by contrast with his successors, nine of whom are "pushed from their stools" in the same or even a shorter period than that during which he upheld the dignity.

From Rahup to Lakumsi, in the short space of half a century, nine princes of Cheetore were crowned, and at nearly equal intervals of time

¹ He had a son, Sirwan, who took to commerce. Hence the mercantile Sesodia caste, Sirwaneana.

² Dongurpoor, so named from *dongra*, 'a mountain.'

³ So pronounced, but properly written Rin-dhaval, 'the standard of the field.'

⁴ See note, p. 176.

followed each other to 'the mansions of the sun.' Of these nine, six fell in battle. Nor did they meet their fate at home, but in a chivalrous enterprise to redeem the sacred Gya from the pollution of the barbarian. For this object these princes successively fell, but such devotion inspired fear, if not pity or conviction, and the bigot renounced the impiety which Pirthimull purchased with his blood, and until Alla-o-din's reign, this outrage to their prejudices was renounced. But in this interval they had lost their capital, for it is stated as the only occurrence in Bhonsi's ¹ reign, that he "recovered Cheetore" and made the name of Rana be acknowledged by all. Two memorials are preserved of the nine princes from Rahup to Lakumsi, and of the same character: confusion and strife within and without. We will, therefore, pass over these to another grand event in the vicissitudes of this house, which possesses more of romance than of history, though the facts are undoubted.

CHAPTER VI

Rana Lakumsi—Attack of Cheetore by Alla-o-din—Treachery of Alla—Ruse of the Cheetore chiefs to recover Bheemsi—Devotion of the Rana and his sons—Sack of Cheetore by the Tatars—Its destruction—Rana Ajeysi—Hamir—He gains possession of Cheetore—Renown and prosperity of Méwar—Khaitsi—Lakha.

LAKUMSI succeeded his father in S. 1331 (A.D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals, when Cheetore, the repository of all that was precious yet

¹ His second son, Chandra, obtained an appanage on the Chumbul, and his issue, well known as Chanderawuts, constituted one of the most powerful vassal clans of Méwar. Rampoor (Bhanpoora) was their residence, yielding a revenue of nine lakhs (£110,000), held on the tenure of service which, from an original grant in my possession from Rana Juggut Sing to his nephew Madhú Sing, afterwards prince of Ambér, was two thousand horse and foot (see p. 164), and the fine of investiture was seventy-five thousand rupees. Madhú Sing, when prince of Ambér, did what was invalid as well as ungrateful; he made over this domain, granted during his misfortunes, to Holkar, the first limb lopped off Méwar. The Chanderawut proprietor continued, however, to possess a portion of the original estate with the fortress of Amud, which it maintained throughout all the troubles of Rajwarra till A.D. 1821. It shows the attachment to custom, that the young Rao applied and received 'the sword' of investiture from his old lord paramount, the Rana, though dependent on Holkar's forbearance. But a minority is proverbially dangerous in India. Disorder from party plots made Amud troublesome to Holkar's government, which as his ally and preserver of tranquillity we suppressed by blowing up the walls of the fortress. This is one of many instances of the harsh, uncompromising nature of our power, and the anomalous description of our alliances with the Rajpoots. However necessary to repress the disorder arising from the claims of ancient proprietors and the recent rights of Holkar, or the new proprietor, Guffoor Khan, yet surrounding princes, and the general population, who know the history of past times, lament to see a name of five hundred years' duration thus summarily extinguished, which chiefly benefits an upstart Pat'han. Such the vortex of the ambiguous, irregular, and unsystematic policy, which marks many of our alliances, which protect too often but to injure, and gives to our office of general arbitrator and high constable of Rajast'han a harsh and unfeeling character.

Much of this arises from ignorance of the past history; much from disregard of the peculiar usages of the people; or from that expediency which too often comes in contact with moral fitness, which will go on until the day predicted by the Nestor of India, when "*one sicca* (seal) alone will be used in Hisdust'han."

untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan emperor, Alla-o-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders : that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

Bheemsi was the uncle of the young prince, and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chohan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Pudmani, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair, and transmitted with renown to posterity by tradition and the song of the bard. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra. The Hindu bard recognises the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-o-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmani ; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajpoot, he entered Cheetore slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajpoot, unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Alla risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush ; Bheemsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmani.

Despair reigned in Cheetore when this fatal event was known, and it was debated whether Pudmani should be resigned as a ransom for their defender. Of this she was informed, and expressed her acquiescence. Having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she communed with two chiefs of her own kin and clan of Ceylon, her uncle Gorah, and his nephew Badul, who devised a scheme for the liberation of their prince without hazarding her life or fame. Intimation was despatched to Alla, that on the day he withdraw from his trenches the fair Pudmani would be sent, but in a manner befitting her own and his high station, surrounded by her females and handmaids ; not only those who would accompany her to Dehli, but many others who desired to pay her this last mark of reverence. Strict commands were to be issued to prevent curiosity from violating the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. No less than seven hundred covered litters proceeded to the royal camp. In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore, borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with *kanats* (walls of cloth) ; the litters were deposited, half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindu prince and his bride. They then placed their prince in a litter and returned with him, while the greater number (the supposed damsels) remained to accompany the fair to Dehli. But Alla had no intention to permit Bheemsi's return, and was becoming jealous of the long interview he enjoyed, when, instead of the prince and Pudmani, the devoted band issued from their litters : but Alla was too well guarded. Pursuit was ordered, while these covered the retreat till they perished to a man. A fleet horse was in reserve

for Bheemsi, on which he was placed, and in safety ascended the fort, at whose outer gate the host of Alla was encountered. The choicest of the heroes of Cheetore met the assault. With Gorah and Badul at their head, animated by the noblest sentiments, the deliverance of their chief and the honour of their queen, they devoted themselves to destruction, and few were the survivors of this slaughter of the flower of Méwar. For a time Alla was defeated in his object, and the havoc they had made in his ranks, joined to the dread of their determined resistance, obliged him to desist from the enterprise.

Mention has already been made of the adjuration, "by the sin of the sack of Cheetore." Of these sacks they enumerate *three and a half*. This is the 'half'; for though the city was not stormed, the best and bravest were cut off (*saka*). It is described with great animation in the *Khoman Rásá*. Badul was but a stripling of twelve, but the Rajpoot expects wonders from this early age. He escaped, though wounded, and a dialogue ensues between him and his uncle's wife, who desires him to relate how her lord conducted himself ere she joins him. The stripling replies: "He was the reaper of the harvest of battle; I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain; a barbarian prince his pillow, he laid him down, and sleeps surrounded by the foe." Again she said: "Tell me, Badul, how did my love (*peear*) behave?" "Oh! mother, how further describe his deeds, when he left no foe to dread or admire him?" She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding, "My lord will chide my delay," sprung into the flame.

Alla-o-din, having recruited his strength, returned to his object, Cheetore. The annals state this to have been in S. 1346 (A.D. 1290), but Ferishta gives a date thirteen years later. They had not yet recovered the loss of so many valiant men who had sacrificed themselves for their prince's safety, and Alla carried on his attacks more closely, and at length obtained the hill at the southern point, where he entrenched himself. They still pretend to point out his trenches; but so many have been formed by subsequent attacks that we cannot credit the assertion. The poet has found in the disastrous issue of this siege admirable materials for his song. He represents the Rana, after an arduous day, stretched on his pallet, and during a night of watchful anxiety, pondering on the means by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons; when a voice broke on his solitude, exclaiming "*Myn bhooka hó*";¹ and raising his eyes, he saw, by the dim glare of the cheragh,² advancing between the granite columns, the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Cheetore. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Rana, "though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee?" "I must have regal victims; and if twelve who wear the diadem bleed not for Cheetore, the land will pass from the line." This said, she vanished.

On the morn he convened a council of his chiefs, to whom he revealed the vision of the night, which they treated as the dream of a disordered fancy. He commanded their attendance at midnight; when again the form appeared, and repeated the terms on which alone she would remain amongst them. "Though thousands of barbarians strew the earth, what are they to me? On each day enthrone a prince. Let the

¹ 'I am hungry.'

² Lamp.

kirnia,¹ the chehtra and the chamra,¹ proclaim his sovereignty, and for three days let his decrees be supreme : on the fourth let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain."

Whether we have merely the fiction of the poet, or whether the scene was got up to animate the spirit of resistance, matters but little, it is consistent with the belief of the tribe ; and that the goddess should openly manifest her wish to retain as her tiara the battlements of Cheetore on conditions so congenial to the warlike and superstitious Rajpoot, was a gage readily taken up and fully answering the end. A generous contention arose amongst the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. Ursi urged his priority of birth : he was proclaimed, the umbrella waved over his head, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short-lived honours and his life. Ajeysi, the next in birth, demanded to follow ; but he was the favourite son of his father, and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, and but one victim remained to the salvation of the city, when the Rana, calling his chiefs around him, said, " Now I devote myself for Cheetore." But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the *Johur*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat,' in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Cheetore beheld in procession the queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudmani closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.

A contest now arose between the Rana and his surviving son ; but the father prevailed, and Ajeysi, in obedience to his commands, with a small band passed through the enemy's lines, and reached Kailwarra in safety. The Rana, satisfied that his line was not extinct, now prepared to follow his brave sons ; and calling around him his devoted clans, for whom life had no longer any charms, they threw open the portals and descended to the plains, and with a reckless despair carried death, or met it, in the crowded ranks of Alla. The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inanimate capital, strewn with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire ; and since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred : no eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed as its guardian a huge serpent, whose " venomous breath " extinguishes the light which might guide intruders ² to " the place of sacrifice."

Thus fell, in A.D. 1303, this celebrated capital, in the round of conquest of Alla-o-din, one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns who have

¹ These are the insignia of royalty. The *kirnia* is a parasol, from *keren*, 'a ray' : the *chehtra* is the umbrella, always red ; the *chamra*, the flowing tail of the wild ox, set in a gold handle, and used to drive away the flies.

² The author has been at the entrance of this retreat, which, according to the *Khomán Rásá* conducts to a subterranean palace, but the mephitic vapours and venomous reptiles did not invite to adventure, even had official situation permitted such slight to these prejudices. The author is the only Englishman admitted to Cheetore since the days of Herbert, who appears to have described what he saw.

occupied the throne of India. In success, and in one of the means of attainment, a bigoted hypocrisy, he bore a striking resemblance to Arungzéb; and the title of 'Secunder Sani,' or the second Alexander, which he assumed and impressed on his coins, was no idle vaunt. The proud Anhulwara, the ancient D'har and Avantī, Mundore and Deogir, the seats of the Solankis, the Pramaras, the Puriharas, and Tāks, the entire Agnicūla race, were overturned for ever by Alla. Jessulmér, Gagrown, Boondī, the abodes of the Bhatti, the Kēcchec, and the Hara, with many of minor importance, suffered all the horrors of assault from this foe of the race, though destined again to raise their heads. The Rahtores of Marwar and the Cutchwahs of Ambér were yet in a state of insignificance: the former were slowly creeping into notice as the vassals of the Puriharas, while the latter could scarcely withstand the attacks of the original Meena population. Alla remained in Cheetore some days, admiring the grandeur of his conquest; and having committed every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigoted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art, he delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalore, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals. The palace of Bheem and the fair Pudmani alone appears to have escaped the wrath of Alla; it would be pleasing could we suppose any kinder sentiment suggested the exception, which enables the author of these annals to exhibit the abode of the fair of Ceylon.

The survivor of Cheetore, Rana Ajēysi, was now in security at Kailwarra, a town situated in the heart of the Aravulli mountains, the western boundary of Méwar, to which its princes had been indebted for twelve centuries of dominion. Kailwarra is at the highest part of one of its most extensive valleys, termed the Shero Nalla, the richest district of this Alpine region. Guarded by faithful adherents, Ajēysi cherished for future occasion the wrecks of Méwar. It was the last behest of his father, that when he attained 'one hundred years' (a figurative expression for dying) the son of Ursi, the elder brother, should succeed him. This injunction, from the deficiency of the qualities requisite at such a juncture in his own sons, met a ready compliance. Hamir was this son, destined to redeem the promise of the genius of Cheetore and the lost honours of his race, and whose birth and early history fill many a page of their annals. His father, Ursi, being out on a hunting excursion in the forest of Ondwa, with some young chiefs of the court, in pursuit of the boar entered a field of maize, when a female offered to drive out the game. Pulling one of the stalks of maize, which grows to the height of ten or twelve feet, she pointed it, and mounting the platform made to watch the corn, impaled the hog, dragged him before the hunters, and departed. Though accustomed to feats of strength and heroism from the nervous arms of their countrywomen, the act surprised them. They descended to the stream at hand, and prepared the repast, as is usual, on the spot. The feast was held, and comments were passing on the fair arm which had transfixed the boar, when a ball of clay from a sling fractured a limb of the prince's steed. Looking in the direction whence it came, they observed the same damsel, from her elevated stand,¹ preserving her fields from aerial depredators;

¹ A stand is fixed upon four poles in the middle of a field, on which a guard is placed armed with a sling and clay balls, to drive away the ravens, peacocks, and other birds that destroy the corn.

but seeing the mischief she had occasioned she descended to express her regret, and then returned to her pursuit. As they were proceeding homewards after the sports of the day, they again encountered the damsel, with a vessel of milk on her head, and leading in either hand a young buffalo. It was proposed, in frolic, to overturn her milk, and one of the companions of the prince dashed rudely by her; but without being disconcerted, she entangled one of her charges with the horse's limbs, and brought the rider to the ground. On inquiry the prince discovered that she was the daughter of a poor Rajpoot of the Chundano tribe.¹ He returned the next day to the same quarter and sent for her father, who came and took his seat with perfect independence close to the prince, to the merriment of his companions, which was checked by Ursi asking his daughter to wife. They were yet more surprised by the demand being refused. The Rajpoot, on going home, told the more prudent mother, who scolded him heartily, made him recall the refusal, and seek the prince. They were married, and Hamir was the son of the Chundano Rajpootnee. He remained little noticed at the maternal abode till the catastrophe of Cheetore. At this period he was twelve years of age, and had led a rustic life, from which the necessity of the times recalled him.

Méwar was now occupied by the garrisons of Dehli, and Ajeysi had besides to contend with the mountain chiefs, amongst whom Moonja Balaitcha was the most formidable, who had, on a recent occasion, invaded the Shero Nalla, and personally encountered the Rana, whom he wounded on the head with a lance. The Rana's sons, Sujunsi and Ajimsi, though fourteen and fifteen, an age at which a Rajpoot ought to indicate his future character, proved of little aid in the emergency. Hamir was summoned, and accepted the feud against Moonja, promising to return successful or not at all. In a few days he was seen entering the pass of Kailwarra with Moonja's head at his saddle-bow. Modestly placing the trophy at his uncle's feet, he exclaimed: "Recognise the head of your foe!" Ajeysi "kissed his beard,"² and observing that fate had stamped empire on his forehead, impressed it with a teeka of blood from the head of the Balaitcha. This decided the fate of the sons of Ajeysi; one of whom died at Kailwarra, and the other, Sujunsi, who might have excited a civil war, was sent from the country.³ He departed for the Dekhan, where his issue was destined to avenge some of the wrongs the parent country had sustained, and eventually to overturn the monarchy of Hindust'han; for Sujunsi was the ancestor of Sevaji, the founder of the Satarra throne, whose lineage⁴ is given in the chronicles of Méwar.

Hamir succeeded in S. 1357 (A.D. 1301), and had sixty-four years granted to him to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century,

¹ One of the branches of the Chohan.

² This is an idiomatic phrase; Hamir could have had no beard.

³ *Dés désá.*

⁴ Ajeysi, Sujunsi, Duleepji, Seoji, B'horaji, Deoraj, Oogursén, Mahoolji, Khailooji, Junkoji, Suttooji, Sambaji, Sevaji (the founder of the Mahratta nation), Sambaji, Ramraja, usurpation of the Peishwas. The Satarra throne, but for the jealousies of Oodipoor, might on the imbecility of Ramraja have been replenished from Méwar. It was offered to Nathji, the grandfather of the present chief Sheodan Sing, presumptive heir to Cheetore. Two noble lines were reared from princes of Cheetore expelled on similar occasions; those of Sevaji and the Ghorkas of Nepal.

which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes. The day on which he assumed the ensigns of rule he gave, in the *teeka dōwr*, an earnest of his future energy, which he signalled by a rapid inroad into the heart of the country of the predatory Balaitcha, and captured their stronghold Possalio. We may here explain the nature of this custom of a barbaric chivalry. The *teeka dōwr* signifies the foray of inauguration, which obtained from time immemorial on such events, and is yet maintained where any semblance of hostility will allow its execution. On the morning of installation, having previously received the *teeka* of sovereignty, the prince at the head of his retainers makes a foray into the territory of anyone with whom he may have a feud, or with whom he may be indifferent as to exciting one; he captures a stronghold or plunders a town, and returns with the trophies. If amity should prevail with all around, which the prince cares not to disturb, they have still a mock representation of the custom. For many reigns after the Jeipoor princes united their fortunes to the throne of Dehli, their frontier town, Malpoora, was the object of the *teeka dōwr* of the princes of Mēwar.

"When Ajmal¹ went another road," as the bard figuratively describes the demise of Rana Ajeysi, "the son of Ursi unsheathed the sword, thence never stranger to his hand." Maldeo remained with the royal garrison at Cheetore, but Hamir desolated their plains, and left to his enemies only the fortified towns which could safely be inhabited. He commanded all who owned his sovereignty either to quit their abodes, and retire with their families to the shelter of the hills on the eastern and western frontiers, or share the fate of the public enemy. The roads were rendered impassable from his parties, who issued from their retreats in the Aravulli, the security of which baffled pursuit. This destructive policy of laying waste the resources of their own country, and from this asylum attacking their foes as opportunity offered, has obtained from the time of Mahmood of Gazni in the tenth, to Mahomed, the last who merited the name of Emperor of Dehli, in the eighteenth century.

Hamir made Kailwarra² his residence, which soon became the chief retreat of the emigrants from the plains. The situation was admirably chosen, being covered by several ranges, guarded by intricate defiles, and situated at the foot of a pass leading over the mountain into a still more inaccessible retreat (where Komulmér now stands),³ well watered and wooded, with abundance of pastures and excellent indigenous fruits and roots. This tract, above fifty miles in breadth, is twelve hundred feet above the level of the plains and three thousand above the sea, with a considerable quantity of arable land, and free communication to obtain supplies by the passes of the western declivity from Marwar, Guzzerat, or the friendly Bhils of the west, to whom this house owes a large debt of gratitude. On various occasions, the communities of Oguna and Panora furnished the princes of Mēwar with five thousand bowmen, supplied them with provisions, or guarded the safety of their families when they

¹ This is a poetical version of the name of Ajeysi; a liberty frequently taken by the bards for the sake of rhyme.

² The lake he excavated here, the '*Hamir-tallao*,' and the temple of the protecting goddess on its bank, still bear witness of his acts while confined to this retreat.

³ See Plate, view of Komulmér.

had to oppose the foe in the field. The elevated plateau of the eastern frontier presented in its forests and dells many places of security ; but Alla¹ traversed these in person, destroying as he went : neither did they possess the advantages of climate and natural productions arising from the elevation of the other. Such was the state of Méwar : its places of strength occupied by the foe, cultivation and peaceful objects neglected from the persevering hostility of Hamir, when a proposal of marriage came from the Hindu governor of Cheetore, which was immediately accepted, contrary to the wishes of the prince's advisers. Whether this was intended as a snare to entrap him, or merely as an insult, every danger was scouted by Hamir which gave a chance to the recovery of Cheetore. He desired that '*the cocoa-nut*² *might be retained,*' coolly remarking on the dangers pointed out, "My feet shall at least tread in the rocky steps in which my ancestors have moved. A Rajpoot should always be prepared for reverses ; one day to abandon his abode covered with wounds, and the next to reascend with the *mor* (crown) on his head." It was stipulated that only five hundred horse should form his suite. As he approached Cheetore, the five sons of the Chohan advanced to meet him, but on the portal of the city no torun,³ or nuptial emblem, was suspended. He, however, accepted the unsatisfactory reply to his remark on this indication of treachery, and ascended for the first time the ramp of Cheetore. He was received in the ancient halls of his ancestors by Rao Maldeo, his son Bunbeer, and other chiefs, *with folded hands*. The bride was brought forth, and presented by her father without any of the solemnities practised on such occasions ; 'the knot of their garments tied and their hands united,' and thus they were left. The family priest recommended patience, and Hamir retired with his bride to the apartments allotted for them. Her kindness and vows of fidelity overcame his sadness upon learning that he had married a widow. She had been wedded to a chief of the Bhatti tribe, shortly afterwards slain, and when she was so young as not to recollect even his appearance. He ceased to lament the insult when she herself taught him how it might be avenged, and that it might even lead to the recovery of Cheetore. It is a privilege

¹ I have an inscription, and in *Sanscrit*, set up by an apostate chief or bard in his train, which I found in this tract.

² This is the symbol of an offer of marriage.

³ The *torun* is the symbol of marriage. It consists of three wooden bars, forming an equilateral triangle ; mystic in shape and number, and having the apex crowned with the effigies of a peacock, it is placed over the portal of the bride's abode. At Oodipoor, when the princes of Jusselmér, Bikanér, and Kishengurh simultaneously married the two daughters and granddaughter of the Rana, the toruns were suspended from the battlements of the tripolia, or *three-arched portal*, leading to the palace. The bridegroom on horseback, lance in hand, proceeds to break the torun (*torun toorna*), which is defended by the damsels of the bride, who from the parapet assail him with missiles of various kinds, especially with a crimson powder made from the flowers of the *palasa*, at the same time singing songs fitted to the occasion, replete with *double-entendres*. At length the torun is broken amidst the shouts of the retainers ; when the fair defenders retire.

The similitude of these ceremonies in the north of Europe and in Asia, increases the list of common affinities, and indicates the violence of rude times to obtain the object of affection ; and the lance, with which the Rajpoot chieftain breaks the torun, has the same emblematic import as the spear, which, at the marriage of the nobles in Sweden, was a necessary implement in the furniture of the marriage chamber. Vide *Northern Antiquities*.

possessed by the bridegroom to have one specific favour complied with as a part of the dower (*daaja*), and Hamir was instructed by his bride to ask for Jal, one of the civil officers of Cheetore, and of the Mehta tribe. With his wife so obtained, and the scribe whose talents remained for trial, he returned in a fortnight to Kailwarra. Kaitsi was the fruit of this marriage, on which occasion Maldeo made over all the hill tracts to Hamir. Kaitsi was a year old when one of the penates (Kair Pal) was found at fault, on which she wrote to her parents to invite her to Cheetore, that the infant might be placed before the shrine of the deity. Escorted by a party from Cheetore, with her child she entered its walls; and instructed by the Mehta, she gained over the troops who were left, for the Rao had gone with his chief adherents against the Mérs of Madarai. Hamir was at hand. Notice that all was ready reached him at Pagore. Still he met opposition that had nearly defeated the scheme; but having forced admission, his sword overcame every obstacle, and the oath of allegiance (*án*) was proclaimed from the palace of his fathers.

The Sonigurra on his return was met with 'a salute of arabas,'¹ and Maldeo himself carried the account of his loss to the Ghilji king Mahmood, who had succeeded Alla. The 'standard of the sun' once more shone refulgent from the walls of Cheetore, and was the signal for return to their ancient abodes from their hills and hiding-places to the adherents of Hamir. The valleys of Komulmér and the western highlands poured forth their 'streams of men,' while every chief of true Hindu blood rejoiced at the prospect of once more throwing off the barbarian yoke. So powerful was this feeling, and with such activity and skill did Hamir follow up this favour of fortune, that he marched to meet Mahmood, who was advancing to recover his lost possessions. The king unwisely directed his march by the eastern plateau, where numbers were rendered useless by the intricacies of the country. Of the three steppes which mark the physiognomy of this tract, from the first ascent from the plain of Méwar to the descent at the Chumbul, the king had encamped on the central, at Singolli, where he was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner by Hamir, who slew Hari Sing, brother of Bunbeer, in single combat. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Cheetore, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmér, Rinthumbore, Nagore, and Sooe Sopoore, besides paying fifty lakhs of rupees and one hundred elephants. Hamir would exact no promise of cessation from further inroads, but contented himself with assuring him that from such he should be prepared to defend Cheetore, not within, but without the walls.²

Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeerun, Ruttunpoore, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity; and as he gave the grant he remarked: "Eat, serve, and be faithful. You were once the servant of a Toork, but now of a Hindu of your own faith; for I have but taken back my own, the rock moistened by the blood of my ancestors, the gift of the deity I adore, and who will maintain me in it; nor shall I endanger it by the worship of a fair face, as did my predecessor." Bunbeer shortly after

¹ A kind of arquebuss.

² Ferishta does not mention this conquest over the Ghilji emperor; but as Méwar recovered her wonted splendour in this reign, we cannot doubt the truth of the native annals.

carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Méwar. The chieftains of Rajast'han rejoiced once more to see a Hindu take the lead, paid willing homage, and aided him with service when required.

Hamir was the sole Hindu prince of power now left in India : all the ancient dynasties were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes of Marwar and Jeipoor brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Cheetore, as did the chiefs of Boondí, Gwalior, Chanderi, Raeseen, Sicri, Calpee, Aboo, etc.

Extensive as was the power of Méwar before the Tatar occupation of India, it could scarcely have surpassed the solidity of sway which she enjoyed during the two centuries following Hamir's recovery of the capital. From this event to the next invasion from the same Cimmerian abode, led by Baber, we have a succession of splendid names recorded in her annals, and though destined soon to be surrounded by new Mahomedan dynasties, in Malwa and Guzzerat as well as Dehli, yet successfully opposing them all. The distracted state of affairs when the races of Ghilji, Lodi, and Soor alternately struggled for and obtained the seat of dominion, Dehli, was favourable to Méwar, whose power was now so consolidated that she not only repelled armies from her territory, but carried war abroad, leaving tokens of victory at Nagore, in Saurashtra, and to the walls of Dehli. The subjects of Méwar must have enjoyed not only a long repose, but high prosperity during this period, judging from their magnificent public works, when a triumphal column must have cost the income of a kingdom to erect, and which ten years' produce of the crown-lands of Méwar could not at this time defray. Only one of the structures prior to the sack of Cheetore was left entire by Alla, and is yet existing, and this was raised by private and sectarian hands. It would be curious if the unitarian profession of the Jain creed was the means of preserving this ancient relic from Alla's wrath. The princes of this house were great patrons of the arts, and especially of architecture ; and it is a matter of surprise how their revenues, derived chiefly from the soil, could have enabled them to expend so much on these objects and at the same time maintain such armies as are enumerated. Such could be effected only by long prosperity, and a mild, paternal system of government ; for the subject had his monuments as well as the prince, the ruins of which may yet be discovered in the more inaccessible or deserted portions of Rajast'han. Hamir died full of years, leaving a name still honoured in Méwar, as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes, and bequeathing a well-established and extensive power to his son.

KHAITSI succeeded in S. 1421 (A.D. 1365) to the power and to the character of his father. He captured Ajmér and Jehajpoor from Lilla Patan, and reannexed Mandelgurrh, Dussore, and the whole of Chuppun (for the first time) to Méwar. He obtained a victory over the Dehli monarch Hemayoon at Bakrole ; but unhappily his life terminated in a family broil with his vassal, the Hara chief of Bumáóda, whose daughter he was about to espouse.

LAKHA RANA, by this assassination, mounted the throne in Cheetore in S. 1439 (A.D. 1373). His first act was the entire subjugation of the mountainous region of Mérwarra, and the destruction of its chief stronghold, Bérátgurrh, where he erected Bednore. But an event of much greater

importance than settling his frontier, and which most powerfully tended to the prosperity of the country, was the discovery of the tin and silver mines of Jawura, in the tract wrested by Khaitsi from the Bhils of Chuppun. Lakha Rana has the merit of having first worked them, though their existence is superstitiously alluded to so early as the period of the founder. It is said the "seven metals (*heft-dhat*)"¹ were formerly abundant; but this appears figurative. We have no evidence for the gold; though silver, tin, copper, lead, and antimony, were yielded in abundance (the first two from the same matrix), but the tin that has been extracted for many years past yields but a small portion of silver.² Lakha Rana defeated the Sankla Rajpoots of Nagarchal,³ at Ambér. He encountered the emperor Mahomed Shah Lodi, and on one occasion defeated a royal army at Bednore; but he carried the war to Gya, and in driving the barbarian from this sacred place was slain. Lakha is a name of celebrity, as a patron of the arts and benefactor of his country. He excavated many reservoirs and lakes, raised immense ramparts to dam their waters, besides erecting strongholds. The riches of the mines of Jawura were expended to rebuild the temples and palaces levelled by Alla. A portion of his own palace yet exists, in the same style of architecture as that, more ancient, of Rutna and the fair Pudmani; and a minster (*mundir*) dedicated to the creator (Brimha), an enormous and costly fabric, is yet entire. Being to "the one," and consequently containing no idol, it may thus have escaped the ruthless fury of the invaders.

Lakha had a numerous progeny, who have left their clans called after them, as the Loonawuts and Doolawuts, now the sturdy allodial proprietors of the Alpine regions bordering on Oguna, Panora, and other tracts in the Aravulli.⁴ But a circumstance which set aside the rights of primogeniture, and transferred the crown of Cheetore from his eldest son, Chonda, to the younger, Mokul, had nearly carried it to another line. The consequences of making the elder branch a powerful vassal clan with claims to the throne, and which have been the chief cause of its subsequent prostration, we will reserve for another chapter.

¹ *Heft-dhat*, corresponding to the planets, each of which ruled a metal: hence *Mohar*, 'the sun,' for gold; *Chandra*, 'the moon,' for silver.

² They have long been abandoned, the miners are extinct, and the protecting deities of mines are unable to get even a flower placed on their shrines, though some have been reconsecrated by the Bhils, who have converted Latchmi into Seetlamata (Jung Lucina), whom the Bhil females invoke to pass them through danger.

³ Jhoonjoonoo, Singhana, and Nurbana, formed the ancient Nagarchal territory.

⁴ The Sarungdeote chief of Kanorh (on the borders of Chuppun), one of the sixteen lords of Méwar, is also a descendant of Lakha, as are some of the tribes of Sondwara, about Furfurah and the ravines of the Calí Sinda.

CHAPTER VII

Delicacy of the Rajpoots—The occasion of changing the rule of primogeniture in Méwar—Succession of the infant Mokulji, to the prejudice of Chonda, the rightful heir—Disorders in Méwar through the usurpations of the Rahtores—Chonda expels them from Cheetore and takes Mundore—Transactions between Méwar and Marwar—Reign of Mokulji—His assassination.

If devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilisation, the Rajpoot must rank high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirical impromptu, involving the sacrifice of Rajpoot prejudices, dissolved the coalition of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom when united they had crushed: and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Cheetore, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms either of Moguls or Mahrattas.

Lakha Rana was advanced in years, his sons and grandsons established in suitable domains, when "the cocoa-nut came" from Rinnull prince of Marwar, to affiancé his daughter with Chonda, the heir of Méwar. When the embassy was announced, Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state surrounded by his court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his moustaches, "I don't suppose you send such playthings to an old greybeard like me." This little sally was of course applauded and repeated; but Chonda, offended at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had even in jest supposed might be intended for him: and as it could not be returned without gross insult to Rinnull, the old Rana, incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would swear to renounce his birthright in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but the "first of his Rajpoots." He swore by Eklinga to fulfil his father's wishes.

MOKULJI was the issue of this union, and had attained the age of five when the Rana resolved to signalise his finale, by a raid against the enemies of their faith, and to expel the 'barbarian' from the holy land of Gya. In ancient times this was by no means uncommon, and we have several instances in the annals of these states of princes resigning 'the purple' on the approach of old age, and by a life of austerity and devotion, pilgrimage and charity, seeking to make their peace with heaven 'for the sins inevitably committed by all who wield a sceptre.' But when war was made against their religion by the Tatar proselytes to Islam, the Sutledge and the Caggar were as the banks of the Jordan—Gya, their Jerusalem, their holy land; and if there destiny filled his cup, the Hindu chieftain was secure of beatitude,¹ exempted from the troubles of 'second birth';² and borne from the scene of probation in celestial cars by the

¹ *Mookt.*

² This is a literal phrase, denoting further transmigration of the soul, which is always deemed a punishment. The soldier, who falls in battle in the faithful performance of his duty, is alone exempted, according to their martial mythology, from the pains of 'second birth.'

Apsaras,¹ was introduced at once into the 'realm of the sun.'² Ere, however, the Rana of Cheetore journeyed to this bourne, he was desirous to leave his throne unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but discussing with Chonda his warlike pilgrimage to Gya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokul. "The throne of Cheetore," was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future sovereign: reserving, as the recompense of his renunciation, the first place in the councils, and stipulating that in all grants to the vassals of the crown, his symbol (the lance) should be superadded to the autograph of the prince. In all grants the lance of Saloombra³ still precedes the monogram of the Rana.⁴

The sacrifice of Chonda to offended delicacy and filial respect was great, for he had all the qualities requisite for command. Brave, frank, and skilful, he conducted all public affairs after his father's departure and death, to the benefit of the minor and the state. The queen-mother, however, who is admitted as the natural guardian of her infant's rights on all such occasions, felt umbrage and discontent at her loss of power; forgetting that, but for Chonda, she would never have been mother to the Rana of Méwar. She watched with a jealous eye all his proceedings; but it was only through the medium of suspicion she could accuse the integrity of Chonda, and she artfully asserted that, under colour of directing state affairs, he was exercising absolute sovereignty, and that if he did not assume the title of Rana, he would reduce it to an empty name. Chonda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowance for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigilant care to the rights of Sesodias, he retired to the court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallar was assigned to him by the king.

His departure was the signal for an influx of the kindred of the queen from Mundore. Her brother Joda (who afterwards gave his name to Jod-poor) was the first, and was soon followed by his father, Rao Rinnull, and numerous adherents, who deemed the arid region of Maroo-dés, and its rabri, or maize porridge, well exchanged for the fertile plains and wheaten bread of Méwar.

With his grandson on his knee, the old Rao "would sit on the throne of Bappa Rawul, on whose quitting him for play, the regal ensigns of Méwar waved over the head of Mundore." This was more than the Sesodia nurse⁵ (an important personage in all Hindu governments) could bear, and bursting with indignation, she demanded of the queen if her kin was to defraud her own child of his inheritance. The honesty of the nurse was greater than her prudence. The creed of the Rajpoot is to "obtain

¹ The fair messengers of heaven.

² *Sooraj Mandal*.

³ The abode of the chief of the various clans of Chondawut.

⁴ *Vide* p. 164.

⁵ The *Dhaé*. The *Dhabhdes*, or 'foster-brothers,' often hold lands in perpetuity, and are employed in the most confidential places; on embassies, marriages, etc.

sovereignty," regarding the means as secondary, and this avowal of her suspicions only hastened their designs. The queen soon found herself without remedy, and a remonstrance to her father produced a hint which threatened the existence of her offspring. Her fears were soon after augmented by the assassination of Ragoodeva, the second brother of Chonda, whose estates were Kailwarra and Kowaria. To the former place, where he resided aloof from the court, Rao Rinnull sent a dress of honour, which etiquette requiring him to put on when presented, the prince was assassinated in the act. Ragoodeva was so much beloved for his virtues, courage, and manly beauty, that his murder became martyrdom, and obtained for him divine honours, and a place amongst the *Di Patres* (*Pitri-déva*) of Méwar. His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf.¹

In this extremity the queen-mother turned her thoughts to Chonda, and it was not difficult to apprise him of the danger which menaced the race, every place of trust being held by her kinsmen, and the principal post of Cheetore by a Bhatti Rajpoot of Jessulmér. Chonda, though at a distance, was not inattentive to the proverbially dangerous situation of a minor amongst the Rajpoots. At his departure he was accompanied by two hundred Ahairesas or huntsmen, whose ancestors had served the princes of Cheetore from ancient times. These had left their families behind, a visit to whom was the pretext for their introduction to the fort. They were instructed to get into the service of the keepers of the gates, and, being considered more attached to the place than to the family, their object was effected. The queen-mother was counselled to cause the young prince to descend daily with a numerous retinue to give feasts to the surrounding villages, and gradually to increase the distance, but not to fail on the "festival of lamps" ² to hold the feast (*gote*) at Gosoonda.³

These injunctions were carefully attended to. The day arrived, the feast was held at Gosoonda; but the night was closing in, and no Chonda appeared. With heavy hearts the nurse, the Purohit,⁴ and those in the secret, moved homeward, and had reached the eminence called Chitoree, when forty horsemen passed them at the gallop, and at their head Chonda in disguise, who by a secret sign paid homage as he passed to his younger brother and sovereign. Chonda and his band had reached the *Rampol*,⁵

¹ On the 8th day of the *dusserah*, or 'military festival,' when the levies are mustered at the *Chaogán*, or 'Champ de Mars,' and on the 10th of Cheit, his altars are purified, and his image is washed and placed thereon. Women pray for the safety of their children; husbands, that their wives may be fruitful. Previously to this, a son of Bappa Rawul was worshipped; but after the enshrinement of Ragoodeva, the adoration of Kulés-pootra was gradually abolished. Nôr is this custom confined to Méwar: there is a deified *Pootra* in every Rajpoot family—one who has met a violent death. Besides Eklinga, the descendants of Bappa have adopted numerous household divinities: the destinies of life and death, Byen-mata the goddess of the Chawuras, Nagnaitcha the serpent divinity of the Rahtores, and Khétra-pal, or 'fosterer of the field,' have with many others obtained a place on the Sesodia altars. This festival may not unaptly be compared to that of Adonis amongst the Greeks, for the *Pootra* is worshipped chiefly by women.

² The *Dewalli*, from *dewa*, 'a lamp.' This festival is in honour of Latchmi, goddess of wealth.

³ Seven miles south of Cheetore, on the road to Malwa.

⁴ The family priest and instructor of youth.

⁵ *Ram-pol*, 'the gate of Ram.'

or upper gate, unchecked. Here, when challenged, they said they were neighbouring chieftains, who, hearing of the feast at Gosoonda, had the honour to escort the prince home. The story obtained credit; but the main body, of which this was but the advance, presently coming up, the treachery was apparent. Chonda unsheathed his sword, and at his well-known shout the hunters were speedily in action. The Bhatti chief, taken by surprise, and unable to reach Chonda, launched his dagger at and wounded him, but was himself slain; the guards at the gates were cut to pieces, and the Rahtores hunted out and killed without mercy.

The end of Rao Rinnull was more ludicrous than tragical. Smitten with the charms of a Sesodia handmaid of the queen, who was compelled to his embrace, the old chief was in her arms, intoxicated with love, wine, and opium, and heard nothing of the tumult without. A woman's wit and revenge combined to make his end afford some compensation for her loss of honour. Gently rising, she bound him to his bed with his own Marwari turban:¹ nor did this disturb him, and the messengers of fate had entered ere the opiate allowed his eyes to open to a sense of his danger. Enraged, he in vain endeavoured to extricate himself; and by some tortuosity of movement he got upon his legs, his wallet at his back like a shell or shield of defence. With no arms but a brass vessel of ablution, he levelled to the earth several of his assailants, when a ball from a match-lock extended him on the floor of the palace. His son Joda was in the lower town, and was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for escaping the fate of his father and kindred, whose bodies strewed the *terre-pleine* of Cheetore, the merited reward of their usurpation and treachery.

But Chonda's revenge was not yet satisfied. He pursued Rao Joda, who, unable to oppose him, took refuge with Hurba Sankla, leaving Mundore to its fate. This city Chonda entered by surprise, and holding it till his sons Kontotji and Munjaji arrived with reinforcements, the Rahtore treachery was repaid by their keeping possession of the capital during twelve years. We might here leave the future founder of Jodpoor, had not this feud led to the junction of the rich province of Godwar to Méwar, held for three centuries and again lost by treachery. It may yet involve a struggle between the Sesodias and Rahtores.

'Sweet are the uses of adversity.' To Joda it was the first step in the ladder of his eventual elevation. A century and a half had scarcely elapsed since a colony, the wreck of Kanouj, found an asylum, and at length a kingdom, taking possession of one capital and founding another, abandoning Mundore and erecting Jodpoor. But even Joda could never have hoped that his issue would have extended their sway from the valley of the Indus to within one hundred miles of the Jumna, and from the desert bordering on the Sutledge to the Aravulli mountains: that one hundred thousand swords should at once be in the hands of Rahtores, 'the sons of one father (*ék Bap ca Bétan*).'

If we slightly encroach upon the annals of Marwar, it is owing to its history and that of Méwar being here so interwoven, and the incidents these events gave birth so illustrative of the national character of each, that it is, perhaps, more expedient to advert to the period when Joda was shut out from Mundore, and the means by which he regained that city, previous to relating the events of the reign of Mokul.

¹ Often sixty cubits in length.

Hurba Sankla, at once a soldier and a devotee, was one of those Rajpoot cavaliers '*sans peur et sans reproche*,' whose life of celibacy and perilous adventure was mingled with the austere devotion of an ascetic ; by turns aiding with his lance the cause which he deemed worthy, or exercising an unbounded hospitality towards the stranger. This generosity had much reduced his resources when Joda sought his protection. It was the eve of the *Sudda Birt*, one of those hospitable rites which, in former times, characterised Rajwarra. This 'perpetual charity' supplies food to the stranger and traveller, and is distributed not only by individual chiefs and by the government, but by subscriptions of communities. Even in Méwar, in her present impoverished condition, the offerings to the gods in support of their shrines and the establishment of the *Sudda Birt* were simultaneous. Hospitality is a virtue pronounced to belong more peculiarly to a semi-barbarous condition. Alas ! for refinement and ultra-civilisation, strangers to the happiness enjoyed by Hurba Sankla. Joda, with one hundred and twenty followers, came to solicit the 'stranger's fare' : but unfortunately it was too late, the *Sudda Birt* had been distributed. In this exigence, Hurba recollected that there was a wood called *mujd*,¹ used in dyeing, which among other things in the desert regions is resorted to in scarcity. A portion of this was bruised, and boiled with some flour, sugar, and spices, making altogether a palatable pottage ; and with a promise of better fare on the morrow, it was set before the young Rao and his followers, who, after making a good repast, soon forgot Cheetore in sleep. On waking, each stared at his fellow, for their mustachios were dyed with their evening's meal ; but the old chief, who was not disposed to reveal his expedient, made it minister to their hopes by giving it a miraculous character, and saying " that as the grey of age was thus metamorphosed into the tint of morn² and hope, so would their fortunes become young, and Mundore again be theirs."

Elevated by this prospect, they enlisted Hurba on their side. He accompanied them to the chieftain of Méwoh, " whose stables contained one hundred chosen steeds." Pabooji, a third independent of the same stamp, with his 'coal-black steed,' was gained to the cause, and Joda soon found himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his capital. The sons of Chonda were taken by surprise : but despising the numbers of the foe, and ignorant who were their auxiliaries, they descended sword in hand to meet the assailants. The elder³ son of Chonda with many adherents was slain ; and the younger, deserted by the subjects of Mundore, trusted to the swiftness of his horse for escape ; but being pursued, was overtaken and killed on the boundary of Godwar. Thus Joda, in his turn, was revenged, but the "feud was not balanced." Two sons of Cheetore had fallen for one chief of Mundore. But wisely reflecting on the original aggression, and the superior power of Méwar, as well as his being indebted for his present success to foreign aid, Joda sued for peace, and offered as the *moondkati*, or 'price of blood,' and "to quench the feud," that the

¹ The wood of Solomon's temple is called *al-mug* ; the prefix *al* is merely the article. This is the wood also mentioned in the annals of Guzzerat, of which the temple to 'Adnath' was constructed. It is said to be indestructible even by fire. It has been surmised that the fleets of Tyre frequented the Indian coast : could they thence have carried the *Al-Mujd* for the temple of Solomon ?

² This wood has a brownish red tint.

³ This is related with some variation in other annals of the period.

spot where Manja fell should be the future barrier of the two states. The entire province of Godwar was comprehended in the cession, which for three centuries withstood every contention, till the internal dissensions of the last half century, which grew out of the cause by which it was obtained, the change of succession in Méwar severed this most valuable acquisition.¹

Who would imagine, after such deadly feuds between these rival states, that in the very next succession these hostile frays were not only buried in oblivion, but that the prince of Marwar abjured "his turban and his bed" till he had revenged the assassination of the prince of Cheetore, and restored his infant heir to his rights? The annals of these states afford numerous instances of the same hasty, overbearing temperament governing all; easily moved to strife, impatient of revenge, and steadfast in its gratification. But this satisfied, resentment subsides. A daughter of the offender given to wife banishes its remembrance, and when the bard joins the lately rival names in the couplet, each will complacently curl his mustachio over his lip as he hears his "renown expand like the lotus," and thus "the feud is extinguished."

Thus have they gone on from time immemorial, and will continue, till what we may fear to contemplate. They have now neither friend nor foe but the British. The Tatar invader sleeps in his tomb, and the Mahratta depredator is muzzled and enchained. To return.

MOKUL, who obtained the throne by Chonda's surrender of his birth-right, was not destined long to enjoy the distinction, though he evinced qualities worthy of heading the Sesodias. He ascended the throne in S. 1454 (A.D. 1398), at an important era in the history of India; when Timoor, who had already established the race of Chagitai in the kingdoms of Central Asia, and laid prostrate the throne of Byzantium, turned his arms towards India. But it was not a field for his ambition; and the event is not even noticed in the annals of Méwar: a proof that it did not affect their repose. But they record an attempted invasion by the king of Dehli, which is erroneously stated to have been by Feroz Shah. A grandson of this prince had indeed been set up, and compelled to fly from the arms of Timoor, and as the direction of his flight was Guzzerat, it is not unlikely that the recorded attempt to penetrate by the passes of Méwar may have been his. Be this as it may, the Rana Mokul anticipated and met him beyond the passes of the Aravulli, in the field of Raepoor, and compelled him to abandon his enterprise. Pursuing his success, he took possession of Sambur and its salt lakes, and otherwise extended and strengthened his territory, which the distracted state of the empire consequent to Timoor's invasion rendered a matter of little difficulty. Mokul finished the palace commenced by Lakha, now a mass of ruins; and erected the shrine of Chatoor-bhooja, 'the four-armed deity,' in the western hills.

Besides three sons, Rana Mokul had a daughter, celebrated for her

¹ There is little hope, while British power acts as high constable and keeper of the peace in Rajwarra, of this being recovered: nor, were it otherwise, would it be desirable to see it become an object of contention between these states. Marwar has attained much grandeur since the time of Joda, and her resources are more unbroken than those of Méwar; who, if she could redeem, could not, from its exposed position, maintain the province against the brave Rahtore.

beauty, called Lal Bæ, or 'the ruby.' She was betrothed to the Keechie chieftain of Gagrown, who at the *Halléva*¹ demanded the pledge of succour on foreign invasion. Dheruj, the son of the Keechie, had come to solicit the stipulated aid against Hoshung of Malwa, who had invested their capital. The Rana's headquarters were then at Madaria, and he was employed in quelling a revolt of the mountaineers, when Dheruj arrived and obtained the necessary aid. Madaria was destined to be the scene of the termination of Mokul's career: he was assassinated by his uncles, the natural brothers of his father, from an unintentional offence, which tradition has handed down in all its details.

Chacha and Maira were the natural sons of Kaitsi Rana (the predecessor of Lakha); their mother a fair handmaid of low descent, generally allowed to be a carpenter's daughter. 'The fifth sons of Méwar' (as the natural children are figuratively termed) possess no rank, and though treated with kindness, and entrusted with confidential employments, the sons of the chiefs of the second class take precedence of them, and 'sit higher on the carpet.' These brothers had the charge of seven hundred horse in the train of Rana Mokul at Madaria. Some chiefs at enmity with them, conceiving that they had overstepped their privileges, wished to see them humiliated. Chance procured them the opportunity: which, however, cost their prince his life. Seated in a grove with his chiefs around him, he inquired the name of a particular tree. The Chohan chief, feigning ignorance, whispered him to ask either of the brothers; and not perceiving their scope, he artlessly did so. "Uncle, what tree is this?" The sarcasm thus prompted, they considered as reflecting on their birth (being sons of the carpenter's daughter), and the same day, while Mokul was at his devotions, and in the act of counting his rosary, one blow severed his arm from his body, while another stretched him lifeless. The brothers, quickly mounting their steeds, had the audacity to hope to surprise Cheetore, but the gates were closed upon them.

Though the murder of Mokul is related to have no other cause than the sarcasm alluded to, the precautions taken by the young prince Koombho, his successor, would induce a belief that this was but the opening of a deep-laid conspiracy. The traitors returned to the stronghold near Madaria, and Koombho trusted to the friendship and good feeling of the prince of Marwar in this emergency. His confidence was well repaid. The prince put his son at the head of a force, and the retreat of the assassins being near his own frontier, they were encountered and dislodged. From Madaria they fled to Paye, where they strengthened a fortress in the mountains named Ratakote; a lofty peak of the compound chain which encircles Oodipoor, visible from the surrounding country, as are the remains of this stronghold of the assassins. It would appear that their lives were dissolute, for they had carried off the virgin daughter of a Chohan, which led to their eventual detection and punishment. Her father, Sooja, had traced the route of the ravishers, and, mixing with the workmen, found that the approaches to the place of their concealment were capable of being scaled. He was about to lay his complaint before his prince, when he met the cavalcade of Koombho and the Rahtore. The distressed father "covering his face," disclosed the story of his own and daughter's dishonour. They encamped till night at Dailwara, when, led by the Chundanah, they issued

¹ The ceremony of joining hands.

forth to surprise the authors of so many evils. Arrived at the base of the rock, where the parapet was yet low, they commenced the escalade, aided by the thick foliage. The path was steep and rugged, and in the darkness of the night each had grasped his neighbour's skirt for security. Animated by a just revenge, the Chohan (Sooja) led the way, when on reaching a ledge of the rock the glaring eye-balls of a tigress flashed upon him. Undismayed, he squeezed the hand of the Rahtore prince who followed him, and who on perceiving the object of terror instantly buried his poignard in her heart. This omen was superb. They soon reached the summit. Some had ascended the parapet; others were scrambling over, when the minstrel slipping, fell, and his drum, which was to have accompanied his voice in singing the conquest, awoke by its crash the daughter of Chacha. Her father quieted her fears by saying it was only "the thunder and the rains of Bhadoon": to fear God only and go to sleep, for their enemies were safe at Kailwa. At this moment the Rao and his party rushed in. Chacha and Maira had no time to avoid their fate. Chacha was cleft in two by the Chundanah, while the Rahtore prince laid Maira at his feet, and the spoils of Ratakote were divided among the assailants.

CHAPTER VIII

Succession of Koombho—He defeats and takes prisoner Mahmood of Malwa—Splendour of Koombho's reign—Assassinated by his son—The murderer dethroned by Raemul—Méwar invaded by the imperial forces—Raemul's successes—Feuds of the family—Death of Raemul.

KOOMBHO succeeded his father in S. 1475 (A.D. 1419); nor did any symptom of dissatisfaction appear to usher in his reign, which was one of great success amidst no common difficulties. The bardic historians¹ do as much honour to the Marwar prince, who had made common cause with their sovereign in revenging the death of his father, as if it had involved the security of his crown; but this was a precautionary measure of the prince, who was induced thus to act from several motives, and, above all, in accordance with usage, which stigmatises the refusal of aid when demanded: besides "Koombho was the nephew of Marwar."

It has rarely occurred in any country to have possessed successively so many energetic princes as ruled Méwar through several centuries. She was now in the middle path of her glory, and enjoying the legitimate triumph of seeing the foes of her religion captives on the rock of her power. A century had elapsed since the bigot Alla had wreaked his vengeance on the different monuments of art. Chectore had recovered the sack, and new defenders had sprung up in the place of those who had fallen in their 'saffron robes,' a sacrifice for her preservation. All that was wanting to augment her resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of the Oxus, and were destined to burst on the head of his grandson Sanga, was effected by Koombho; who with Hamir's energy, Lakha's taste for the arts, and a genius comprehensive

¹ The *Raj Ruttana*, by Rinchor B'hut, says: "The Mundore Rao was purdhan, or premier, to Mokul, and conquered Nowah and Deedwana for Méwar."

as either and more fortunate, succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Méwar upon the banks of the Caggar, the scene of Samarsi's defeat. Let us contrast the patriarchal Hindu governments of this period with the despotism of the Tatar invader.

From the age of Shabudín, the conqueror of India, and his contemporary Samarsi, to the time we have now reached, two entire dynasties, numbering twenty-four emperors and one empress, through assassination, rebellion, and dethronement, had followed in rapid succession, yielding a result of only nine years to a reign. Of Méwar, though several fell in defending their altars at home or their religion abroad, eleven princes suffice to fill the same period.

It was towards the close of the Ghilji dynasty that the satraps of Dchli shook off its authority and established subordinate kingdoms: Beejipoor and Golconda in the Dekhan; Malwa, Guzzerat, Joinpoor in the east; and even Calpee had its king. Malwa and Guzzerat had attained considerable power when Koombho ascended the throne. In the midst of his prosperity these two states formed a league against him, and in S. 1496 (A.D. 1440) both kings, at the head of powerful armies, invaded Méwar. Koombho met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Cheetore Mahmood, the Ghilji sovereign of Malwa.

Abul Fuzil relates this victory, and dilates on Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. Such is the character of the Hindu: a mixture of arrogance, political blindness, pride, and generosity. To spare a prostrate foe is the creed of the Hindu cavalier, and he carries all such maxims to excess. The annals, however, state that Mahmood was confined six months in Cheetore; and that the trophies of conquest were retained we have evidence from Baber, who mentions receiving from the son of his opponent, Sanga, the crown of the Malwa king. But there is a more durable monument than this written record of victory: the triumphal pillar in Cheetore, whose inscriptions detail the event, "when, shaking the earth, the lords of Goojur-khund and Malwa, with armies overwhelming as the ocean, invaded Médpat." Eleven years after this event Koombho laid the foundations of this column, which was completed in ten more: a period apparently too short to place "this ringlet on the brow of Cheetore, which makes her look down upon Méru with derision." We will leave it, with the aspiration that it may long continue a monument of the fortune of its founders.

It would appear that the Malwa king afterwards united his arms with Koombho, as, in a victory gained over the imperial forces at Jhoonjoonoo, when "he planted his standard in Hissar," the Malwa troops were combined with those of Méwar. The imperial power had at this period greatly declined: the Khootba was read in the mosques in the name of Timoor, and the Malwa king had defeated, single-handed, the last Ghorian sultan of Dehli.

Of eighty-four fortresses for the defence of Méwar, thirty-two were erected by Koombho. Inferior only to Cheetore is that stupendous work called after him Koombhomér,¹ 'the hill of Khoombho,' from its natural position, and the works he raised, impregnable to a native army. These

¹ Pronounced *Komulmér*.

works were on the site of a more ancient fortress, of which the mountaineers long held possession. Tradition ascribes it to Sumpriti Raja, a Jain prince in the second century, and a descendant of Chandragupta; and the ancient Jain temples appear to confirm the tradition. When Koombho captured Nagore he brought away the gates, with the statue of the god Hanuman, who gives his name to the gate which he still guards. He also erected a citadel on a peak of Aboo, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara, where he often resided. Its magazine and alarm-tower still bear Koombho's name; and in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Koombho and his father still receive divine honours. Centuries have passed since the princes of Méwar had influence here, but the incident marks the vivid remembrance of their condition. He fortified the passes between the western frontier and Aboo, and erected the fort Vasanti near the present Sirohi, and that of Macheen, to defend the Shero Nalla and Deogurh against the *Mairs* of Aravulli. He re-established Ahore and other smaller forts to overawe the Bhoomia¹ Bhil of Jarole and Panora, and defined the boundaries of Marwar and Méwar.

Besides these monuments of his genius, two consecrated to religion have survived: that of "Koombho Sham," on Aboo, which, though worthy to attract notice elsewhere, is here eclipsed by a crowd of more interesting objects; the other, one of the largest edifices existing, cost upwards of a million sterling, towards which Koombho contributed eighty thousand pounds. It is erected in the Sadri pass leading from the western descent of the highlands of Méwar, and is dedicated to Kishub-deva.² Its secluded position has preserved it from bigoted fury, and its only visitants now are the wild beasts who take shelter in its sanctuary. Koombho Rana was also a poet: but in a far more elevated strain than the troubadour princes, his neighbours, who contented themselves with rehearsing their own prowess or celebrating their lady's beauty. He composed a *tiha*, or appendix to the "Divine Melodies,"³ in praise of Crishna. We can pass no judgment on these inspirations of the royal bard, as we are ignorant whether any are preserved in the records of the house: a point his descendant, who is deeply skilled in such lore, might probably answer.

Koombho married a daughter of the Rahtore of Mairta, the first of the clans of Marwar. Meera Bae was the most celebrated princess of her time for beauty and romantic piety. Her compositions were numerous, though better known to the worshippers of the Hindu Apollo than to the ribald bards. Some of her odes and hymns to the deity are preserved and

¹ A powerful phrase, indicating 'possessor of the soil.'

² The Rana's minister, of the Jain faith, and of the tribe Porwar (one of the *twelve and a half* divisions), laid the foundation of this temple in A.D. 1438. It was completed by subscription. It consists of three stories, and is supported by numerous columns of granite, upwards of forty feet in height. The interior is inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate. The statues of the Jain saints are in its subterranean vaults. We could not expect much elegance at a period when the arts had long been declining, but it would doubtless afford a fair specimen of them, and enable us to trace their gradual descent in the scale of refinement. This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying. That I did not see it is now to me one of the many vain regrets which I might have avoided.

³ *Gita Govinda*.

admired. Whether she imbibed her poetic piety from her husband, or whether from her he caught the sympathy which produced the "sequel to the songs of Govinda," we cannot determine. Her history is a romance, and her excess of devotion at every shrine of the favourite deity with the fair of Hind, from the Yamuna to "the world's end,"¹ gave rise to many tales of scandal. Koombho mixed gallantry with his warlike pursuits. He carried off the daughter of the chief of Jhalawar, who had been betrothed to the prince of Mundore: this renewed the old feud, and the Rahtore made many attempts to redeem his affianced bride. His humiliation was insupportable, when through the purified atmosphere of the periodical rains "the towers of Khoombhomér became visible from the castle of Mundore, and the light radiated from the chamber of the fair through the gloom of a night in Bhadoon,"² to the hall where he brooded o'er his sorrows." It was surmised that this night-lamp was an understood signal of the Jhalani, who pined at the decree which ambition had dictated to her father, in consigning her to the more powerful rival of her affianced lord. The Rahtore exhausted every resource to gain access to the fair, and had once nearly succeeded in a surprise by escalade, having cut his way in the night through the forest in the western and least guarded acclivity: but, as the bard equivocally remarks, "though he cut his way through the *jhal* (brushwood), he could not reach the *Jhalani*."

Koombho had occupied the throne half a century; he had triumphed over the enemies of his race, fortified his country with strongholds, embellished it with temples, and with the superstructure of her fame had laid the foundation of his own—when, the year which should have been a jubilee was disgraced by the foulest blot in the annals; and his life, which nature was about to close, terminated by the poignard of an assassin—that assassin, his son!

This happened in S. 1525 (A.D. 1469). Ooda was the name of the parricide, whose unnatural ambition, and impatience to enjoy a short lustre of sovereignty, bereft of life the author of his existence. But such is the detestation which marks this unusual crime that, like that of the Venetian traitor, his name is left a blank in the annals, nor is Ooda known but by the epithet *Hatiaro*, 'the murderer.' Shunned by his kin, and compelled to look abroad for succour to maintain him on the throne polluted by his crime, Méwar in five years of illegitimate rule lost half the consequence which had cost so many to acquire. He made the Deora prince independent in Aboo, and bestowed Sambhur, Ajmér, and adjacent districts on the prince of Jodpoor³ as the price of his friendship. But, a prey to remorse, he felt that he could neither claim regard from, nor place any dependence upon, these princes, though he bribed them with provinces. He humbled himself before the king of Dehli, offering him a daughter in marriage to obtain his sanction to his authority; "but heaven manifested its vengeance to prevent this additional iniquity, and preserve the house of Bappa Rawul from dishonour." He had scarcely quitted the divan (*dewan-khanek*), on taking leave of the king, when a flash of lightning struck the *Hatiaro* to the earth, whence he never arose. The bards pass over this period cursorily, as one of their race was the instrument of Ooda's crime.

¹ *Juggut Koont*, or Dwarica.

² The darkest of the rainy months.

³ Joda laid the foundation of his new capital in S. 1515, ten years anterior to the event we are recording.

There has always been a jealousy between the *Manglas*, as they term all classes 'who extend the palm,' whether Brahmins, Yatis, Charuns, or B'hats; but since Hamir, the Charun influence had far eclipsed the rest. A Brahmin astrologer predicted Koombho's death through a Charun, and as the class had given other cause of offence, Koombho banished the fraternity his dominions, resuming all their lands: a strong measure in those days, and which few would have had nerve to attempt or firmness to execute. The heir-apparent, Raemul, who was exiled to Eidur for what his father deemed an impertinent curiosity,¹ had attached one of these bards to his suite, whose ingenuity got the edict set aside, and his race restored to their lands and the prince's favour. Had they taken off the Brahmin's head, they might have falsified the prediction which unhappily was too soon fulfilled.²

RAEMUL succeeded in S. 1530 (A.D. 1474) by his own valour to the seat of Koombho. He had fought and defeated the usurper, who on this occasion fled to the king of Dehli and offered him a daughter of Méwar. After his death in the manner described, the Dehli monarch, with Schesmul and Soorajmul, sons of the parricide, invaded Méwar, encamping at Siarh, now Nat'hdwara. The chiefs were faithful to their legitimate prince, Raemul, and aided by his allies of Aboo and Girnar, at the head of fifty-eight thousand horse and eleven thousand foot, he gave battle to the pretender and his imperial ally at Ghassa. The conflict was ferocious. "The streams ran blood," for the sons of the usurper were brave as lions; but the king was so completely routed that he never again entered Méwar.

Raemul bestowed one daughter on Soorji (Yadu), the chief of Girnar; and another on the Deora, Jeymul of Sirohi, confirming his title to Aboo as her dower. He sustained the warlike reputation of his predecessors, and carried on interminable strife with Gheas-o-din of Malwa, whom he defeated in several pitched battles, to the success of which the valour of his nephews, whom he had pardoned, mainly contributed. In the last of these encounters the Ghilji king sued for peace, renouncing the pretensions he had formerly urged. The dynasty of Lodi next enjoyed the imperial bauble, and with it Méwar had to contest her northern boundary.

¹ He had observed that his father, ever since the victory over the king at Jhoonjoonu, before he took a seat, thrice waved his sword in circles over his head, pronouncing at the same time some incantation. Inquiry into the meaning of this was the cause of his banishment.

² During the rains of 1820, when the author was residing at Oodipoor, the Rana fell ill; his complaint was an intermittent (which for several years returned with the monsoon), at the same time that he was jaundiced with bile. An intriguing Brahmin, who managed the estates of the Rana's eldest sister, held also the twofold office of physician and astrologer to the Rana. He had predicted that year as one of evil in his horoscope, and was about to verify the prophecy, since, instead of the active medicines requisite, he was administering the *Hat d'hat*, or 'seven metals,' compounded. Having a most sincere regard for the Rana's welfare, the author seized the opportunity of a full court being assembled on the distribution of swords and coco-nuts preparatory to the military festival, to ask a personal favour. The Rana, smiling, said that it was granted, when he was entreated to leave off the poison he was taking. He did so; the amendment was soon visible, and, aided by the medicines of Dr. Duncan, which he readily took, his complaint was speedily cured. The 'man of fate and physic' lost half his estates, which he had obtained through intrigue. He was succeeded by Umra the bard, who is not likely to ransack the pharmacopœia for such poisonous ingredients; his ordinary prescription being the 'amrit.'

Raemul had three sons, celebrated in the annals of Rajast'han. Sanga, the competitor of Baber, Pirthi Raj, the Rolando of his age, and Jeimal. Unhappily for the country and their father's repose, fraternal affection was discarded for deadly hate, and their feuds and dissensions were a source of constant alarm. Had discord not disunited them, the reign of Raemul would have equalled any of his predecessors. As it was, it presented a striking contrast to them : his two elder sons banished ; the first, Sanga, self-exiled from perpetual fear of his life, and Pirthi Raj, the second, from his turbulence ; while the youngest, Jeimal, was slain through his intemperance. A sketch of these feuds will present a good picture of the Rajpoot character, and their mode of life when their arms were not required against their country's foes.

Sanga¹ and Pirthi Raj were the offspring of the Jhali queen ; Jeimal was by another mother. What moral influence the name he bore had on Pirthi Raj we can surmise only from his actions, which would stand comparison with those of his prototype, the Chohan of Dehli, and are yet the delight of the Sesodia. When they assemble at the feast after a day's sport, or in a sultry evening spread the carpet on the terrace to inhale the leaf or take a cup of kusoomba, a tale of Pirthi Raj recited by the bard is the highest treat they can enjoy. Sanga, the heir-apparent, was a contrast to his brother. Equally brave, his courage was tempered by reflection ; while Pirthi Raj burned with a perpetual thirst for action, and often observed " that fate must have intended him to rule Méwar." The three brothers, with their uncle, Soorajmul, were one day discussing these topics, when Sanga observed that, though heir to ' the ten thousand towns ' of Méwar, he would waive his claims, and trust them, as did the Roman brothers, to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Charuni Devi at Nahra Mugro,² the ' Tiger's Mount.' They repaired to her abode. Pirthi Raj and Jeimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet : Sanga followed and took possession of the panther hide of the prophetess ; his uncle, Soorajmul, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Pirthi Raj disclosed their errand, when the sybil pointed to the panther-hide³ as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sanga, with a portion to his uncle. They received the decree as did the twins of Rome. Pirthi Raj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Soorajmul stepped in and received the blow destined for Sanga, while the prophetess fled from their fury. Soorajmul and Pirthi Raj were exhausted with wounds, and Sanga fled with five sword-cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever. He made for the sanctuary of Chutturb'hooja, and passing Sevantee, took refuge with Beeda (Oodawut), who was accounted for a journey, his steed standing by him. Scarcely had he assisted the wounded heir of Méwar to alight when Jeimal galloped up in pursuit. The Rahtore guarded the sanctuary, and gave up his life in defence of his guest, who meanwhile escaped.

Pirthi Raj recovered from his wounds ; and Sanga, aware of his implacable enmity, had recourse to many expedients to avoid discovery.

¹ His name classically is *Singram Sing*, ' the lion of war.'

² About ten miles east of Oodipoor.

³ *Singasan* is the ancient term for the Hindu throne, signifying ' the lion-seat.' Charuns, bards, who are all *Maharajas*, ' great princes,' by courtesy, have their seats of the hide of the lion, tiger, panther, or black antelope.

He, who at a future period leagued a hundred thousand men against the descendant of Timoor, was compelled to associate with goat-herds, expelled the peasant's abode as too stupid to tend his cattle, and, precisely like our Alfred the Great, having in charge some cakes of flour, was reproached with being more desirous of eating than tending them. A few faithful Rajpoots found him in this state, and, providing him with arms and a horse, they took service with Rao Kurimchund, Pramara, chief of Sreenugger,¹ and with him "ran the country." After one of these raids, Sanga one day alighted under a banian tree, and placing his dagger under his head, reposed, while two of his faithful Rajpoots, whose names are preserved,² prepared his repast, their steeds grazing by them. A ray of the sun penetrating the foliage, fell on Sanga's face, and discovered a snake, which, feeling the warmth, had uncoiled itself and was rearing its crest over the head of the exile: a bird of omen³ had perched itself on the crested serpent, and was chattering aloud. A goat-herd named Maroo, "versed in the language of birds," passed at the moment Sanga awoke. The prince repelled the proffered homage of the goat-herd, who, however, had intimated to the Pramara chief that he was served by "royalty."⁴ The Pramara kept the secret, and gave Sanga a daughter to wife, and protection till the tragical end of his brother called him to the throne.

When the Rana heard of the quarrel which had nearly deprived him of his heir, he banished Pirthi Raj, telling him that he might live on his bravery and maintain himself with strife. With but five horse⁵ Pirthi Raj quitted the paternal abode, and made for Baleoh in Godwar. These dissensions following the disastrous conclusion of the last reign, paralysed the country, and the wild tribes of the west and the mountaineers of the Aravulli so little respected the garrison of Nadole (the chief town of Godwar), that they carried their depredations to the plains. Pirthi Raj halted at Nadole, and having to procure some necessaries pledged a ring to the merchant who had sold it to him, the merchant recognised the prince, and learning the cause of his disguise, proffered his services in the scheme which the prince had in view for the restoration of order in Godwar, being determined to evince to his father that he had resources independent of birth. The Meenas were the aboriginal proprietors of all these regions; the Rajpoots were interlopers and conquerors. A Rawut of this tribe had regained their ancient haunts, and held his petty court at the town of Nadolaye in the plains, and was even served by Rajpoots. By the advice of Ojah, the merchant, Pirthi Raj enlisted himself and his band among the adherents of the Meena. On the *Ahairea*, or 'hunter's festival,' the vassals have leave to rejoin their families. Pirthi Raj, who had also obtained leave, rapidly retraced his steps, and despatching his Rajpoots to dislodge the Meena, awaited the result in ambush at the gate of the town. In a short time the Meena appeared on horseback, and in full flight to the mountains for security. Pirthi Raj pursued, overtook, and transfixed him with his lance to a kesoola tree, and setting fire to the village, he slew the Meenas as they sought to escape the flames. Other towns shared the

¹ Near Ajmér.

² Jey Sing Baleo and Jeimoo Sindil.

³ Called the *devi*, about the size of the wagtail, and like it, black and white.

⁴ Chut'burd'hari.

⁵ The names of his followers were, Jessa Sindil, Singum (Dabi), Abho, Junoh, and a Bhadail Rahtore.

same fate, and all the province of Godwar, with the exception of Daisoori, a stronghold of the Madraicha Chohans, fell into his power. At this time Sadda Solanki, whose ancestor had escaped the destruction of Putun and found refuge in these mountainous tracts, held Sodgurh. He had espoused a daughter of the Madraicha, but the grant of Daisoori and its lands¹ in perpetuity easily gained him to the cause of Pirthi Raj.

Pirthi Raj having thus restored order in Godwar, and appointed Ojah and the Solanki to the government thereof, regained the confidence of his father; and his brother Jeimal being slain at this time, accelerated his forgiveness and recall. Ere he rejoins Raemul we will relate the manner of this event. Jeimal was desirous to obtain the hand of Tarra Bhaé, daughter of Rao Soortan,² who had been expelled Thoda by the Pathans. The price of her hand was the recovery of this domain: but Jeimal, willing to anticipate the reward, and rudely attempting access to the fair, was slain by the indignant father. The quibbling remark of the bard upon this event is that "Tarra was not the star (*tarra*) of his destiny." At the period of this occurrence Sanga was in concealment, Pirthi Raj banished, and Jeimal consequently looked to as the heir of Méwar. The Rana, when incited to revenge, replied with a magnanimity which deserves to be recorded, "that he who had thus dared to insult the honour of a father, and that father in distress, richly merited his fate"; and in proof of his disavowal of such a son he conferred on the Solanki the district of Bednore.

This event led to the recall of Pirthi Raj, who eagerly took up the gage disgraced by his brother. The adventure was akin to his taste. The exploit which won the hand of the fair Amazon, who, equipped with bow and quiver, subsequently accompanied him in many perilous enterprises, will be elsewhere related.

Soorajmul (the uncle), who had fomented these quarrels, resolved not to belie the prophetess if a crown lay in his path. The claims acquired from his parricidal parent were revived when Méwar had no sons to look to. Pirthi Raj on his return renewed the feud with Soorajmul, whose "vaulting ambition" persuaded him that the crown was his destiny, and he plunged deep into treason to obtain it. He joined as partner in his schemes Sarungdeo, another descendant of Lakha Rana, and both repaired to Mozuffir, the sultan of Malwa. With his aid they assailed the southern frontier, and rapidly possessed themselves of Sadri, Baturu, and a wide tract extending from Nye to Neemutch, attempting even Cheetore. With the few troops at hand Raemul descended to punish the rebels, who met the attack on the river Gumbeeree. The Rana, fighting like a common soldier, had received two and twenty wounds, and was nearly falling through faintness, when Pirthi Raj joined him with one thousand fresh horse, and reanimated the battle. He selected his uncle Soorajmul, whom he soon covered with wounds. Many had fallen on both sides, but

¹ The grant in the preamble denounces a curse on any of Pirthi Raj's descendants who should resume it. I have often conversed with this descendant, who held Sodgurh and its lands, which were never resumed by the princes of Cheetore, though they reverted to Marwar. The chief still honours the Rana, and many lives have been sacrificed to maintain his claims, and with any prospect of success he would not hesitate to offer his own.

² This is a genuine Hindu name, 'the Hero's refuge,' from *Soor*, 'a warrior,' and *T'han*, 'an abode.'

neither party would yield ; when worn out they mutually retired from the field, and bivouacked in sight of each other.

It will show the manners and feelings so peculiar to the Rajpoot, to describe the meeting between the rival uncle and nephew,—unique in the details of strife, perhaps, since the origin of man. It is taken from a MS. of the J'hala chief who succeeded Soorajmul in Sadri. Pirthi Raj visited his uncle, whom he found in a small tent reclining on a pallet, having just had "the barber" (*née*) to sew up his wounds. He rose, and met his nephew with the customary respect, as if nothing unusual had occurred ; but the exertion caused some of the wounds to open afresh, when the following dialogue ensued :—

Pirthi Raj—"Well, uncle, how are your wounds ?"

Soorajmul—"Quite healed, my child, since I have the pleasure of seeing you."

Pirthi Raj—"But, uncle (*kaka*), I have not yet seen the Dêwânji.¹ I first ran to see you, and I am very hungry ; have you anything to eat ?"

Dinner was soon served, and the extraordinary pair sat down and "ate off the same platter";² nor did Pirthi Raj hesitate to eat the *pán*,³ presented on his taking leave.

Pirthi Raj—"You and I will end our battle in the morning, uncle."

Soorajmul—"Very well, child ; come early !"

They met ; but Sarungdeo bore the brunt of the conflict, receiving thirty-five wounds. During "four gurricks⁴ swords and lances were plied, and every tribe of Rajpoot lost numbers that day" ; but the rebels were defeated and fled to Sadri, and Pirthi Raj returned in triumph, though with seven wounds, to Cheetore. The rebels, however, did not relinquish their designs, and many personal encounters took place between the uncle and nephew : the latter saying he would not let him retain "as much land of Méwar as would cover a needle's point" ; and Soojoh⁵ retorting, that "he would allow his nephew to redeem only as much "as would suffice to lie upon." But Pirthi Raj gave them no rest, pursuing them from place to place. In the wilds of Baturro they formed a stockaded retreat of the dho tree, which abounds in these forests. Within this shelter, horses and men were intermingled : Soojoh and his coadjutor communing by the night-fire in their desperate plight, when their cogitations were checked by the rush and neigh of horses. Scarcely had the pretender exclaimed "This must be my nephew !" when Pirthi Raj dashed his steed through the barricade and entered with his troops. All was confusion, and the sword showered its blows indiscriminately. The young prince reached his uncle, and dealt him a blow which would have levelled him, but for the support of Sarungdeo, who upbraided him, adding that "a buffet now was more than a score of wounds in former days" : to which Soojoh rejoined, "only when dealt by my nephew's

¹ 'Regent' ; the title the Rana is most familiarly known by.

² *T'hali*, 'a brass platter.' This is the highest mark of confidence and friendship.

³ This compound of the betel or areca-nut, cloves, mace, terra japonica, and prepared lime, is always taken after meals, and has not unfrequently been a medium for administering poison.

⁴ Hours of twenty-two minutes each.

⁵ Familiar contraction of Soorajmul.

hand." Soojoh demanded a parley; and calling on the prince to stop the combat, he continued: "If I am killed, it matters not—my children are Rajpoots, they will run the country to find support; but if you are slain, what will become of Cheetore? My face will be blackened, and my name everlastingly reprobated."

The sword was sheathed, and as the uncle and nephew embraced, the latter asked the former, "What were you about, uncle, when I came?"—"Only talking nonsense, child, after dinner." "But with me over your head, uncle, as a foe how could you be so negligent?"—"What could I do? you had left me no resource, and I must have some place to rest my head!" There was a small temple near the stockade, to which in the morning Pirthi Raj requested his uncle to accompany him to sacrifice to Cali,¹ but the blow of the preceding night prevented him. Sarungdeo was his proxy. One buffalo had fallen, and a goat was about to follow, when the prince turned his sword on Sarungdeo. The combat was desperate; but Pirthi Raj was the victor, and the head of the traitor was placed as an offering on the altar of Time. The Gooda² was plundered, the town of Baturro recovered, and Soorajmul fled to Sadri, where he only stopped to fulfil his threat, "that if he could not retain its lands he would make them over to those stronger than the king";³ and having distributed them amongst Brahmins and bards, he finally abandoned Méwar. Passing through the wilds of Khant'hul, he had an omen which recalled the Charuni's prediction: 'a wolf endeavouring in vain to carry off a kid defended by maternal affection.' This was interpreted as 'strong ground for a dwelling.' He halted, subdued the aboriginal tribes, and on this spot erected the town and stronghold of Deola, becoming lord of a thousand villages, which have descended to his offspring, who now enjoy them under British protection. Such was the origin of Pertabgurb Deola.

Pirthi Raj was poisoned by his brother-in-law, of Aboo, whom he had punished for maltreating his sister, and afterwards confided in. His death was soon followed by that of Rana Raemu, who, though not equal to his predecessors, was greatly respected, and maintained the dignity of his station amidst no ordinary calamities.⁴

¹ The Hindu Proserpine, or Calligenia. Is this Grecian handmaid of Hecate also Hindu, 'born of time' (*Cali-jenema*)?

² Gooda, or Goora, is the name of such temporary places of refuge; the origin of towns bearing this name.

³ Such grants are irresumable, under the penalty of sixty thousand years in hell. This fine district is eaten up by these mendicant Brahmins. One town alone, containing 52,000 beegas (about 15,000 acres) of rich land, is thus lost; and by such follies Méwar has gradually sunk to her present extreme poverty.

⁴ The walls of his palace are still pointed out.

CHAPTER IX

Accession of Rana Sanga—State of the Mahomedan power—Grandeur of Méwar—Sanga's victories—Invasions of India—Baber's invasion—Defeats and kills the King of Dehli—Opposed by Sanga—Battle of Kanúa—Defeat of Sanga—His death and character—Accession of Rana Rutna—His death—Rana Bickramajeet—His character—Disgusts his nobles—Cheetore invested by the King of Malwa—Storm of Cheetore—Saca or immolation of the females—Fall and plunder of Cheetore—Hemayoon comes to its aid—He restores Cheetore to Bickramajeet, who is deposed by the nobles—Election of Bunbeer—Bickramajeet assassinated.

SINGRAM, better known in the annals of Méwar as Sanga (called Sinka by the Mogul historians), succeeded in S. 1565 (A.D. 1509). With this prince Méwar reached the summit of her prosperity. To use their own metaphor, "he was the kullus¹ on the pinnacle of her glory." From him we shall witness this glory on the wane; and though many rays of splendour illuminated her declining career, they served but to gild the ruin.

The imperial chair, since occupied by the Túar descendant of the Pandus, and the first and last of the Chohans, and which had been filled successively by the dynasties of Gazni and Ghor, the Ghilji and Lodi, was now shivered to pieces, and numerous petty thrones were constructed of its fragments. Méwar little dreaded these imperial puppets, 'when Amurath to Amurath succeeded,' and when four kings reigned simultaneously between Dehli and Benares.² The kings of Malwa, though leagued with those of Guzzerat, conjoined to the rebels, could make no impression on Méwar when Sanga led her heroes. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Ambér³ did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmér, Sikri, Raésen, Kalpee, Chandéri, Boondi, Gagrown, Rampoor, and Aboo, served him as tributaries or held of him in chief.

Sanga did not forget those who sheltered him in his reverses. Kurimchund of Sreenuggur had a grant of Ajmér and the title of Rao for his son Jugmal, the reward of his services in the reduction of Chandéri.

In a short space of time, Sanga entirely allayed the disorders occasioned by the intestine feuds of his family; and were it permitted to speculate on the cause which prompted a temporary cession of his rights and his dignities to his more impetuous brother, it might be discerned in a spirit of forecast, and of fraternal and patriotic forbearance, a deviation from which would have endangered the country as well as the safety of his family. We may assume this, in order to account for an otherwise pusillanimous surrender of his birthright, and being in contrast to all the subsequent heroism of his life, which, when he resigned, was contained

¹ The ball or urn which crowns the pinnacle (*sikr*).

² Dehli, Biana, Kalpee, and Joinpoor.

³ Pirthi Raj was yet but Rao of Ambér, a name now lost in Jeipoor. The twelve sons of this prince formed the existing subdivisions or clans of the Cutch-wahas, whose political consequence dates from Hemayoon, the son and successor of Baber.

within the wreck of a form. Sanga organised his forces, with which he always kept the field, and ere called to contend with the descendant of Timoor, he had gained eighteen pitched battles against the kings of Dehli and Malwa. In two of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person, at Bakrole and Ghatolli, in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Cheetore. The Peela-khal (yellow rivulet) near Biana became the northern boundary of Méwar, with the Sinde river to the east,—touching Malwa to the south, while his native hills were an impenetrable barrier to the west. Thus swaying, directly or by control, the greater part of Rajast'han, and adored by the Rajpoots for the possession of those qualities they hold in estimation, Sanga was ascending to the pinnacle of distinction; and had not fresh hordes of Usbecs and Tatars from the prolific shores of the Oxus and Jaxartes again poured down on the devoted plains of Hindust'han, the crown of the *Chacraverta*¹ might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu, and the banner of supremacy been transferred from Indraprest'ha to the battlements of Cheetore. But Baber arrived at a critical time to rally the dejected followers of the Koran, and to collect them around his own victorious standard.

From the earliest recorded periods of her history, India has been the prey of the more hardy population from the central regions of Asia. From this fact we may infer another, namely, that its internal form of government was the same as at the present day, partitioned into numerous petty kingdoms, of tribes and clans, of a feudal federation, a prey to all the jealousies inseparable from such a condition. The historians of Alexander bear ample testimony to such form of government, when the Punjâb alone possessed many sovereigns, besides the democracies of cities. The Persians overran it, and Darius the Mede accounted India the richest of his satrapies. The Greeks, the Parthians, who have left in their medals the best proofs of their power; the Getes or Yuti followed; and from the Gori Shabudîn to the Chagitai Baber, in less than three centuries, five invasions are recorded, each originating a dynasty. Sanga's opponent was the last, and will continue so until the rays of knowledge renovate the ancient nursery of the human race,—then, may end the anomaly in the history of power, of a handful of Britons holding the succession to the Mede, the Parthian, and the Tatar. But, however surprise may be excited at witnessing such rapidity of change, from the physical superiority of man over man, it is immeasurably heightened at the little moral consequence which in every other region of the world has always attended such concussions. Creeds have changed, races have mingled, and names have been effaced from the page of history; but in this corner of civilisation we have no such result, and the Rajpoot remains the same singular being, concentrated in his prejudices, political and moral, as in the days of Alexander, desiring no change himself, and still less to cause any in others. Whatever be the conservative principle, it merits a philosophic analysis; but more, a proper application and direction, by those to whom the destinies of this portion of the globe are confided; for in this remote spot there is a nucleus of energy, on which may accumulate a mass for our support or our destruction.

To return: a descendant of the Toorshka of the Jaxartes, the ancient

¹ Universal potentate: the Hindus reckon only six of these in their history.

foe of the children of Soorya and Chandra, was destined to fulfil the prophetic pooran which foretold dominion "to the Toorshka, the Yavan," and other foreign races in Hind; and the conquered made a right application of the term Toork, both as regards its ancient and modern signification, when applied to the conquerors from Toorkist'han. Baber, the opponent of Sanga, was king of Ferghana, and of Toorki race. His dominions were on both sides the Jaxartes, a portion of ancient Sakatai, or Saca-dwipa (Scythia), where dwelt Tomyris the Getic queen immortalised by Herodotus, and where her opponent erected Cyropolis, as did in after-times the Macedonian his most remote Alexandria. From this region did the same Gete, Jit, or Yuti, issue, to the destruction of Bactria, two centuries before the Christian era, and also five subsequent thereto to found a kingdom in Northern India. Again, one thousand years later, Baber issued with his bands to the final subjugation of India. As affecting India alone, this portion of the globe merits deep attention; but as the *officina gentium*, whence issued those hordes of Asi, Jits, or Yeuts (of whom the Angles were a branch), who peopled the shores of the Baltic, and the precursors of those Goths who, under Attila and Alaric, altered the condition of Europe, its importance is vastly enhanced. But on this occasion it was not redundant population which made the descendant of Timoor and Jungheez abandon the Jaxartes for the Ganges, but unsuccessful ambition: for Baber quitted the delights of Samarcand as a fugitive, and commenced his enterprise, which gave him the throne of the Pandús, with less than two thousand adherents.

The Rajpoot prince had a worthy antagonist in the king of Ferghana. Like Sanga, he was trained in the school of adversity, and like him, though his acts of personal heroism were even romantic, he tempered it with that discretion which looks to its results. In A.D. 1494, at the tender age of twelve, he succeeded to a kingdom; ere he was sixteen he defeated several confederacies and conquered Samarcand, and in two short years again lost and regained it. His life was a tissue of successes and reverses; at one moment hailed lord of the chief kingdoms of Transoxiana; at another flying, unattended, or putting all to hazard in desperate single combats, in one of which he slew five champions of his enemies. Driven at length from Ferghana, in despair he crossed the Hindu-Coosh, and in 1519 the Indus. Between the Punjâb and Cabul he lingered seven years, ere he advanced to measure his sword with Ibrahim of Dehli. Fortune returned to his standard; Ibrahim was slain, his army routed and dispersed, and Dehli and Agra opened their gates to the fugitive king of Ferghana. His reflections on success evince it was his due: "Not to me, oh God! but to thee, be the victory!" says the chivalrous Baber. A year had elapsed in possession of Dehli, ere he ventured against the most powerful of his antagonists, Rana Sanga of Cheetore.

With all Baber's qualities as a soldier, supported by the hardy clans of the 'cloud mountains (*Belut Tag*)' of Karatagin,¹ the chances were

¹ The literary world is much indebted to Mr. Erskine for his *Memoirs of Baber*, a work of a most original stamp and rare value for its extensive historical and geographical details of a very interesting portion of the globe. The king of Ferghana, like Cæsar, was the historian of his own conquests, and unites all the qualities of the romantic troubadour to those of the warrior and statesman. It is not saying too much when it is asserted, that Mr. Erskine is the only person

many that he and they terminated their career on the 'yellow rivulet' of Biana. Neither bravery nor skill saved him from this fate, which he appears to have expected. What better proof can be desired than Baber's own testimony to the fact, that a horde of invaders from the Jaxartes, without support or retreat, were obliged to entrench themselves to the teeth in the face of their Rajpoot foe, alike brave and overpowering in numbers? To ancient jealousies he was indebted for not losing his life instead of gaining a crown, and for being extricated from a condition so desperate that even the frenzy of religion, which made death martyrdom in "this holy war," scarcely availed to expel the despair which so infected his followers, that in the bitterness of his heart he says, "not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion."

Baber advanced from Agra and Sikri to oppose Rana Sanga, in full march to attack him at the head of almost all the princes of Rajast'han. Although the annals state some points which the imperial historian has not recorded, yet both accounts of the conflict correspond in all the essential details. On the 5th of Kartik, S. 1584¹ (A.D. 1528), according to the annals, the Rana raised the siege of Biana, and at Kanúa encountered the advanced guard of the Tatars, amounting to fifteen hundred men, which was entirely destroyed; the fugitives carrying to the main body the accounts of the disaster, which paralysed their energies, and made them entrench for security, instead of advancing with the confidence of victory. Reinforcements met the same fate, and were pursued to the camp. Accustomed to reverses, Baber met the check without dismay, and adopted every precaution that a mind fertile in expedients could suggest to re-assure the drooping spirits of his troops. He threw up entrenchments, in which he placed his artillery, connecting his guns by chains, and in the more exposed parts *chevaux de frise*, united by leather ropes: a precaution continued in every subsequent change of position. Everything seemed to aid the Hindu cause: even the Tatar astrologer asserted that as Mars was in the west, whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter should be defeated. In this state of total inactivity, blockaded in his encampment, Baber remained near a fortnight, when he determined to renounce his besetting sin, and merit superior aid to extricate himself from his peril: the *naivete* of his vow must be given in his own words.² But the destruction of the wine flasks would appear existing who could have made such a translation, or preserved the great charm of the original—its elevated simplicity; and though his modesty makes him share the merit with Dr. Leyden, it is to him the public thanks are due. Mr. Erskine's introduction is such as might have been expected from his well-known erudition and research, and with the notes interspersed adds immensely to the value of the original. With his geographical materials, those of Mr. Elphinstone, and the journal of the *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Bokhara*, full of merit and modesty, we now possess sufficient materials for the geography of the nursery of mankind. I would presume to amend one valuable geographical notice (Introd. p. 27), and which only requires the permutation of a vowel, Kas-mir for Kas-mur; when we have, not 'the country of the Kas,' but the *Kasia Montes* (mér) of Ptolemy: the Kho (mér) Kas, or *Caucasus*. Mir has no signification, Mér is 'mountain' in Sanscrit, as is Kho in Persian. Kas was the race inhabiting these: and Kas-gar, the Kasia Regio of Ptolemy. Gar is a Sanscrit word still in use for a 'region,' as *Cutchwaha-gár*, *Goojur-gár*.

¹ According to the *Memoirs of Baber*, 11th February 1527.

² "On Monday, the 23rd of the first Jemâdi, I had mounted to survey my

only to have added to the existing consternation, and made him, as a last resort, appeal to their faith. Having addressed them in a speech of manly courage, though bordering on despair, he seized the happy moment that his exhortation elicited, to swear them on the Koran to conquer or perish.¹ Profiting by this excitement, he broke up his camp, to which

posts, and in the course of my ride was seriously struck with the reflection, that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart : I said to myself, ' O, my soul.'

(*Persian Verse*).

" ' How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin ?
Repentance is not unpalatable—taste it.

(*Türki Verse*).

" ' How great has been thy defilement from sin !
How much pleasure thou didst take in despair !
How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions !
How much of thy life hast thou thrown away !
Since thou hast set out on a holy war,
Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,
Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest.
Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments ;
Cleanse thyself from all thy sins.'

" Having withdrawn myself from such temptation, I vowed never more to drink wine. Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets and other utensils of gold and silver I directed to be divided among derwishes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following, numbers of Amirs and courtiers, soldiers, and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Bâba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out I directed a wâin to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wâin an alms-house to be erected. In the month of Moharrem in the year 935, when I went to visit Guâliâr, in my way from Dholpûr to Sikri, I found this wâin completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Rana Sanka the Pagan, I would remit the Temgha (or stamp-tax) levied from Musulmans. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Derwish Muhammed Sârbân and Sheikh Zîn put me in mind of my promise. I said, ' You did right to remind me of this : I renounce the temgha in all my dominions, so far as concerns ' Musulmans ' ; and I sent for my secretaries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions firmâns conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred.'—*Memoirs of Baber*, p. 354.

¹ " At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Vazîrs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amirs, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness. During the whole course of this expedition, K'âlîfeh conducted himself admirably, and was unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put everything in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amirs and officers, and addressed them : ' Noblemen and soldiers ! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from

he had been confined nearly a month, and marched in order of battle to a position two miles in advance, the Rajpoots skirmishing up to his guns. Without a regular circumvallation, his movable pallisadoes and guns chained, he felt no security. The inactivity of Sanga can scarcely escape censure, however we may incline to palliate it by supposing that he deemed his enemy in the toils, and that every day's delay brought with it increased danger to him. Such reasoning would be valid, if the heterogeneous mass by which the prince of Méwar was surrounded had owned the same patriotic sentiments as himself: but he ought to have known his countrymen, nor overlooked the regulating maxim of their ambition, *get land*. Delay was fatal to this last coalition against the foes of his race. Baber is silent on the point to which the annals ascribe their discomfiture, a negotiation pending his blockade at Kanúa; but these have preserved it, with the name of the traitor who sold the cause of his country. The negotiation¹ had reached this point, that on condition of Baber being left Dehli and its dependencies, the Peela-khal at Biana should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and even an annual tribute was offered to the Rana. We can believe that in the position Baber then was, he would not scruple to promise anything. The chief of Rayseen, by name Sillaidi, of the Túar tribe, was the medium of communication, and though the arrangement was negatived, treason had effected the salvation of Baber.

On the 16th March the attack commenced by a furious onset on the centre and right wing of the Tatars, and for several hours the conflict was tremendous. Devotion was never more manifest on the side of the Rajpoot, attested by the long list of noble names amongst the slain as well as the bulletin of their foe, whose artillery made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Rajpoot cavalry, which could not force the entrenchments, nor reach the infantry which defended them. While the battle was still doubtful, the Túar traitor who led the van (*herole*) went over to Baber, and Sanga was obliged to retreat from the field, which in the onset promised a glorious victory, himself severely wounded and the choicest of his chieftains slain: Rawul Udi² Sing of Dongerpoor, with two hundred of his clan; Rutna

that house of sorrow, the world. How much better it is to die with honour than to live with infamy!

"With fame, even if I die, I am contented;
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

"The most high God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

"Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Koran in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible far and near, on friend and foe."—*Memoirs of Baber*, p. 357.

¹ Baber says, "although Rana Sanka (Sanga) the Pagan, when I was at Cabul, sent me ambassadors, and had arranged with me that if I would march upon Dehli he would on Agra; but when I took Dehli and Agra, the Pagan did not move."—*Memoirs of Baber*, p. 339.

² In the translation of Baber's *Memoirs*, Udi Sing is styled "Wali of the country," confounding him with Udi Sing, successor of Sanga. He was Wali (sovereign) of Dongerpoor, not "Oodipoor," which was not then in existence.

of Saloombra, with three hundred of his Chondawut kin ; Raemul Rahtore, son of the prince of Marwar, with the brave Mairtea leaders Khaitsi and Rutna ; Ramdas the Sonigurra Rao ; Ujo the J'hala ; Gokuldas Pramara ; Manikchund and Chundrbhan, Chohan chiefs of the first rank in Méwar ; besides a host of inferior names. Husein Khan of Mewat, and a son of the last Lodi king of Dehli, who coalesced with Sanga, were amongst the killed. Triumphal pyramids were raised of the heads of the slain, and on a hillock which overlooked the field of battle a tower of skulls was erected ; and the conqueror assumed the title of *Ghazi*, which has ever since been retained by his descendants.

Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewat, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Cheetore but with victory. Had his life been spared to his country, he might have redeemed the pledge ; but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence, and he died at Buswa, on the frontier of Mewat, not without suspicion of poison. It is painful to record the surmise that his ministers prompted the deed, and the cause is one which would fix a deep stain on the country ; namely, the purchase by regicide of inglorious ease and stipulated safety, in preference to privations and dangers, and to emulating the manly constancy of their prince, who resolved to make the heavens his canopy till his foe was crushed,—a determination which was pursued with the most resolute perseverance by some of his gallant successors.

Polygamy is the fertile source of evil, moral as well as physical, in the east. It is a relic of barbarism and primeval necessity, affording a proof that ancient Asia is still young in knowledge. The desire of each wife,¹ that her offspring should wear a crown, is natural ; but they do not always wait the course of nature for the attainment of their wishes, and the love of power too often furnishes instruments for any deed, however base. When we see, shortly after the death of Sanga, the mother of his second son intriguing with Baber, and bribing him with the surrender of Rinthumbor and the trophy of victory, the crown of the Malwa king, to supplant the lawful heir, we can easily suppose she would not have scrupled to remove any other bar. On this occasion, however, the suspicion rests on the ministers alone. That Baber respected and dreaded his foe we have the best proof, in his not risking another battle with him ; and the blame which he bestows on himself for the slackness of his pursuit after victory is honourable to Sanga, who is always mentioned with respect in the commentaries of the conqueror : and although he generally styles him the Pagan, and dignifies the contest with the title of " the holy war," yet he freely acknowledges his merit, when he says, " Rana Sanga attained his present high eminence by his own valour and his sword."

Sanga Rana was of the middle stature, but of great muscular strength ; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes, which appear to be peculiar to his descendants.² He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a

¹ The number of queens is determined only by state necessity and the fancy of the prince. To have them equal in number to the days of the week is not unusual, while the number of *handmaids* is unlimited. It will be conceded that the prince who can govern such a household, and maintain equal rights when claims to pre-eminence must be perpetually asserted, possesses no little tact. The government of the kingdom is but an amusement compared with such a task, for it is within the *Rawla* that intrigue is enthroned.

² I possess his portrait, given to me by the present Rana, who has a collection

warrior : one eye was lost in the broil with his brother ; an arm in an action with the Lodi king of Dehli, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another ; while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body. He was celebrated for energetic enterprise, of which his capture of Mozuffur, king of Malwa, in his own capital, is a celebrated instance ; and his successful storm of the almost impregnable Rinthumbor, though ably defended by the imperial general Ali, gained him great renown. He erected a small palace at Kanúa, on the line which he determined should be the northern limit of Méwar ; and had he been succeeded by a prince possessed of his foresight and judgment, Baber's descendants might not have retained the sovereignty of India. A cenotaph long marked the spot where the fire consumed the remains of this celebrated prince. Sanga had seven sons, of whom the two elder died in non-age. He was succeeded by the third son,

RUTNA (S. 1586, A.D. 1530), who possessed all the arrogance and martial virtue of his race. Like his father, he determined to make the field his capital, and commanded that the gates of Cheetore never should be closed, boasting that 'its portals were Dehli and Mandoo.' Had he been spared to temper by experience the exuberance of youthful impetuosity, he would have well seconded the resolution of his father, and the league against the enemies of his country and faith. But he was not destined to pass the age always dangerous to the turbulent and impatient Rajpoot, ever courting strife if it would not find him. He had married by stealth the daughter of Pirthi Raj of Ambér, probably before the death of his elder brothers made him heir to Cheetore. His double-edged sword, the proxy of the Rajpoot cavalier, represented Rutna on this occasion. Unfortunately it was kept but too secret ; for the Hara prince of Boondí,¹ in ignorance of the fact, demanded and obtained her to wife, and carried her to his capital. The consequences are attributable to the Rana alone, for he ought, on coming to the throne, to have espoused her ; but his vanity was flattered at the mysterious transaction, which he deemed would prevent all application for the hand of his "affianced" (*manga*). The bards of Boondí are rather pleased to record the power of their princes, who dared to solicit and obtain the hand of the "bride" of Cheetore. The princes of Boondí had long been attached to the Sesodia house : and from the period when their common ancestors fought together on the banks of the Caggar against Shabudín, they had silently grown to power under the wing of Méwar, and often proved a strong plume in her pinion. The Hara inhabited the hilly tract on her eastern frontier, and though not actually incorporated with Méwar, they yet paid homage to her princes, bore her ensigns and titles, and in return often poured forth their blood. But at the tribunal of *Anunga*,² the Rajpoot scattered all other homage and allegiance to the winds. The maiden of Ambér saw no necessity for disclosing her secret, or refusing the brave Hara, of whom fame spoke loudly, when Rutna of full-lengths of all his royal ancestors, from Samarsi to himself, of their exact heights and with every bodily peculiarity, whether of complexion or form. They are valuable for the costume. He has often shown them to me while illustrating their actions.

¹ Soorajmul.

² The Hindu Cupid, implying 'incorporeal,' from *anga*, 'body,' with the privative prefix 'an.'

delayed to redeem his proxy. The unintentional offence sank deep into the heart of the Rana, and though he was closely connected with the Hara, having married his sister, he brooded on the means of revenge, in the attainment of which he sacrificed his own life as well as that of his rival. The festival of the *Ahairéa*¹ (the spring hunt), which has thrice been fatal to the princes of Méwar, gave the occasion, when they fell by each other's weapons. Though Rutna enjoyed the dignity only five years, he had the satisfaction to see the ex-king of Ferghana, now founder of the Mogul dynasty of India, leave the scene before him, and without the diminution of an acre of land to Méwar since the fatal day of Biana. Rana Rutna was succeeded by his brother,

BIKRAMAJEET,² in S. 1591 (A.D. 1535). This prince had all the turbulence, without the redeeming qualities of character, which endeared his brother to his subjects; he was insolent, passionate, and vindictive, and utterly regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted. Instead of appearing at their head, he passed his time amongst wrestlers and prize-fighters, on whom and a multitude of 'pâéks,' or foot soldiers, he lavished those gifts and that approbation, to which the aristocratic Rajpoot, the equestrian order of Rajast'han, arrogated exclusive right. In this innovation he probably imitated his foes, who had learned the superiority of infantry, despised by the Rajpoot, who, except in sieges, or when "they spread the carpet and hamstrung their steeds," held the foot-soldier very cheap. The use of artillery was now becoming general, and the Moslems soon perceived the necessity of foot for their protection: but prejudice operated longer upon the Rajpoot, who still curses "those vile guns," which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier; and he still prefers falling with dignity from his steed, to descending to an equality with his mercenary antagonist.

An open rupture was the consequence of such innovation, and (to use the figurative expression for misrule) "Pappa Baé ka Raj"³ was triumphant; the police were despised; the cattle carried off by the mountaineers from under the walls of Cheetore; and when his cavaliers were ordered in pursuit, the Rana was tauntingly told to send his pâéks.

Buhadoor, sultan of Guzzerat, determined to take advantage of the Rajpoot divisions, to revenge the disgrace of the defeat and captivity of his predecessor Mozuffur.⁴ Reinforced by the troops of Mandoo, he marched against the Rana, then encamped at Loecha, in the Boondí territory. Though the force was overwhelming, yet with the high courage which belonged to his house, Bikramajeet did not hesitate to give battle; but he found weak defenders in his mercenary pâéks, while his vassals and kin not only kept aloof, but marched off in a body to defend Cheetore, and the posthumous son of Sanga Rana, still an infant.

There is a sanctity in the very name of Cheetore, which from the

¹ I have given the relation of this duel in the narrative of my journeys on my visit to the cenotaph of Rutna, erected where he fell. It was the pleasure of my life to listen to the traditional anecdotes illustrative of Rajpoot history on the scenes of their transactions.

² The Bhakha orthography for Vicramaditya.

³ The government of Poppa Baé, a princess of ancient time, whose mismanaged sovereignty has given a proverb to the Rajpoot.

⁴ Taken by Pirthi Raj and carried to Rana Raemul, who took a large sum of money and seven hundred horses as his ransom.

earliest times secured her defenders ; and now, when threatened again by " the barbarian," such the inexplicable character of the Rajpoot, we find the heir of Soorajmul abandoning his new capital of Deola, to pour out the few drops which yet circulated in his veins in defence of the abode of his fathers.

" The son of Boondí," with a brave band of five hundred Haras, also came ; as did the Sonigurra and Deora Raos of Jhalore and Aboo, with many auxiliaries from all parts of Rajwarra. This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the sultans of Central India, and European artillerists ¹ are recorded in these annals as brought to the subjugation of Cheetore. The engineer is styled ' Labri Khan of Frengán,' and to his skill Buhadoor was indebted for the successful storm which ensued. He sprung a mine at the " Beeka rock," which blew up forty-five cubits of the rampart, with the bastion where the brave Haras were posted. The Boondí bards dwell on this incident, which destroyed their prince and five hundred of his kin. Rao Doorga, with the Chondawut chieftains Sutto and Doodoo and their vassals, bravely defended the breach and repelled many assaults ; and, to set an example of courageous devotion, the queen-mother Jawahir Bae, of Rahtore race, clad in armour, headed a sally in which she was slain. Still the besiegers gained ground, and the last council convened was to concert means to save the infant son of Sanga from this imminent peril. But Cheetore can only be defended by royalty, and again they had recourse to the expedient of crowning a king, as a sacrifice to the dignity of the protecting deity of Cheetore. Bágh-ji, prince of Deola, courted the insignia of destruction ; the banner of Méwar floated over him, and the golden sun from its sable field never shone more refulgent than when the *changí* ² was raised amidst the shouts of her defenders over the head of the son of Soorajmul. The infant, Oody Sing, was placed in safety with Soortan, prince of Boondí,³ the garrison put on their saffron robes, while materials for the *johur* were preparing. There was little time for the pyre. The bravest had fallen in defending the breach, now completely exposed. Combustibles were quickly heaped up in reservoirs and magazines excavated in the rock, under which gunpowder was strewed. Kurnavati, mother of the prince, and sister to the gallant Arjoon Hara, led the procession of willing victims to their doom, and thirteen thousand

¹ We have, in the poems of Chund, frequent indistinct notices of firearms, especially the ' nal-gola ' or *tube-ball* ; but whether discharged by percussion or the expensive force of gunpowder is dubious. The poet also repeatedly speaks of " the volcano of the field," giving to understand great guns ; but these may be interpolations, though I would not check a full investigation of so curious a subject by raising a doubt. Baber was the first who introduced field guns in the Mohamedan wars, and Buhadoor's invasion is the first notice of their application in sieges, for in Alla-o-din's time, in the thirteenth century, he used the catapult or battering-ram, called ' munjanika.' To these guns Baber was indebted for victory over the united cavalry of Rajast'han. They were served by Roomi Khan, probably a Roumeliot, or Syrian Christian. The Franks (Feringees), with Buhadoor, must have been some of Vasco di Gama's crew.

² The *Changi*, the chief insignia of regality in Méwar, is a sun of gold in the centre of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter, elevated on a pole, and carried close to the prince. It has something of a Scythic cast about it. What *changí* imports I never understood.

³ The name of the faithful Rajpoot who preserved Oody Sing, Chuka Sén Dhoondéra, deserves to be recorded.

females were thus swept at once from the record of life. The gates were thrown open, and the Deola chief, at the head of the survivors, with a blind and impotent despair, rushed on his fate.

Buhadoor must have been appalled at the horrid sight on viewing his conquest ;¹ the mangled bodies of the slain, with hundreds in the last agonies from the poniard or poison, awaiting death as less dreadful than dishonour and captivity.² To use the emphatic words of the annalist, "the last day of Cheetore had arrived." Every clan lost its chief, and the choicest of their retainers ; during the siege and in the storm thirty-two thousand Rajpoots were slain. This is the second *saka* of Cheetore.

Buhadoor had remained but a fortnight, when the tardy advance of Hemayoon with his succours warned him to retire. According to the annals, he left Bengal at the solicitation of the queen Kurnavati ; but instead of following up the spoil-encumbered foe, he commenced a pedantic war of words with Buhadoor, punning on the word 'Cheetore.' Had Hemayoon not been so distant, this catastrophe would have been averted, for he was bound by the laws of chivalry, the claims of which he had acknowledged, to defend the queen's cause, whose knight he had become. The relation of the peculiarity of a custom analogous to the taste of the chivalrous age of Europe may amuse. When her Amazonian sister the Rahtore queen was slain, the mother of the infant prince took a surer method to shield him in demanding the fulfilment of the pledge given by Hemayoon when she sent the *Rakhi* to that monarch.

'The festival of the bracelet (*Rakhi*)' is in spring, and whatever its origin, it is one of the few when an intercourse of gallantry of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajast'han. Though the bracelet may be sent by maidens, it is only on occasions of urgent necessity or danger. The Rajpoot dame bestows with the *Rakhi* the title of adopted brother ; and while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a *cavaliere servente*, scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who, as brother of her adoption, has constituted him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such connection, never endangered by close observation, and the loyal to the fair may well attach a value to the public recognition of being the *Rakhi-bund Bhée*, the 'bracelet-bound brother' of a princess. The intrinsic value of such pledge is never looked to, nor is it requisite it should be costly, though it varies with the means and rank of the donor, and may be of flock silk and spangles, or gold chains and gems. The acceptance of the pledge and its return is by the *katchli*, or corset, of simple silk or satin, of gold brocade and pearls. In shape or application there is nothing similar in Europe, and as defending the most delicate part of the structure of the fair, it is peculiarly appropriate as an emblem of devotion. A whole province has often accompanied the *Katchli*, and the monarch of India was so pleased with this

¹ The date, "Jeit sood 12th, S. 1589," A.D. 1533, and according to Ferishta A.H. 949, A.D. 1532-3.

² From ancient times, leading the females captive appears to have been the sign of complete victory. Rajpoot inscriptions often allude to "a conqueror beloved by the wives of his conquered foe," and in the early parts of Scripture the same notion is referred to. The mother of Sisera asks, "Have they not divided the prey ; to every man a damsel or two ?"—*Judges* v. 30.

courteous delicacy in the customs of Rajast'han, on receiving the bracelet of the princess Kurnavati, which invested him with the title of her brother, and uncle and protector to her infant Oody Sing, that he pledged himself to her service, "even if the demand were the castle of Rinthumbor." Hemayoon proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge and succour Cheetore, and the widows and minor sons of Sanga Rana.¹ Hemayoon had the highest proofs of the worth of those courting his protection ; he was with his father Baber in all his wars in India, and at the battle of Biana his prowess was conspicuous, and is recorded by Baber's own pen. He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Cheetore, took Mandoo by assault, and, as some revenge for her king's aiding the king of Guzzerat, he sent for the Rana Bikramajeet, whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe.

The Mahomedan historians, strangers to their customs, or the secret motives which caused the emperor to abandon Bengal, ascribe it to the Rana's solicitation ; but we may credit the annals, which are in unison with the chivalrous notions of the Rajpoots, into which succeeding monarchs, the great Akber, his son Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, entered with delight ; and even Arungzéb, two of whose original letters to the queen-mother of Oodipoor are now in the author's possession, and are remarkable for their elegance and purity of diction, and couched in terms perfectly accordant with Rajpoot delicacy.²

Bikramajeet, thus restored to his capital, had gained nothing by adversity ; or, to employ the words of the annalist, "experience had yielded no wisdom." He renewed all his former insolence to his chiefs, and so entirely threw aside his own dignity, and, what is of still greater consequence, the reverence universally shown to old age, as to strike in open court Keremchund of Ajmér, the protector of his father Sanga in his misfortunes. The assembly rose with one accord at this indignity to their order ; and as they retired, the Chondawut leader Kanji, the first of the nobles, exclaimed, "Hitherto, brother chiefs, we have had but a smell of the blossom, but now we shall be obliged to eat the fruit" ; to which the insulted Pramara added, as he hastily retired, "to-morrow its flavour will be known."

Though the Rajpoot looks up to his sovereign as to a divinity, and is

¹ Many romantic tales are founded on "the gift of the Rakhi." The author, who was placed in the enviable situation of being able to do good, and on the most extensive scale, was the means of restoring many of these ancient families from degradation to affluence. The greatest reward he could, and the only one he would, receive, was the courteous civility displayed in many of these interesting customs. He was the *Rakhi-bund Bhée* of, and received 'the bracelet' from, three queens of Oodipoor, Boondí, and Kotah, besides Chund-Bae, the maiden sister of the Rana ; as well as many ladies of the chieftains of rank, with whom he interchanged letters. The sole articles of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' which he conveyed from a country where he was six years supreme, are these testimonies of friendly regard. Intrinsically of no great value, they were presented and accepted in the ancient spirit, and he retains them with a sentiment the more powerful, because he can no longer render them any service.

² He addresses her as "dear and virtuous sister," and evinces much interest in her welfare. We are in total ignorance of the refined sentiment which regulates such a people—our home-bred prejudices deem them beneath inquiry ; and thus indolence and self-conceit combine to deprive the benevolent of a high gratification.

enjoined implicit obedience by his religion, which rewards him accordingly hereafter, yet this doctrine has its limits, and precedents are abundant for deposal, when the acts of the prince may endanger the realm. But there is a bond of love as well as of awe which restrains them, and softens its severity in the paternity of sway ; for these princes are at once the father and king of their people : not in fiction, but reality—for he is the representative of the common ancestor of the aristocracy,—the sole lawgiver of Rajast'han.

Sick of these minors (and they had now a third in prospect), which in a few years had laid prostrate the throne of Méwar, her nobles on leaving their unworthy prince repaired to Bunbeer, the natural son of the heroic Pirthi Raj, and offered " to seat him on the throne of Chectore." He had the virtue to resist the solicitation ; and it was only on painting the dangers which threatened the country, if its chief at such a period had not their confidence, that he gave his consent. The step between the deposal and death of a king is necessarily short, and the cries of the females, which announced the end of Bikramajeet, were drowned in the acclamations raised on the elevation of the *changi* over the head of the bastard Bunbeer.

CHAPTER X

The bastard Bunbeer rules Méwar—Attempted assassination of the posthumous son of Sanga—Oody Sing's escape and long concealment—Acknowledged as Rana—The Doonah described—Oody Sing gains Chectore—Deposal of Bunbeer—Origin of the Bhonslas of Nagpoor—Rana Oody Sing—His unworthiness—Hemayoon expelled the throne of India—Birth of Akber—Hemayoon recovers his throne—His death—Accession of Akber—Characters of Akber and Oody Sing contrasted—Akber besieges Chectore, which is abandoned by the Rana—Its defence—Jeimul and Putto—Anecdotes of Rajpoot females—Saka or Johur—General assault—Chectore taken—Massacre of the inhabitants—Oody Sing founds the new capital Oodipoor—His death.

A FEW hours of sovereignty sufficed to check those " compunctious visitings " which assailed Bunbeer ere he assumed its trappings, with which he found himself so little encumbered that he was content to wear them for life. Whether this was the intention of the nobles who set aside the unworthy son of Sanga, there is abundant reason to doubt ; and as he is subsequently branded with the epithet of " usurper " it was probably limited, though unexpressed, to investing him with the executive authority during the minority of Oody Sing. Bunbeer, however, only awaited the approach of night to remove with his own hands the obstacle to his ambition. Oody Sing was about six years of age. " He had gone to sleep after his rice and milk," when his nurse was alarmed by screams from the rawula,¹ and the Bari² coming in to take away the remains of the dinner, informed her of the cause, the assassination of the Rana. Aware that one murder was the precursor of another, the faithful nurse put her charge into a fruit basket and, covering it with leaves, she delivered it to the Bari, enjoining him to escape with it from the fort. Scarcely had she time to

¹ The seraglio, or female palace.

² Bari, Naé, are names for the barbers, who are the *cuisiniers* of the Rajpoots.

substitute her own infant in the room of the prince, when Bunbeer, entering, inquired for him. Her lips refused their office; she pointed to the cradle, and beheld the murderous steel buried in the heart of her babe. The little victim to fidelity was burnt amidst the tears of the rawula, the inconsolable household of their late sovereign, who supposed that their grief was given to the last pledge of the illustrious Sanga. The nurse (*Dhaé*) was a Rajpootnee of the Kheechee tribe, her name *Punna*, or 'the Diamond.' Having consecrated with her tears the ashes of her child, she hastened after that she had preserved. But well had it been for Méwar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Oody Sing in the catalogue of her princes.

The faithful barber was awaiting the nurse in the bed of the Bérís River, some miles west of Cheetore, and fortunately the infant had not awoke until he descended the city. They departed for Deola, and sought refuge with Sing Rao, the successor to Bagh-ji, who fell for Cheetore; who dreading the consequence of detection, they proceeded to Dongerpoor. Rawul Aiskurn then ruled this principality, which, as well as Deola, was not only a branch, but the elder branch, of Cheetore. With every wish to afford a shelter, he pleaded the danger which threatened himself and the child in such a feeble sanctuary. Pursuing a circuitous route through Edur, and the intricate valleys of the Aravulli, by the help and with the protection of its wild inmates, the Bhils, she gained Komulmér. The resolution she had formed was bold as it was judicious. She demanded an interview with the governor, Assa Sah his name, of the mercantile tribe of Dépra, and a follower of the theistical tenets of the Jains. The interview being granted, she placed the infant in his lap, and bid him "guard the life of his sovereign." He felt perplexed and alarmed: but his mother, who was present, upbraided him for his scruples. "Fidelity," said she, "never looks at dangers or difficulties. He is your master, the son of Sanga, and by God's blessing the result will be glorious." Having thus fulfilled her trust, the faithful Punna withdrew from Komulmér to avoid the suspicion which a Rajpootnee about a Srawuk's¹ child would have occasioned, as the heir of Cheetore was declared to be the nephew of the Dépra.

Suspensions were often excited regarding Assa's nephew; once, especially, on the anniversary (*samvatsiri*) of the governor's father, when "the Rajpoot guests being in one rank, and the men of wealth in another, young Oody seized a vessel of curds, which no intreaty could prevail on him to relinquish, deriding their threats." Seven years elapsed before the secret transpired; at length self-revealed, from the same independent bearing. On occasion of a visit from the Sonigurra chief, Oody was sent to receive him, and the dignified manner in which he performed the duty convinced the chief "he was no nephew to the Sah." Rumour spread the tale, and brought not only the nobles of Méwar, but adjacent chiefs, to hail the son of Sanga Rana. Sahidas of Saloombra, the representative of Chonda, Juggo of Kailwa, Sanga of Bagore, all chiefs of the clans of Chondawut; the Chohans of Kotario and Baidla, the Pramars of Bijolli Akhiraj (Sonigurra), Pirthi Raj of Sanchoire, and Loonkurn Jaitawut, repaired to Komulmér, when all doubt was removed by the testimony of the nurse, and of her coadjutor in the preservation of the child.

¹ The laity of the Jain persuasion are so called.

A court was formed, when the faithful Assa Sah resigned his trust and placed the prince of Chectore "in the lap of the Kotario Chohan," as the "great ancient"¹ among the nobles of Méwar, who was throughout acquainted with the secret, and who, to dissipate the remaining scruples which attached to the infant's preservation, "ate off the same platter with him." The Sonigurra Rao did not hesitate to affiancé to him his daughter, and it was accepted by his advisers, notwithstanding the interdiction of Hamir to any intermarriage with the Sonigurra, since the insult of giving the widow to his bed.² Oody received the teeka of Chectore in the castle of Koombho, and the homage of nearly all the chiefs of Méwar.

The tidings soon reached the usurper, who had not borne his faculties meekly since his advancement; but having seized on the dignity, he wished to ape all the customs of the legitimate monarchs of Chectore, and even had the effrontery to punish as an insult the refusal of one of the proud sons of Chonda to take the *doonah* from his bastard hand.

The *doonah*, or *dooh*, is a portion of the dish of which the prince partakes, sent by his own hand to whomsoever he honours at the banquet. At the *russora*, or refectory, the chiefs who are admitted to dine in the presence of their sovereign are seated according to their rank. The repast is one of those occasions when an easy familiarity is permitted, which, though unrestrained, never exceeds the bounds of etiquette, and the habitual reverence due to their father and prince. When he sends, by the steward of the kitchen, a portion of the dish before him, or a little from his own *khansa*, or plate, all eyes are guided to the favoured mortal, whose good fortune is the subject of subsequent conversation. Though, with the diminished lustre of this house, the *doonah* may have lost its former estimation, it is yet received with reverence; but the extent of this feeling, even so late as the reign of Ursi Rana, the father of the reigning prince, the following anecdote will testify. In the rebellion during this prince's reign, amongst the ancient customs which became relaxed, that of bestowing the *doonah* was included; and the Rana conferring it on the Rahtore prince of Kishengurh, the Bijolli chief, one of the sixteen superior nobles of Méwar, rose and left the presence, observing, "Neither the Kutchwaha or the Rahtore has a right to this honour, nor can we, who regard as sanctified even the leavings of your repast, witness this degradation; for the Thakoor of Kishengurh is far beneath me." To such extent is this privilege even yet carried, and such importance is attached from habit to the personal character of the princes of Méwar, that the test of regal legitimacy in Rajast'han is admission to eat from the same plate (*khansa*) with the Rana: and to the refusal of this honour to the great Maun Sing of Ambér, may be indirectly ascribed the ruin of Méwar.

It may, therefore, be conceived with what contempt the haughty nobility of Chectore received the mockery of honour from the hand of this "fifth son of Méwar"; and the Chondawut chief had the boldness to add to his refusal, "that an honour from the hand of a true son of Bappa Rawul became a disgrace when proffered by the offspring of the handmaid Seetulséni." The defection soon became general, and all repaired to the valley of Komulmér to hail the legitimate son of Méwar. A caravan of

¹ *Burra* 'great,' *boora* 'aged'; the 'wise elder' of Rajast'han, where old age and dignity are synonymous.

² See p. 219.

five hundred horses and ten thousand oxen, laden with merchandise from Kutch, the dower of Bunbeer's daughter, guarded by one thousand Gherwal Rajpoots, was plundered in the passes ; a signal intimation of the decay of his authority, and a timely supply to the celebration of the nuptials of Oody Rana with the daughter of the Rao of Jhalore. Though the interdict of Hamir was not forgotten, it was deemed that the insult given by Bunbeer *Sonigurra*, was amply effaced by his successor's redemption of the usurpation of Bunbeer *Seesodia*. The marriage was solemnised at Balhi, within the limits of Jhalore, and the customary offerings were sent or given by all the princes of Rajast'han. Two chiefs only, of any consequence, abstained from attending on their lawful prince on this occasion, the Solanki of Maholi and Maloji of Tanah. In attacking them, the bastard was brought into conflict ; but Maloji was slain and the Solanki surrendered. Deserted by all, Bunbeer held out in the capital ; but his minister admitted, under the garb of a reinforcement with supplies, a thousand resolute adherents of the prince : the keepers of the gates were surprised and slain, and the *án* of Oody Sing was proclaimed. Bunbeer was even permitted to retire with his family and his wealth. He sought refuge in the Dekhan, and the Bhonslas of Nagpoor are said to derive their origin from this spurious branch of Cheetore.

RANA OODY SING ascended the throne in S. 1597 (A.D. 1541-2). Great were the rejoicings on the restoration of this prince. 'The song of joy,'¹ which was composed on the occasion, is yet a favourite at Oodipoor, and on the festival of Isáni (the Ceres of Rajast'han), the females still chant in chorus the 'farewell to Komulmér.'² But the evil days of Méwar which set in with Sanga's death, and were accelerated by the fiery valour of Rutna and the capricious conduct of Bikramajeet, were completed by an anomaly in her annals : a coward succeeding a bastard to guide the destinies of the Seesodias. The vices of Rutna and his brother were virtues compared to this physical defect, the consequences of which destroyed a great national feeling, the opinion of its invincibility.

"Woe to the land where a minor rules or a woman bears sway !" exclaims the last of the great bards³ of Rajast'han ; but where both were united, as in Méwar, the measure of her griefs was full. Oody Sing had not one quality of a sovereign ; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. Yet he might have slumbered life away in inglorious repose during the reign of Hemayoon, or the contentions of the Pat'han usurpation ; but, unhappily for Rajast'han, a prince was then rearing who forged fetters for the Hindu race which enthralled them for ages ; and though the corroding hand of time left but their fragments, yet even now, though emancipated, they bear the indelible marks of the manacle ; not like the galley slave's, physical and exterior, but deep mental scars, never to be effaced. Can a nation which has run its long career of glory be regenerated ? Can the soul of the Greek or the Rajpoot be reanimated with the spark divine which defended the kangras⁴ of Cheetore or the pass of Thermopylæ ? Let history answer the question.

In the same year that the song of joy was raised in the cloud-capped⁵ palace of Komulmér for the deliverance of Oody Sing, the note of woe was

¹ Sohuloh.

² Komulmér biddaona.

³ Chund, the heroic bard of the last Hindu emperor.

⁴ Battlements.

⁵ *Badul Mahl*.

pealed through the walls of Amerkote, and given to the winds of the desert, to proclaim the birth ¹ of an infant destined to be the greatest monarch who ever swayed the sceptre of Hindust'han. In an oasis of the Indian desert, amidst the descendants of the ancient Sogdi ² of Alexander, Akber first saw the light ; his father a fugitive, the diadem torn from his brows, its recovery more improbable than was its acquisition by Baber. The ten years which had elapsed since Hemayoon's accession were passed in perpetual strife with his brothers, placed according to custom in subordinate governments. Their selfish ambition met its reward ; for with the fall of Hemayoon their own was ensured, when Shere Shah displaced the dynasty of Chagitai for his own, the Pat'han.

From the field of battle at Kanouj, where Hemayoon left his crown, his energetic opponent gave him no respite, driving him before him from Agra to Lahore. Thence, with his family and a small band of adherents, alternately protected and repelled by Hindu chieftains, he reached the valley of Sinde, where he struggled to maintain himself amidst the greatest privations, attempting in succession each stronghold on the Indus, from Mooltan to the ocean. Foiled in every object, his associates made rebels by distress, he abandoned them for the more dubious shelter of the foes of his race. Vain were his solicitations to Jessulmér and Jodpoor ; and though it cannot be matter of wonder that he found no commiseration from either Bhatti or Rahtore, we must reprobate the unnational conduct of Maldeo, who, the Mogul historian says, attempted to make him captive. From such inhospitable treatment the royal exile escaped by again plunging into the desert, where he encountered, along with the tender objects of his solicitude, hardships of the most appalling description, until sheltered by the Soda prince of Amerkote. The high courage and the virtues of this monarch increase that interest in his sufferings which royalty in distress never fails to awaken by its irresistible influence upon our sympathies ; and they form an affecting episode in the history of Ferishta.³ Hemayoon,

¹ A.D. 1542.

² The Sodas, a branch of the Pramars, see p. 78.

³ " Humaioon mounted his horse at midnight and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred coss from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, who was well mounted, to let him have his ; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his request. The troops of the raja being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till 'one Nidim Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and, placing her on the camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

" The country through which they fled being an entire sandy desert, the troop began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead ; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humai-oon ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front to see how it fared with his family.

" Night, in the meantime, coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Sheeh Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were by the valour of this handful put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of the camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

" Marching forward the next day from this well, they were more distressed

though more deeply skilled in the mysteries of astrology than any professed seer of his empire, appears never to have enjoyed that prescience which, according to the initiated in the science, is to be obtained from accurate observation :

“ And coming events cast their shadows before ; ”

for, could he, by any prophetic power, have foreseen that the cloud which then shaded his fortunes, was but the precursor of glory to his race, he would have continued his retreat from the sheltering sand-hills of Amerkote with very different sentiments from those which accompanied his flight into Persia.

Hemayoon educated the young Akber in the same school of adversity in which he had studied under Baber. Between the Persian court and his ancient patrimony in Transoxiana, Candahar, and Cashmere, twelve years were passed in every trial of fortune. During this short period, India, always the prize of valour, had witnessed in succession six kings descended from the Pat'han ' Lion ' (*shere*), of whom the last, Secunder, was involved in the same civil broils which brought the crown to his family. Hemayoon, then near Cashmere, no sooner observed the tide of events set counter to his foe, than he crossed the Indus and advanced upon Sirhind, where the Pat'han soon appeared with a tumultuous array. The impetuosity of young Akber brought on a general engagement, which the veterans deemed madness. Not so Hemayoon, who gave the command to his boy, whose heroism so excited all ranks, that they despised the numbers of the enemy, and gained a glorious victory. This was the presage of his future fame ; for Akber was then but twelve years of age,¹ the same period of life at which his grandfather, Baber, maintained himself on the throne of Ferghana. Hemayoon, worthy of such a son and such a sire, entered Dehli in triumph ; but he did not long enjoy his recovered crown. His death will appear extraordinary, according to the erroneous estimate formed of Eastern

than before, there being no water for two days' journey. On the fourth day of their retreat they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the cassilas when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves in agony on the hot sand ; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends !

“ The next day, though they reached water, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tasted water for several days, now drank so much that the greatest part of them died. The people, also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

“ A few, with the king, after this unheard-of distress, reached Amercote. The raja, being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes : he spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

“ At Amercote, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, the prince Akber was brought forth by Hamida Banu Begum. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched against Bicker.”—Dow's *Ferishta*.

¹ A.D. 1554.

princes : its cause was a fall from the terrace of his library ; for, like every individual of his race, he was not merely a patron of literature, but himself a scholar. Were we to contrast the literary acquirements of the Chagitai princes with those of their contemporaries of Europe, the balance of lore would be found on the side of the Asiatics, even though Elizabeth and Henry iv. of France were in the scale. Amongst the princes from the Jaxartes are historians, poets, astronomers, founders of systems of government and religion, warriors, and great captains, who claim our respect and admiration.

Scarcely had Akber been seated on the throne, when Dehli and Agra were wrested from him, and a nook of the Punjâb constituted all his empire : but by the energetic valour of the great Byrâm Khan, his lost sovereignty was regained with equal rapidity, and established by the wisdom of this Sully¹ of Hindust'han on a rock. Calpee, Chandêri, Callinger, all Boondelkhund and Malwa, were soon attached to the empire, and at the early age of eighteen Akber assumed the uncontrolled direction of the state. He soon turned his attention towards the Rajpoots ; and whether it was to revenge the inhospitality of Maldeo towards his father, he advanced against the Rahtores, and stormed and took Mairtea, the second city in Marwar. Raja Bharmul of Ambêr anticipated the king, enrolled himself and son Bhagwandas amongst his vassals, gave the Chagitai a daughter to wife, and held his country as a fief of the empire. But the rebellions of the Usbec nobles, and the attempts of former princes to regain their lost power, checked for a time his designs upon Rajast'han. These matters adjusted, and the petty sovereigns in the East (to whom the present monarch of Oude is as Alexander) subjected to authority, he readily seized upon the provocation which the sanctuary given to Baz Bahadoor of Malwa and the ex-prince of Nirwur afforded, to turn his arms against Cheetore.²

Happy the country where the sovereignty is in the laws, and where the monarch is but the chief magistrate of the state, unsubjected to those vicissitudes, which make the sceptre in Asia unstable as a pendulum, kept in perpetual oscillation by the individual passions of her princes ; where the virtues of one will exalt her to the summit of prosperity, as the vices of a successor will plunge her into the abyss of degradation. Akber and Oody Sing furnish the corollary to this self-evident truth.

The Rana was old enough to philosophise on " the uses of adversity " ; and though the best of the " great ancients " had fallen in defence of Cheetore, there were not wanting individuals capable of instilling just and noble sentiments into his mind : but it was of that common character which is formed to be controlled by others ; and an artful and daring concubine stepped in, to govern Oody Sing and Méwar.

Akber was not older when he came to the throne³ of Dehli than Oody Sing when he ascended that of Méwar. Nor were his hopes much brighter ; but the star which beamed upon his cradle in the desert, conducted to his

¹ There are excellent grounds for a parallel between Akber and Henry iv. and between Byrâm and Sully, who were, moreover, almost contemporaries. The haughty and upright Byrâm was at length goaded from rebellion to exile, and died by assassination only four years after Akber's accession. The story is one of the most useful lessons of history.

² A.H. 975, or A.D. 1567.

³ A.D. 1555 ; both were under thirteen years of age.

springs of their prejudices and their action : batter down these adamantine walls of national opinion, and all others are but glass. The once invincible Cheetore is now pronounced indefensible. "The abode of regality, which for a thousand years reared her head above all the cities of Hindust'han," is become the refuge of wild beasts, which seek cover in her temples ; and this erst sanctified capital is now desecrated as the dwelling of evil fortune, into which the entrance of her princes is solemnly interdicted.

Ferishta mentions but one enterprise against Cheetore, that of its capture ; but the annals record another, when Akber was compelled to relinquish the undertaking. The successful defence is attributed to the masculine courage of the Rana's concubine queen, who headed the sallies into the heart of the Mogul camp, and on one occasion to the emperor's headquarters. The imbecile Rana proclaimed that he owed his deliverance to her ; when the chiefs, indignant at this imputation on their courage, conspired and put her to death. Internal discord invited Akber to re-invest Cheetore ; he had just attained his twenty-fifth year, and was desirous of the renown of capturing it. The site of the royal Oordoo,¹ or camp, is still pointed out. It extended from the village of Pandowly² along the high road to Bussie, a distance of ten miles. The headquarters of Akber are yet marked by a pyramidal column of marble, to which tradition has assigned the title of *Akber cá déwá*, or 'Akber's lamp.'³ Scarcely had Akber sat down before Cheetore, when the Rana was compelled (say the annals) to quit it ; but the necessity and his wishes were in unison. It lacked not, however, brave defenders. Sahidás, at the head of a numerous band of the descendants of Chonda, was at his post, 'the gate of the sun' ; there he fell resisting the entrance of the foe, and there his altar stands, on the brow of the rock which was moistened with his blood. Rawut Dooda of Madaria led "the sons of Sanga."⁴ The feudatory chiefs of Baidla and Kotario, descended from Pirthiraj of Dehli—the Pramari of Bijolli—the Jhala of Sadri—inspired their contingents with their brave example : these were all home chieftains. Another son of Deola again combated for Cheetore, with the Sonigurra Rao of Jhalore—Esuridas Rahtore, Kurumchund Cutchwaha,⁵ with Dooda Sadani,⁶ and the Túar

¹ Of which *horde* is a corruption.

² There are two villages of this name. This is on the lake called "Mánsurwur," on whose bank I obtained that invaluable inscription (see No. 2) in the nail-headed character, which settled the establishment of the Ghelotes in Cheetore, at a little more than (as Orme has remarked) one thousand years. To the eternal regret of my Yati Gúru and myself, a barbarian Brahmin servant, instead of having it copied, broke the venerable column to bring the inscription to Oodipoor.

³ It is as perfect as when constructed, being of immense blocks of compact white limestone, closely fitted to each other ; its height thirty feet, the base a square of twelve, and summit four feet, to which a staircase conducts. A huge concave vessel was then filled with fire, which served as a night-beacon to this ambulatory city, where all nations and tongues were assembled, or to guide the foragers. Akber, who was ambitious of being the founder of a new faith as well as kingdom, had tried every creed, Jewish, Hindu, and even made some progress in the doctrines of Christianity, and may have in turn affected those of Zerdusht, and assuredly this pyramid possesses more of the appearance of a pyreum than a "déwa" ; though either would have fulfilled the purport of a beacon.

⁴ The Sangawuts, not the sons of Rana Sanga, but of a chieftain of Chonda's kin, whose name is the patronymic of one of its principal subdivisions, of whom the chief of Deogurli is now head. See p. 131.

⁵ Of the Punchanote branch.

⁶ One of the Shekhavat subdivisions.

prince of Gwalior, were distinguished amongst the foreign auxiliaries on this occasion.

But the names which shine brightest in this gloomy page of the annals of Méwar, which are still held sacred by the bard and the true Rajpoot, and immortalised by Akber's own pen, are Jeimul of Bednore and Putta of Kailwa, both of the sixteen superior vassals of Méwar. The first was a Rahtore of the Mairtea house, the bravest of the brave clans of Marwar; the other was head of the Jugawuts, another grand shoot from Chonda. The names of 'Jeimul and Putta' are 'as household words,' inseparable in Méwar, and will be honoured while the Rajpoot retains a shred of his inheritance or a spark of his ancient recollections. Though deprived of the stimulus which would have been given had their prince been a witness of their deeds, heroic achievements such as those already recorded were conspicuous on this occasion; and many a fair form threw the buckler over the scarf, and led the most desperate sorties.

When Saloombra¹ fell at the gate of the sun, the command devolved on Putta of Kailwa. He was only sixteen: his father had fallen in the last shock, and his mother had survived but to rear this the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put on the 'saffron robe,' and to die for Cheetore: but surpassing the Grecian dame, she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft 'compunctious visitings' for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Cheetore saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajpoots became reckless of life. They had maintained a protracted defence, but had no thoughts of surrender, when a ball struck Jeimul, who took the lead on the fall of the kin of Méwar. His soul revolted at the idea of ingloriously perishing by a distant blow. He saw there was no ultimate hope of salvation, the northern defences being entirely destroyed, and he resolved to signalise the end of his career. The fatal Johur was commanded, while eight thousand Rajpoots ate the last 'beera'² together, and put on their saffron robes; the gates were thrown open, the work of destruction commenced, and few survived 'to stain the yellow mantle' by inglorious surrender. Akber entered Cheetore, when thirty thousand of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this 'guardian of mankind.' All the heads of clans, both home and foreign, fell, and seventeen hundred of the immediate kin of the prince sealed their duty to their country with their lives. The Túar chief of Gwalior appears to have been the only one of note who was reserved for another day of glory. Nine queens, five princesses (their daughters), with two infant sons, and the families of all the chieftains not at their estates, perished in the flames or in the assault of this ever memorable day. Their divinity had indeed deserted them; for it was on 'Aditwar,' the day of the sun,³ he shed for the last time a ray of glory on Cheetore. The rock of their

¹ The abode of the Chondawut leader. It is common to call them by the name of their estates.

² The beera, or pán, the aromatic leaf so called, enveloping spices, terra japonica, calcined shell-lime, and pieces of the areca nut, is always presented on taking leave.

³ "Cheit sood egárus, S. 1624," 11th Cheit, or May, A.D. 1568.

strength was despoiled ; the temples, the palaces dilapidated : and, to complete her humiliation and his triumph, Akber bereft her of all the symbols of regality ; the nakaras,¹ whose reverberations proclaimed, for miles around, the entrance and exit of her princes ; the candelabras from the shrine of the ' great mother,' who girt Bappa Rawul with the sword with which he conquered Chectore ; and, in mockery of her misery, her portals, to adorn his projected capital, Akberabad.²

Akber claimed the honour of the death of Jeimul by his own hand : the fact is recorded by Abul Fuzil, and by the emperor Jhangir, who conferred on the matchlock which aided him to this distinction the title of *Singram*.³ But the conqueror of Chectore evinced a more exalted sense, not only of the value of his conquest, but of the merits of his foes, in erecting statues to the names of Jeimul and Putta at the most conspicuous entrance of his palace at Dehli ; and they retained that distinction even when Bernier was in India.⁴

When the Carthaginian gained the battle of Cannæ, he measured his success by the bushels of rings taken from the fingers of the equestrian Romans who fell in that memorable field. Akber estimated his, by the quantity of cordons (*xinâr*) of distinction taken from the necks of the

¹ Grand kettle-drums, about eight or ten feet in diameter.

² The *teejo saca Chectore ra*, or ' third sack of Chectore,' was marked by the most illiterate atrocity, for every monument spared by Alla or Bayazeed was defaced, which has left an indelible stain on Akber's name as a lover of the arts, as well as of humanity. Alla's assault was comparatively harmless, as the care of the fortress was assigned to a Hindu prince ; and Bayazeed had little time to fulfil this part of the Mosaic law, maintained with rigid severity by the followers of Islamism. Besides, at those periods, they possessed both the skill and the means to reconstruct : not so after Akber, as the subsequent portion of the annals will show but a struggle for existence. The arts do not flourish amidst penury : the principle to construct cannot long survive, when the means to execute are fled ; and in the monumental works of Chectore we can trace the gradations of genius, its splendour and decay.

³ " He (Akber) named the matchlock with which he shot Jeimul *Singram*, being one of great superiority and choice, and with which he had slain three or four thousand birds and beasts."—*Jhangir-nameh*.

⁴ " I find nothing remarkable at the entry but two great elephants of stone, which are in the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel (Jeimul), that famous raja of Chectore, and upon the other Potter (Putta) his brother. These are two gallant men that, together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut out so much work for Ekbar ; and who, in the sieges of towns which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls (sallies) with their mother, than submit ; and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected to them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror."—*Letter written at Dehli, 1st July 1663, from edition printed in London in 1684, in the author's possession.*

Such the impression made on a Parisian a century after the event : but far more powerful the charm to the author of these annals, as he pondered on the spot where Jeimul received the fatal shot from Singram, or placed flowers on the cenotaph that marks the fall of the son of Chonda and the mansion of Putta, whence issued the Scesodia matron and her daughter. Every foot of ground is hallowed by ancient recollections.

Rajpoots, and seventy-four máns and a half¹ are the recorded amount. To eternise the memory of this disaster, the numerals '74½' are *tílác*, or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rajast'han it is the strongest of seals, for 'the sin of the slaughter of Cheetore'² is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number. He would be a fastidious critic who stopped to calculate the weight of these cordons of the Rajpoot cavaliers, probably as much over-rated as the trophies of the Roman rings, which are stated at three and a half bushels. It is for the moral impression that history deigns to note such anecdotes, in themselves of trivial import. So long as '74½' shall remain recorded, some good will result from the calamity, and may survive when the event which caused it is buried in oblivion.

When Oody Sing abandoned Cheetore, he found refuge with the Gohil in the forests of Rajpiplee. Thence he passed to the valley of the Girwo in the Aravulli, in the vicinity of the retreat of his great ancestor Bappa, ere he conquered Cheetore. At the entrance of this valley, several years previous to this catastrophe, he had formed the lake, still called after him 'Oody Sagur,' and he now raised a dyke between the mountains which dammed up another mountain stream. On the cluster of hills adjoining he raised the small palace called 'Nochoki,' around which edifices soon arose, and formed a city to which he gave his own name, Oodipoor,³ henceforth the capital of Méwar.

Four years had Oody Sing survived the loss of Cheetore, when he expired at Gogoonda, at the early age of forty-two; yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare. He left a numerous issue of twenty-five legitimate sons, whose descendants, all styled Ranawut, pushed aside the more ancient stock, and form that extensive clan distinctively termed the *Babas*, or 'infants,' of Méwar, whether Ranawuts, Poorawuts, or Kanawuts. His last act was to entail with a barren sceptre contention upon his children; for, setting aside the established laws of primogeniture, he proclaimed his favourite son Jugmal his successor. In Méwar there is no interregnum: even the ceremony of *matim* (mourning) is held at the house of the family priest while the palace is decked out for rejoicing. On the full moon of the spring month of Falgoon, while his brothers and the nobles attended the funeral pyre, Jugmal took possession of the throne in the infant capital, Oodipoor: but even while the trumpets sounded, and the heralds called aloud 'may the king live for ever!' a cabal was formed round the bier of his father. It will be borne in mind, that Oody Sing espoused the Sonigurra princess; and the Jhalore Rao, desirous to see his sister's son have his right, demanded of Kistna, the 'great ancient' of Méwar and the leader of the Chondawuts, how such injustice was sanctioned by him. "When a sick man has reached the last extreme and asks for milk to drink, why refuse it?" was the reply;—with the addition: "The Sonigurra's nephew is my choice, and my stand by Pertáp." Jugmal had just entered the Russora, and Pertáp was

¹ The *mán* is of four seers: the maund is forty, or seventy-five pounds. Dow, calculating all the captured wealth of India by the latter, has rendered many facts improbable.

² 'Cheetore *marya ra páp*': *ra* is the sign of the genitive, in the Doric tongue of Méwar, the *ca* of the refined.

³ Classically 'Udaya-poorá,' the city of the East; from *udya* (*oriens*), the point of sunrise, as *usht* (west) is of sunset.

saddling for his departure, when Rawut Kistna entered, accompanied by the ex-prince of Gwalior. Each chief took an arm of Jugmal, and with gentle violence removed him to a seat in front of the 'cushion' he had occupied; the hereditary premier remarking, "You had made a mistake, Mahraj; that place belongs to your brother": and girding Pertáp with the sword (the privilege of this house), thrice touching the ground, hailed him king of Méwar. All followed the example of Saloombra. Scarcely was the ceremony over, when the young prince remarked, it was the festival of the Ahairca, nor must ancient customs be forgotten: "Therefore to horse, and slay a boar to Gouri,¹ and take the omen for the ensuing year." They slew abundance of game, and in the mimic field of war, the nobles who surrounded the gallant Pertáp anticipated happier days for Méwar.

CHAPTER XI

Accession of Pertáp—The Rajpoot princes unite with Akber—Depressed condition of Pertáp—He prepares for war—Maldeo submits to Akber—Pertáp denounces connection with the Rajpoot princes—Raja Maun of Ambér—Prince Selim invades Méwar—Battle of Huldighat—Pertáp encounters Selim, is wounded, and saved by the Jhala chief—Assisted in his flight by his brother Sukta—Komulmér taken by Akber—Oodipoor occupied by the Moguls—Pertáp cuts off Ferid and his army—Pertáp's family saved by the Bhils—The Khankhanan—Aggravated hardships of Pertáp—He negotiates with Akber—Pirithi Raj of Bikanér—The Khooshroz described—Pertáp abandons Méwar—Departure for the Indus—Fidelity of his minister—Returns—Surprises the Moguls—Regains Komulmér and Oodipoor—His successes—His sickness and death.

PERTÁP succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clans dispirited by reverses: yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Cheetore, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist, nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him. Accustomed to read in his country's annals the splendid deeds of his forefathers, and that Cheetore had more than once been the prison of their foes, he trusted that the revolutions of fortune might co-operate with his own efforts to overturn the unstable throne of Dehli. The reasoning was as just as it was noble; but whilst he gave loose to those lofty aspirations which meditated liberty to Méwar, his crafty opponent was counteracting his views by a scheme of policy which, when disclosed, filled his heart with anguish. The wily Mogul arrayed against Pertáp his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Marwar, Ambér, Bikanér, and even Boondí, late his firm ally, took part with Akber and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother, Sagarji,² deserted

¹ Ceres—The Ahairca, or *Muhoorut ca Síhár*, will be explained in the Personal Narrative, as it would here break the connection of events.

² Sagarji held the fortress and lands of Kandhar. His descendants formed an extensive clan called *Sagarawuts*, who continued to hold Kandhar till the time of Sowae Jey Sing of Ambér, whose situation as one of the great satraps of the Mogul court enabled him to wrest it from Sagarji's issue, upon their refusal to intermarry with the house of Ambér. The great Mohabet Khan, the most intrepid

him, and received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pertáp, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent'; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the empire; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling hero Umra, amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bappa Rawul should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tatar, though lord of countless multitudes.

The brilliant acts he achieved during that period live in every valley; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rajpoot, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors. To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance who had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears.¹

Pertáp was nobly supported; and though wealth and fortune tempted the fidelity of his chiefs, not one was found base enough to abandon him. The sons of Jeimul shed their blood in his cause, along with the successors of Putta—the house of Saloombra redoubled the claims of Chonda to fidelity; and these five lustres of adversity are the brightest in the chequered page of the history of Méwar. Nay, some chiefs, attracted by the very desperation of his fortunes, pressed to his standard, to combat and die with Pertáp. Amongst these was the Dailwarra chief, whose devotion gained him the prince's 'right hand.'

To commemorate the desolation of Cheetore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow' despoiled of the ornaments to her loveliness, Pertáp interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury or pomp, until the insignia of her glory should be redeemed. The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *pateras*² of leaves; their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order more distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakaras*, which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Méwar still survives; the beard is yet untouched by the of Jehangir's generals, was an apostate Sagarawut. They established many chieftainships in Central India, as Omri Bhadora, Gunésgunge, Digdolli; places better known to Sindia's officers than to the British.

¹ I have climbed the rocks, crossed the streams, and traversed the plains which were the theatre of Pertáp's glory, and conversed with the lineal descendants of Jeimul and Putta on the deeds of their forefathers, and many a time has the tear started in their eye at the tale they recited.

² The first invented drinking cup or eating vessel being made from the leaf (*pát*) of particular trees, especially the palasa (*butea frondosa*) and burr (*figus religiosa*). The cups of a beautiful brown earthenware, made at Kotario, are chiefly *pateras*, of a perfectly classical shape. Query, the Roman *patera*, or the Greek *ποτήριον*, or Saxon *pot*?

shears ; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory : for though his descendant eats off gold and silver, and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straw under the other.

Often was Pertáp heard to exclaim, " Had Oody Sing never been, or none intervened between him and Sanga Rana, no Toork should ever have given laws to Rajast'han." Hindu society had assumed a new form within the century preceding : the wrecks of dominion from the Jumna and Ganges had been silently growing into importance ; and Ambér and Marwar had attained such power, that the latter single-handed coped with the imperial Shere Shah ; while numerous minor chieftainships were attaining shape and strength on both sides the Chumbul. A prince of commanding genius alone was wanting, to snatch the sceptre of dominion from the Islamite. Such a leader they found in Sanga, who possessed every quality which extorts spontaneous obedience, and the superiority of whose birth, as well as dignity, were admitted without cavil, from the Himalaya to Ramaiser.¹ These states had powerful motives to obey such a leader, in the absence of whom their ancient patrimony was lost ; and such they would have found renewed in Sanga's grandson, Pertáp, had Oody Sing not existed, or had a less gifted sovereign than Akber been his contemporary.

With the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pertáp remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Komulmér, now the seat of government, was strengthened, as well as Gogoonda and other mountain fortresses ; and, being unable to keep the field in the plains of Méwar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Bérís, from the Aravulli chain west to the eastern tableland, were *bé cherágh*, ' without a lamp.'

Many tales are related of the unrelenting severity with which Pertáp enforced obedience to this stern policy. Frequently, with a few horse, he issued forth to see that his commands were obeyed. The silence of the desert prevailed in the plains ; grass had usurped the place of the waving corn ; the highways were choked with the thorny babool,² and beasts of prey made their abode in the habitations of his subjects. In the midst of this desolation, a single goatherd, trusting to elude observation, disobeyed his prince's injunction, and pastured his flock in the luxuriant meadows of Ontalla, on the banks of the Bunas. After a few questions, he was killed and hung up *in terrorem*. By such patriotic severity, Pertáp rendered ' the garden of Rajast'han ' of no value to the conqueror, and the commerce already established between the Mogul court and Europe, conveyed through Méwar from Surat and other ports, was intercepted and plundered.

Akber took the field against the Rajpoot prince, establishing his headquarters at Ajmér. This celebrated fortress, destined ultimately to be one of the twenty-two soubahs of his empire and an imperial residence, had admitted for some time a royal garrison. Maldeo of Marwar, who had

¹ The bridge of Ram, the southern point of the peninsula.

² *Mimosa Arabica*.

so ably opposed the usurper Shere Shah, was compelled to follow the example of his brother prince, Bagwandas of Ambér, and to place himself at the footstool of Akber : only two years subsequent to Pertáp's accession, after a brave but fruitless resistance in Mairta and Jodpoor, he sent his son, Oodi Sing, to pay homage to the king.¹ Akber received him at Nagore, on his route to Ajmér, on which occasion the Raos of Mundore were made Rajas ; and as the heir of Marwar was of uncommon bulk, the title by which he was afterwards known in Rajast'han was 'Moota Rajah,'² and henceforth the descendants of the kings of Canouj had the 'right hand' of the emperor of the Moguls. But the Rahtore was greater in his native pride than with all the accession of dignity or power which accrued on his sacrifice of Rajpoot principles. Oodi 'le gros' was the first of his race who gave a daughter in marriage to a Tatar. The bribe for which he bartered his honour was splendid ; for four provinces,³ yielding £200,000 of annual revenue, were given in exchange for Jod Baé,⁴ at once doubling the fisc of Marwar. With such examples as Ambér and Marwar, and with less power to resist the temptation, the minor chiefs of Rajast'han, with a brave and numerous vassalage, were transformed into satraps of Dehli, and the importance of most of them was increased by the change. Truly did the Mogul historian designate them 'at once the props and the ornaments of the throne.'

But these were fearful odds against Pertáp : the arms of his countrymen thus turned upon him, derived additional weight from their self-degradation, which kindled into jealousy and hatred against the magnanimous resolution they wanted the virtue to imitate. When Hindu prejudice was thus violated by every prince in Rajast'han (that of Boondí alone excepted⁵), the Rana renounced all alliance with those who were thus degraded ; and in order to carry on the line, he sought out and incorporated with the first class of nobles of his own kin the descendants of the ancient princes of Dehli, of Puttun, of Marwar, and of Dhar. To the eternal honour of Pertáp and his issue be it told, that to the very close of the monarchy of the Moguls, they not only refused such alliance with the throne, but even with their brother princes of Marwar and Ambér. It is a proud triumph of virtue to record, from the autograph letters of the most powerful of their princes, Bukhta Sing and Jey Sing, that whilst they had risen to greatness from the surrender of principle, as Méwar had decayed from her adherence to it, they should, even while basking in court favour, solicit, and that humbly, to be re-admitted to the honour of matrimonial intercourse—'to be purified,' 'to be regenerated,' 'to be made Rajpoots' :—and that this was granted only on condition of their abjuring the contaminating practice which had disunited them for more than a century ; with the additional stipulation, that the issue of

¹ A.H. 977, A.D. 1569.

² There is less euphony in the English than in the French designation, Oody "le Gros."

³ Godwar, Rs. 900,000 ; Oojein, 249,914 ; Debalpoor 182,500 ; Budnawur, 250,000.

⁴ The magnificent tomb of Jod Baé, the mother of Shah Jehán, is at Secundra, near Agra, and not far from that in which Akber's remains are deposited.

⁵ The causes of exemption are curious, and are preserved in a regular treaty with the emperor, a copy of which the author possesses, which will be given in *The Annals of Boondí*.

marriage with the house of Méwar should be the heirs to those they entered : conditions which the decline of the empire prevented from being broken.

An anecdote illustrative of the settled repugnance of this noble family to sully the purity of its blood may here be related, as its result had a material influence on its subsequent condition. Raja Maun, who had succeeded to the throne of Ambér, was the most celebrated of his race, and from him may be dated the rise of his country. This prince exemplified the wisdom of that policy which Baber adopted to strengthen his conquest ; that of connecting his family by ties of marriage with the Hindus. It has been already related, that Hemayoon espoused a daughter of Bagwandas, consequently Raja Maun was brother-in-law to Akber. His courage and talents well seconded this natural advantage, and he became the most conspicuous of all the generals of the empire. To him Akber was indebted for half his triumphs. The Cutchwaha bards find a delightful theme in recounting his exploits, from the snow-clad Caucasus to the shores of the 'golden Chersonese.'¹ Let the eye embrace these extremes of his conquests, Cabul and the Paropamisan of Alexander, and Arracan (a name now well known) on the Indian ocean ; the former reunited, the latter subjugated, to the empire by a Rajpoot prince and a Rajpoot army. But Akber knew the master-key to Hindu feeling, and by his skill overcame prejudices deemed insurmountable, and many are the tales yet told of their blind devotion to their favourite emperor.

Raja Maun was returning from the conquest of Sholapoor to Hindusthan when he invited himself to an interview with Pertáp, then at Komulmér, who advanced to the Oody-Sagur to receive him. On the mound which embanks this lake a feast was prepared for the prince of Ambér. The board was spread, the Raja summoned, and Prince Umra appointed to wait upon him ; but no Rana appeared, for whose absence apologies alleging headache were urged by his son, with the request that Raja Maun would wave all ceremony, receive his welcome, and commence. The prince, in a tone at once dignified and respectful, replied : " Tell the Rana I can divine the cause of his headache ; but the error is irremediable, and if he refuses to put a plate (*khansa*) before me, who will ? " Further subterfuge was useless. The Rana expressed his regret ; but added, that " He could not eat with a Rajpoot who gave his sister to a Toork, and who probably ate with him." Raja Maun was unwise to have risked this disgrace : and if the invitation went from Pertáp, the insult was ungenerous as well as impolitic ; but of this he is acquitted. Raja Maun left the feast untouched, *save the few grains of rice he offered to Undéva,*² which he placed in his turban, observing as he withdrew : " It

¹ When Raja Maun was commanded to reduce the revolted province of Cabul, he hesitated to cross the Indus, the Rubicon of the Hindu, and which they term *Uttuc*, or 'the barrier,' as being the limit between their faith and the barbarian. On the Hindu prince assigning this as his reason for not leading his Rajpoots to the snowy Caucasus, the accomplished Akber sent him a couplet in the dialect of Rajasthan :—

" Sub hyn bhúm Gopal ca
Jis mi Uttuc kaha
Jis ca mun myn Uttuc hy
So een Uttuc hoéga."

" The whole earth is of God,
In which he has placed the Uttuc.
The mind that admits *impediments*
Will always find an Uttuc."

This delicate irony succeeded when stronger language would have failed.

² The Hindus, as did the Greeks and other nations of antiquity, always made

was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own, and gave our sisters and our daughters to the Toork ; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you " ; and mounting his horse he turned to the Rana, who appeared at this abrupt termination of his visit, " If I do not humble your pride, my name is not Maun " : to which Pertáp replied, " He should always be happy to meet him " ; while some one, in less dignified terms, desired he would not forget to bring his '*Phoopa*,' Akber. The ground was deemed impure where the feast was spread : it was broken up and lustrated with the water of the Ganges, and the chiefs who witnessed the humiliation of one they deemed apostate, bathed and changed their vestments, as if polluted by his presence. Every act was reported to the emperor, who was exasperated at the insult thus offered to himself, and who justly dreaded the revival of those prejudices he had hoped were vanquished ; and it hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which have immortalised the name of Pertáp : nor will Huldighat be forgotten while a Seesodia occupies Méwar, or a bard survives to relate the tale.

Prince Selim, the heir of Dehli, led the war, guided by the councils of Raja Maun and the distinguished apostate son of Sagurji, Mohabet Khan. Pertáp trusted to his native hills and the valour of twenty-two thousand Rajpoots to withstand the son of Akber. The divisions of the royal army encountered little opposition at the exterior defiles by which they penetrated the western side of the Aravulli, concentrating as they approached the chief pass which conducted to the vulnerable part of this intricate country.

The range to which Pertáp was restricted was the mountainous region around, though chiefly to the west of the new capital. From north to south, Komulmér to Ricumnat'h, about eighty miles in length ; and in breadth, from Meerpoor west to Satolla east, about the same. The whole of this space is mountain and forest, valley and stream. The approaches to the capital from every point to the north, west, and south, are so narrow as to merit the term of defile ; on each side lofty perpendicular rocks, with scarcely breadth for two carriages abreast, across which are those ramparts of nature termed *Col* in the mountain scenery of Europe, which occasionally open into spaces sufficiently capacious to encamp a large force. Such was the plain of Huldighat, at the base of a neck of mountain which shut up the valley and rendered it almost inaccessible.¹ Above and below the Rajpoots were posted, and on the cliffs and pinnacles overlooking the field of battle, the faithful aborigines, the Bhil, with his natural weapon the bow and arrow, and huge stones ready to roll upon the combatant enemy.

At this pass Pertáp was posted with the flower of Méwar, and glorious was the struggle for its maintenance. Clan after clan followed with desperate intrepidity, emulating the daring of their prince, who led the crimson banner into the hottest part of the field. In vain he strained every nerve to encounter Raja Maun ; but though denied the luxury of revenge

offering of the first portion of each meal to the gods. Un-déva, ' the god of food.'

¹ Whoever has travelled through the Oberhasli of Meyringen, in the Oberland Bernois, requires no description of the alpine Aravulli. The *Col de Balme*, in the vale of Chamouni, is, on a larger scale, the Huldighat of Méwar.

on his Rajpoot foe, he made good a passage to where Selim commanded. His guards fell before Pertáp, and but for the steel plates which defended his howda, the lance of the Rajpoot would have deprived Akber of his heir. His steed, the gallant Chytuc, nobly seconded his lord, and is represented in all the historical drawings of this battle with one foot raised upon the elephant of the Mogul, while his rider has his lance propelled against his foe. The conductor, destitute of the means of defence, was slain, when the infuriated animal, now without control, carried off Selim. On this spot the carnage was immense : the Moguls eager to defend Selim ; the heroes of Méwar to second their prince, who had already received seven wounds.¹ Marked by the ' royal umbrella,' which he would not lay aside, and which collected the might of the enemy against him, Pertáp was thrice rescued from amidst the foe, and was at length nearly overwhelmed, when the Jhala chief gave a signal instance of fidelity, and extricated him with the loss of his own life. Manah seized upon the insignia of Méwar, and rearing the ' gold sun ' over his own head, made good his way to an intricate position, drawing after him the brunt of the battle, while his prince was forced from the field. With all his brave vassals the noble Jhala fell ; and in remembrance of the deed his descendants have, since the day of Huldighat, borne the regal ensigns of Méwar, and enjoyed ' the right-hand of her princes.'² But this desperate valour was unavailing against such a force, with a numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels ; and of twenty-two thousand Rajpoots assembled on that day for the defence of Huldighat, only eight thousand quitted the field alive.

Pertáp, unattended, fled on the gallant Chytuc, who had borne him through the day, and who saved him now by leaping a mountain stream when closely pursued by two Mogul chiefs, whom this impediment momentarily checked. But Chytuc, like his master, was wounded ; his pursuers gained upon Pertáp, and the flash from the flinty rock announced them at his heels, when, in the broad accents of his native tongue, the salutation *Ho ! nīla ghora ra aswār*, ' ho ! rider of the blue horse,' made him look back, and he beheld but a single horseman : that horseman his brother.

Sukta, whose personal enmity to Pertáp had made him a traitor to Méwar, beheld from the ranks of Akber the ' blue horse ' flying unattended. Resentment was extinguished, and a feeling of affection, mingling with sad and humiliating recollections, took possession of his bosom. He joined in the pursuit, but only to slay the pursuers, who fell beneath his lance ; and now, for the first time in their lives, the brothers embraced in friendship. Here Chytuc fell, and as the Rana unbuckled his caparison to place it upon Unkarro, presented to him by his brother, the noble steed expired. An altar was raised, and yet marks the spot, where Chytuc³ died ; and the entire scene may be seen painted on the walls of half the houses of the capital.

The greeting between the brothers was necessarily short ; but the merry Sukta, who was attached to Selim's personal force, could not let

¹ Three from the spear, one shot, and three by the sword.

² The descendants of Manah yet hold Sadri and all the privileges obtained on this occasion. Their kettle-drums beat to the gate of the palace, a privilege allowed to none besides, and they are addressed by the title of *Raj*, or royal.

³ ' Chytuc ca Chabootra ' is near to Jarrole.

it pass without a joke ; and inquiring " how a man felt when flying for his life ? " he quitted Pertáp with the assurance of reunion the first safe opportunity. On rejoining Selim, the truth of Sukta was greatly doubted when he related that Pertáp had not only slain his pursuers, but his own steed, which obliged him to return on that of the Khorasani. Prince Selim pledged his word to pardon him if he related the truth ; when Sukta replied, " The burthen of a kingdom is on my brother's shoulders, nor could I witness his danger without defending him from it." Selim kept his word, but dismissed the future head of the Suktawuts. Determined to make a suitable ' nuzzur ' on his introduction, he redeemed Bhynsrer by a *coup de main*, and joined Pertáp at Oodipoor, who made him a grant of the conquest, which long remained the chief abode of the Suktawuts ;¹ and since the day when this, their founder, preserved the life of his brother and prince against his Mogul pursuers, the byrd of the bard to all of his race is *Khorasani Mooltani ca Aggul*, ' the barrier to Khorasan and Mooltan,' from which countries were the chiefs he slew.

On the 7th of Sawun, S. 1532 (July, A.D. 1576), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Méwar irrigated the pass of Huldighat. Of the nearest kin of the prince five hundred were slain : the exiled prince of Gwalior, Ramsah, his son Khandirao, with three hundred and fifty of his brave Túar clan, paid the debt of gratitude with their lives. Since their expulsion by Baber they had found sanctuary in Méwar, whose princes diminished their feeble revenues to maintain inviolable the rites of hospitality.² Manah, the devoted Jhala, lost one hundred and fifty of his vassals, and every house of Méwar mourned its chief support.

Elate with victory, Selim left the hills. The rainy season had set in, which impeded operations, and obtained for Pertáp a few months of repose ; but with the spring the foe returned, when he was again defeated,³ and took post in Komulmér, which was invested by the Koka, Shabaz Khan. He here made a gallant and protracted resistance, and did not retire till insects rendered the water of the Nogun well, their sole resource, impure. To the treachery of the Deora chief of Aboo, who was now with Akber, this deed is imputed. Pertáp thence withdrew to Chaond,⁴ while Bhan, the Sonigurra chief, defended the place to the last, and was slain in the assault. On this occasion also fell the chief bard of Méwar, who inspired by his deeds, as well as by his song, the spirit of resistance to the ' ruthless king,' and whose laudatory couplets on the deeds of his lord are still in every mouth. But the spirit of poesy died not with him, for princes and nobles, Hindu and Toork, vied with each other in exalting the patriot Pertáp, in strains replete with those sentiments which elevate the mind of the martial Rajpoot, who is inflamed into action by this national excitement.

On the fall of Komulmér, the castles of Dhurmeti and Gogoonda were

¹ The mother of Sukta was the *Báe-ji Raj*, ' Royal Mother ' (Queen Dowager) of Méwar. She loved this son, and left Oodipoor to superintend his household at Bhynsrer : since which renunciation of rank to affection, the mothers of the senior branch of Suktawut are addressed ' *Báe-ji Raj*.'

² 800 rupees, or £100 daily, is the sum recorded for the support of this prince.

³ The date of this battle is Maug Sood 7, S. 1633, A.D. 1577.

⁴ A town in the heart of the mountainous tract on the south-west of Méwar, called Chuppun, containing about three hundred and fifty towns and villages, peopled chiefly by the aboriginal Bhils.

invested by Raja Maun. Mohabet Khan took possession of Oodipoor ; and while a prince of the blood ¹ cut off the resources furnished by the inhabitants of Oguna Panora, Khan Ferid invaded Chuppun, and approached Chaond from the south. Thus beset on every side, dislodged from the most secret retreats, and hunted from glen to glen, there appeared no hope for Pertáp : yet, even while his pursuers deemed him panting in some obscure lurking-place, he would by mountain signals reassemble his bands, and assail them unawares and often unguarded. By a skilful manœuvre, Ferid, who dreamed of nothing less than making the Rajpoot prince his prisoner, was blocked up in a defile and his force cut off to a man. Unaccustomed to such warfare, the mercenary Moguls became disgusted in combating a foe seldom tangible ; while the monsoon swelled the mountain streams, filling the reservoirs with mineral poisons and the air with pestilential exhalations. The periodical rains accordingly always brought some respite to Pertáp.

Years thus rolled away, each ending with a diminution of his means and an increase to his misfortunes. His family was his chief source of anxiety : he dreaded their captivity, an apprehension often on the point of being realised. On one occasion they were saved by the faithful Bhils of Cavah, who carried them in wicker baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they guarded and fed them. Bolts and rings are still preserved in the trees about Jawura and Chaond, to which baskets were suspended, the only cradles of the royal children of Méwar, in order to preserve them from the tiger and the wolf. Yet amidst such complicated evils the fortitude of Pertáp remained unshaken, and a spy sent by Akber represented the Rajpoot and his chiefs seated at a scanty meal, maintaining all the etiquette observed in prosperity, the Rana bestowing the *doonah* to the most deserving, and which, though only of the wild fruit of the country, was received with all the reverence of better days. Such inflexible magnanimity touched the soul of Akber, and extorted the homage of every chief in Rajast'han ; nor could those who swelled the gorgeous train of the emperor withhold their admiration. Nay, these annals have preserved some stanzas addressed by the Khankhanan, the first of the satraps of Dehli, to the noble Rajpoot, in his native tongue, applauding his valour and stimulating his perseverance : " All is unstable in this world : land and wealth will disappear, but the virtue of a great name lives for ever. Putto ² abandoned wealth and land, but never bowed the head : alone, of all the princes of Hind, he preserved the honour of his race."

But there were moments when the wants of those dearer than his own life almost excited him to frenzy. The wife of his bosom was insecure, even in the rock or the cave ; and his infants, heirs to every luxury, were weeping around him for food : for with such pertinacity did the Mogul myrmidons pursue them, that " five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of opportunity to eat them." On one occasion his queen and his son's wife were preparing a few cakes from the flour of the meadow grass,³ of which one was given to each ; half for the present, the rest for a future meal. Pertáp was stretched beside them pondering on his misfortunes, when a piercing cry from his daughter roused him from reflection : a wild cat had darted on the reserved portion of food, and the agony

¹ Called Ami Shah in the Annals.

² A colloquial contraction for Pertáp.

³ Called *Mol*.

of hunger made her shrieks insupportable. Until that moment his fortitude had been unsubdued. He had beheld his sons and his kindred fall around him on the field without emotion—"For this the Rajpoot was born"; but the lamentation of his children for food "unmanned him." He cursed the name of royalty, if only to be enjoyed on such conditions, and he demanded of Akber a mitigation of his hardships.

Overjoyed at this indication of submission, the emperor commanded public rejoicings, and exultingly showed the letter to Pirthi Raj, a Rajpoot compelled to follow the victorious car of Akber. Pirthi Raj was the younger brother of the prince of Bikanér, a state recently grown out of the Rahtores of Marwar, and which, being exposed in the flats of the desert, had no power to resist the example of its elder, Maldeo. Pirthi Raj was one of the most gallant chieftains of the age, and like the Troubadour princes of the west, could grace a cause with the soul-inspiring effusions of the muse, as well as aid it with his sword: nay, in an assembly of the bards of Rajast'han, the palm of merit was unanimously awarded to the Rahtore cavalier. He adored the very name of Pertáp, and the intelligence filled him with grief. With all the warmth and frankness of his nature, he told the king it was a forgery of some foe to the fame of the Rajpoot prince. "I know him well," said he; "for your crown he would not submit to your terms." He requested and obtained permission from the king to transmit by his courier a letter to Pertáp, ostensibly to ascertain the fact of his submission, but really with the view to prevent it. On this occasion he composed those couplets, still admired, and which for the effect they produced will stand comparison with any of the *sirventes* of the Troubadours of the west.¹

"The hopes of the Hindu rest on the Hindu; yet the Rana forsakes them. But for Pertáp, all would be placed on the same level by Akber; for our chiefs have lost their valour and our females their honour. Akber is the broker in the market of our race: all has he purchased but the son of Oodoh; he is beyond his price. What true Rajpoot would part with honour for nine days (*Noroza*); yet how many have bartered it away? Will Cheetore come to this market, when all have disposed of the chief article of the Khetri? Though Putto has squandered away wealth, yet this treasure has he preserved. Despair has driven many to this mart, to witness their dishonour: from such infamy the descendant of Hamir alone has been preserved. The world asks, whence the concealed aid of Pertáp? None but the soul of manliness and his sword: with it, well has he maintained the Khetri's pride. This broker in the market of men will one day be overreached; he cannot live for ever: then will our race come to Pertáp, for the seed of the Rajpoot to sow in our desolate lands. To him all look for its preservation, that its purity may again become resplendent."

This effusion of the Rahtore was equal to ten thousand men; it nerved the drooping mind of Pertáp, and roused him into action: for it was a noble incentive to find every eye of his race fixed upon him.

The allusion of the princely poet in the phrase, "bartering their honour on the '*Noroza*,'" requires some explanation. The *Noroza*, or 'New

¹ It is no affectation to say that the spirit evaporates in the lameness of the translation. The author could feel the force, though he failed to imitate the strength, of the original.

Year's Day,' when the sun enters Aries, is one of great festivity among the Mahomedan princes of the East ; but of that alluded to by Pirthi Raj we can form an adequate idea from the historian Abul Fuzil.

It is not New Year's Day, but a festival especially instituted by Akber, and to which he gave the epithet *Khooshroz*, 'day of pleasure,' held on the ninth day (*no-roza*), following the chief festival of each month. The court assembled, and was attended by all ranks. The queen also had her court, when the wives of the nobles and of the Rajpoot vassal princes were congregated. But the *Khooshroz* was chiefly marked by a fair held within the precincts of the court, attended only by females. The merchants' wives exposed the manufactures of every clime, and the ladies of the court were the purchasers.¹ "His majesty is also there in disguise, by which means he learns the value of merchandise, and hears what is said of the state of the empire and the character of the officers of government." The ingenuous Abul Fuzil thus softens down the unhallowed purpose of this day ; but posterity cannot admit that the great Akber was to obtain these results amidst the *Pushto* jargon of the dames of Islam, or the mixed *Bhaka* of the fair of Rajast'han. These 'ninth day fairs' are the markets in which Rajpoot honour was bartered, and to which the brave Pirthi Raj makes allusion.

It is scarcely to be credited that a statesman like Akber should have hazarded his popularity or his power, by the introduction of a custom alike appertaining to the Celtic races of Europe as to these the Goths of Asia ;²

¹ At these royal fairs were also sold the productions of princely artisans, male and female, and which, out of compliment to majesty, made a bounteous return for their industry. It is a fact but little known, that most Asiatic princes profess a trade : the great Arungzéb was a cap-maker, and sold them to such advantage on these 'ninth day' fairs, that his funeral expenses were by his own express command defrayed from the privy purse, the accumulation of his personal labour. A delightful anecdote is recorded of the Ghilji king Mahmood, whose profession was literary, and who obtained good prices from his Omrahs for his specimens of caligraphy. While engaged in transcribing one of the Persian poets, a professed scholar, who with others attended the *conversazione*, suggested an emendation, which was instantly attended to, and the supposed error remedied. When the Moolah was gone, the monarch erased the emendation and re-inserted the passage. An Omrah had observed and questioned the action, to which the king replied : "It was better to make a blot in the manuscript than wound the vanity of a humble scholar."

² This laxity, as regards female delicacy, must have been a remnant of Scythic barbarism, brought from the banks of the Jaxartes, the land of the Gete, where now, as in the days of Tomyris, a shoe at the door is a sufficient barrier to the entrance of many Tatar husbands. It is a well-known fact, also, that the younger son in these regions inherited a greater share than the elder, which is attributed to their pastoral habits, which invited early emigration in the elder sons. This habit prevailed with the Rajpoot tribes of very early times, and the annals of the Yadus, a race allied to the Yuti-Gete, or Jit, afford many instances of it. Modified it yet exists amongst the Jarejas (of the same stock), with whom the sons divide equally ; which custom was transmitted to Europe by these Getic hordes, and brought into England by the *Jut* brothers, who founded the kingdom of Kent,¹ where it is yet known as *Gavelkind*. In English law it is termed *borough English*. In Scotland it existed in barbarous times, analogous to those when the Noroza was sanctioned ; and the lord of the manor had privileges, which rendered it more than doubtful whether the first-born was natural heir : hence, the youngest was the heir. So in France, in ancient times ; and though the '*droit de Jambage*' no longer exists, the term sufficiently denotes the extent of privilege, in com-

¹ *Canthi*, 'a coast' in Gothic and Sanscrit.

and that he should seek to degrade those whom the chances of war had made his vassals, by conduct so nefarious and repugnant to the keenly cherished feelings of the Rajpoot. Yet there is not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the 'Noroza'; and the chivalrous Pirthi Raj was only preserved from being of the number by the high courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Méwar, and daughter of the founder of the Suktawuts. On one of these celebrations of the Khooshroz, the monarch of the Moguls was struck with the beauty of the daughter of Méwar, and he singled her out from amidst the united fair of Hind as the object of his passion. It is not improbable that an ungenerous feeling united with that already impure, to despoil the Seesodias of their honour, through a princess of their house under the protection of the sovereign. On retiring from the fair, she found herself entangled amidst the labyrinth of apartments by which egress was purposely ordained, when Akber stood before her: but instead of acquiescence, she drew a poniard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating, and making him repeat, the oath of renunciation of the infamy to all her race. The anecdote is accompanied in the original with many dramatic circumstances. The guardian goddess of Méwar, the terrific '*Mata*,' appears on her tiger in the subterranean passage of this palace of pollution, to strengthen her mind by a solemn denunciation, and her hand with a weapon to protect her honour. Raé Sing, the elder brother of the princely bard, had not been so fortunate; his wife wanted either courage or virtue to withstand the regal tempter, and she returned to their dwelling in the desert despoiled of her chastity, but loaded with jewels; or, as Pirthi Raj expresses it: "She returned to her abode, tramping to the tinkling sound of the ornaments of gold and gems on her person; but where, my brother, is the moustache¹ on thy lip?"

It is time to return to the Aravulli, and to the patriot prince Pertáp. Unable to stem the torrent, he had formed a resolution worthy of his character; he determined to abandon Méwar and the blood-stained Cheetore (no longer the stay of his race), and to lead his Seesodias to the Indus, plant 'the crimson banner' on the insular capital of the Sogdi, and leave a desert between him and his inexorable foe. With his family, and all that was yet noble in Méwar, his chiefs and vassals, a firm and intrepid band, who preferred exile to degradation, he descended the Aravulli, and had reached the confines of the desert, when an incident occurred which made him change his measures, and still remain a dweller in the land of his forefathers. If the historic annals of Méwar record acts of unexampled severity, they are not without instances of unparalleled devotion. The minister of Pertáp, whose ancestors had for ages held the office, placed at his prince's disposal their accumulated wealth, which, with other resources, is stated to have been equivalent to the maintenance of twenty-five thousand men for twelve years. The name of Bhama Sah is preserved as the saviour of Méwar. With this splendid proof of gratitude, and the *servente* of Pirthi Raj as incitements, he again "screwed his courage to the sticking-place," collected his bands, and while his foes imagined that he

parison with which the other rights of '*Noçages*,' the seigneur's feeding his greyhounds with the best dishes and insulting the bride's blushes with ribald songs, were innocent.

¹ The loss of this is the sign of mourning.

was endeavouring to effect a retreat through the desert, surprised Shabaz in his camp at Deweir, whose troops were cut in pieces. The fugitives were pursued to Amait, the garrison of which shared the same fate. Ere they could recover from their consternation, Komulmér was assaulted and taken; Abdòola and his garrison were put to the sword, and thirty-two fortified posts in like manner carried by surprise, the troops being put to death without mercy. To use the words of the annals: "Pertáp made a desert of Méwar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in its plains": an appalling but indispensable sacrifice. In one short campaign (S. 1586, A.D. 1530), he had recovered all Méwar, except Cheetore, Ajmér, and Mandelgurh; and determining to have a slight ovation in return for the triumph Raja Maun had enjoyed (who had fulfilled to the letter his threat, that Pertáp should "live in peril"), he invaded Ambér, and sacked its chief mart of commerce, Malpoora.

Oodipoor was also regained; though this acquisition was so unimportant as scarcely to merit remark. In all likelihood it was abandoned from the difficulty of defending it, when all around had submitted to Pertáp; though the annals ascribe it to a generous sentiment of Akber, prompted by the great Khankhanan, whose mind appears to have been captivated by the actions of the Rajpoot prince. An anecdote is appended to account for Akber's relaxation of severity, but it is of too romantic a nature even for this part of their annals.

Pertáp was indebted to a combination of causes for the repose he enjoyed during the latter years of his life; and though this may be ascribed principally to the new fields of ambition which occupied the Mogul arms, we are authorised also to admit the full weight of the influence that the conduct of the Hindu prince exerted upon Akber, together with the general sympathy of his fellow-princes, who swelled the train of the conqueror, and who were too powerful to be regarded with indifference.

Repose was, however, no boon to the noblest of his race. A mind like Pertáp's could enjoy no tranquillity, while from the summit of the pass which guarded Oodipoor, his eye embraced the Kangras of Cheetore, to which he must ever be a stranger. To a soul like his, burning for the redemption of the glory of his race, the mercy thus shown him, in placing a limit to his hopes, was more difficult of endurance than the pangs of fabled Tantalus. Imagine the warrior, yet in manhood's prime, broken with fatigues and covered with scars, from amidst the fragments of basaltic ruin¹ (fit emblem of his own condition!), casting a wistful eye to the rock stained with the blood of his fathers; whilst in the 'dark chamber' of his mind the scenes of glory enacted there appeared with unearthly lustre. First, the youthful Bappa, on whose head was the 'mor

¹ These mountains are of granite and close-grained quartz; but on the summit of the pass there is a mass of columnar rocks, which, though the author never examined them very closely, he has little hesitation in calling basaltic. Were it permitted to intrude his own feelings on his reader, he would say, he never passed the portals of Dubari, which close the pass leading from Cheetore to Oodipoor, without throwing his eye on this fantastic pinnacle and imagining the picture he has drawn. Whoever, in rambling through the 'eternal city,' has had his sympathy awakened in beholding at the *Porta Salaria* the stone seat where the conqueror of the Persians and the Goths, the blind Belisarius, begged his daily dole,—or pondered at the unsculptured tomb of Napoleon upon the vicissitudes of greatness, will appreciate the feeling of one who, in sentiment, had identified himself with the Rajpoots, of whom Pertáp was justly the model.

he had won from the Mori': the warlike Samarsi, arming for the last day of Rajpoot independence, to die with Pirthi Raj on the banks of the Caggar: again, descending the steep of Cheetore, the twelve sons of Ursi, the crimson banner floating around each, while from the embattled rock the guardian goddess looked down on the carnage which secured a perpetuity of sway. Again, in all the pomp of sacrifice, the Deola chiefs, Jeimul and Putta; and like the Pallas of Rajast'han, the Chondawut dame, leading her daughter into the ranks of destruction: examples for their sons' and husbands' imitation. At length clouds of darkness dimmed the walls of Cheetore: from her battlements 'Kangra Ranee'¹ had fled; the tints of dishonour began to blend with the visions of glory; and lo! Oody Sing appeared flying from the rock to which the honour of his house was united. Aghast at the picture his fancy had portrayed, imagine him turning to the contemplation of his own desolate condition, indebted for a cessation of persecution to the most revolting sentiment that can assail an heroic mind—compassion; compared with which scorn is endurable, contempt even enviable: these he could retaliate; but for the high-minded, the generous Rajpoot, to be the object of that sickly sentiment, pity, was more oppressive than the arms of his foe.

A premature decay assailed the pride of Rajast'han; a mind diseased preyed on an exhausted frame, and prostrated him in the very summer of his days. The last moments of Pertáp were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthaginian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. But the Rajpoot prince had not the same joyful assurance that inspired the Numidian Hamilcar; for his end was clouded with the presentiment that his son Umra would abandon his fame for inglorious repose. A powerful sympathy is excited by the picture which is drawn of this final scene. The dying hero is represented in a lowly dwelling; his chiefs, the faithful companions of many a glorious day, awaiting round his pallet the dissolution of their prince, when a groan of mental anguish made Saloombra inquire, "What afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace?" He rallied: "It lingered," he said, "for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Toork"; and with the death-pang upon him, he related an incident which had guided his estimate of his son's disposition, and now tortured him with the reflection, that for personal ease he would forego the remembrance of his own and his country's wrongs.

On the banks of the Péshola, Pertáp and his chiefs had constructed a few huts² (the site of the future palace of Oodipoor), to protect them during the inclemency of the rains in the day of their distress. Prince Umra, forgetting the lowliness of the dwelling, a projecting bamboo of the roof caught the folds of his turban and dragged it off as he retired. A hasty emotion, which disclosed a varied feeling, was observed with pain by Pertáp, who thence adopted the opinion that his son would never withstand the hardships necessary to be endured in such a cause. "These sheds," said the dying prince, "will give way to sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease; and luxury with its concomitants will

¹ The queen of battlements, the turreted Cybele of Rajast'han.

² This magnificent lake is now adorned with marble palaces. Such was the wealth of Méwar even in her decline.

ensue, to which the independence of Méwar, which we have bled to maintain, will be sacrificed: and you, my chiefs, will follow the pernicious example." They pledged themselves, and became guarantees for the prince, "by the throne of Bappa Rawul," that they would not permit mansions to be raised till Méwar had recovered her independence. The soul of Pertáp was satisfied, and with joy he expired.

Thus closed the life of a Rajpoot whose memory is even now idolised by every Seesodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain!

It is worthy the attention of those who influence the destinies of states in more favoured climes, to estimate the intensity of feeling which could arm this prince to oppose the resources of a small principality against the then most powerful empire of the world, whose armies were more numerous and far more efficient than any ever led by the Persian against the liberties of Greece. Had Méwar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peleponnesus nor the retreat of the 'ten thousand' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Méwar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which "keeps honour bright," perseverance,—with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Aravulli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pertáp,—some brilliant victory or, oftener, more glorious defeat. Huldighat is the Thermopylæ of Méwar; the field of Deweir her Marathon.

CHAPTER XII

Umra mounts the throne—Akber's death through an attempt to poison Raja Maun—Umra disregards the promise given to his father—Conduct of the Saloombra chief—Umra defeats the Imperial armies—Sugraji installed as Rana in Cheetore—Resigns it to Umra—Fresh successes—Origin of the Suktawuts—The Emperor sends his son Purvéz against the Rana, who is defeated—Mohabet Khan defeated—Sultan Khoorum invades Méwar—Umra's despair and submission—Embassy from England—Umra abdicates the throne to his son—Umra's seclusion—His death—Observations.

OF the seventeen sons of Pertáp, Umra, who succeeded him, was the eldest. From the early age of eight to the hour of his parent's death, he had been his constant companion and the partner of his toils and dangers. Initiated by his noble sire in every act of mountain strife, familiar with its perils, he entered on his career¹ in the very flower of manhood, already attended by sons able to maintain whatever his sword might recover of his patrimony.

Akber, the greatest foe of Méwar, survived Pertáp nearly eight years.

¹ S. 1653, A.D. 1597.

The vast field in which he had to exert the resources of his mind, necessarily withdrew him from a scene where even success ill repaid the sacrifices made to attain it. Umra was left in perfect repose during the remainder of this monarch's life, which it was not wisdom to disturb by the renewal of a contest against the colossal power of the Mogul. An extended reign of more than half a century permitted Akber to consolidate the vast empire he had erected, and to model the form of his government, which displays, as handed down by Abul Fuzil, an incontestable proof of his genius as well as of his natural beneficence. Nor would the Mogul lose, on being contrasted with the contemporary princes of Europe; with Henry iv. of France, who, like himself, ascended a throne weakened by dissension; with Charles v., alike aspiring to universal sway; or the glorious queen of our own isle, who made advances to Akber and sent him an embassy.¹ Akber was fortunate as either Henry or Elizabeth in the choice of his ministers. The lofty integrity, military genius, and habits of civil industry, for which Sully was distinguished, found their parallel in Byram; and if Burleigh equalled in wisdom, he was not superior in virtue to Abul Fuzil, nor possessed of his excessive benevolence. Unhappily for Méwar, all this genius and power combined to overwhelm her. It is, however, a proud tribute to the memory of the Mogul, that his name is united with that of his rival Pertáp in numerous traditionary couplets honourable to both; and if the Rajpoot bard naturally emblazons first on his page that of his own hero, he admits that none other but Akber can stand a comparison with him; thereby confirming the eulogy of the historian of his race, who, in summing up his character, observes that, "if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man." But if the annalist of the Boondí state can be relied upon, the very act which caused Akber's death will make us pause ere we subscribe to these testimonies to the worth of departed greatness; and, disregarding the adage of only speaking good of the dead, compel us to institute, in imitation of the ancient Egyptians, a posthumous inquest on the character of the monarch of the Moguls. The Boondí records are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns: and they may be more likely to throw a light upon points of character of a tendency to disgrace the Mogul king, than the historians of his court, who had every reason to withhold such. A desire to be rid of the great Raja Maun of Ambér, to whom he was so much indebted, made the emperor descend to act the part of the assassin. He prepared a *majoom*, or confection, a part of which contained poison; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innocuous portion to the Rajpoot and ate that drugged with death himself. We have a sufficient clue to the motives which influenced Akber to a deed so unworthy of him, and which were more fully developed in the reign of his successor; namely, a design on the part of Raja Maun to alter the succession, and that Khoosru, his nephew, should succeed instead of Selim. With such a motive, the aged emperor might have admitted with less scruple the advice which prompted an act he dared not openly undertake, without

¹ The embassy under Sir Thomas Roe was prepared by Elizabeth, but did not proceed till the accession of James. He arrived just as Méwar had bent her head to the Mogul yoke, and speaks of the Rajpoot prince Kurrun, whom he saw at court as a hostage for the treaty, with admiration.

exposing the throne in his latter days to the dangers of civil contention, as Raja Maun was too powerful to be openly assaulted.

Let us return to Méwar. Umra remodelled the institutions of his country, made a new assessment of the lands and distribution of the fiefs, apportioning the service to the times. He also established the gradation of ranks such as yet exists, and regulated the sumptuary laws even to the tie of a turban,¹ and many of these are to be seen engraved on pillars of stone in various parts of the country.

The repose thus enjoyed realised the prophetic fears of Pertáp, whose admonitions were forgotten. Umra constructed a small palace on the banks of the lake, named after himself "the abode of immortality,"² still remarkable for its Gothic contrast to the splendid marble edifice erected by his successors, now the abode of the princes of Méwar. Jehangír had been four years on the throne, and having overcome all internal dissension, resolved to signalise his reign by the subjugation of the only prince who had disdained to acknowledge the paramount power of the Moguls; and assembling the royal forces, he put them in motion for Méwar.

Umra, between the love of ease and reputation, wavered as to the conduct he should adopt; nor were sycophants wanting who

"Counselled ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,
Not peace:"

and dared to prompt his following the universal contagion, by accepting the imperial firmán. In such a state of mind the chiefs found their prince, when they repaired to the new abode to warn him, and prepare him for the emergency. But the gallant Chondawut, recalling to their remembrance the dying behest of their late glorious head, demanded its fulfilment. All resolved to imitate the noble Pertáp.

" . . . preferring
Hard liberty before the easy yoke
Of servile pomp."

A magnificent mirror of European fabrication adorned the embryo palace. Animated with a noble resentment at the inefficacy of his appeal to the better feelings of his prince, the chieftain of Saloombra hurled 'the slave of the carpet'³ against the splendid bauble, and starting up, seized his sovereign by the arm and moved him from the throne. "To horse, chiefs!" he exclaimed, "and preserve from infamy the son of Pertáp." A burst of passion followed the seeming indignity, and the patriot chief was branded with the harsh name of traitor; but with his sacred duty in view, and supported by every vassal of note, he calmly disregarded the insult. Compelled to mount his steed, and surrounded by the veterans and all the chivalry of Méwar, Umra's passion vented itself in tears of indignation. In such a mood the cavalcade descended the ridge, since studded with palaces, and had reached the spot where the temple of Juggernat'h now stands, when he recovered from this fit of passion; the

¹ The '*Umrasahi pagri*,' or turban, is still used by the Rana and some nobles on court days, but the foreign nobility have the privilege, in this respect, of conforming to their own tribes.

² *Umra mahl*.

³ A small brass ornament placed at the corners of the carpet to keep it steady.

tear ceased to flow, and passing his hand over his moustache,¹ he made a courteous salutation to all, entreating their forgiveness for this omission of respect ; but more especially expressing his gratitude to Saloombra, he said, "Lead on, nor shall you ever have to regret your late sovereign." Elevated with every sentiment of generosity and valour, they passed on to Deweir, where they encountered the royal army led by the brother of the Khankhanan, as it entered the pass, and which, after a long and sanguinary combat, they entirely defeated.²

The honours of the day are chiefly attributed to the brave Kana, uncle to the Rana, and ancestor of that numerous clan called after him Kanawuts. A truce followed this battle, but it was of short duration ; for another and yet more murderous conflict took place in the spring of 1666, in the pass of the sacred Ranpoor, where the imperial army, under its leader Abdoolla, was almost exterminated ;³ though with the loss of the best and bravest of the chiefs of Méwar, whose names, however harsh, deserve preservation.⁴ A feverish exultation was the fruit of this victory, which shed a hectic flush of glory over the declining days of Méwar, when the crimson banner once more floated throughout the province of Godwar.

Alarmed at these successive defeats, Jehangír, preparatory to equipping a fresh army against Méwar, determined to establish a new Rana, and to instal him in the ancient seat of power, Cheetore, thus hoping to withdraw from the standard of Umra many of his adherents. The experiment evinced at least a knowledge of their prejudices ; but, to the honour of Rajpoot fidelity, it failed. Sugra, who abandoned Pertáp and went over to Akber, was selected ; the sword of investiture was girded on him by the emperor's own hands, and under the escort of a Mogul force he went to reign amidst the ruins of Cheetore. Her grandeur, even in desolation, is beautifully depicted at this very period by the chaplain to the embassy from Elizabeth to Jehangír, the members composing which visited the capital of the Seesodias in their route to Ajmér.⁵

For seven years Sugra had a spurious homage paid to him amidst this

¹ This is a signal both of defiance and self-gratulation.

² S. 1664, A.D. 1608.

³ Falgoon 7th, S. 1666, the spring of A.D. 1610. Ferishta misplaces this battle, making it immediately precede the invasion under Khoorum. The defeats of the Mogul forces are generally styled 'recalls of the commander.'

⁴ Doodo Sangawut of Deogurh, Narayn-das, Soorajmull, Aiskurn, all Seesodias of the first rank ; Poorun Mull, son of Bhan, the chief of the Suktawuts ; Hurridas Rahtore, Bhoput the Jhala of Sadri, Kahirdas Cutchwaha, Késoodas Chohan of Baidla, Mokund-das Rahtore, Jeimulote, or of the blood of Jeimul.

⁵ "Chitor, an ancient great kingdom, the chief city so called, which standeth upon a mighty hill flat on the top, walled about at the least ten English miles. There appear to this day above a hundred ruined churches and divers fair palaces, which are lodged in like manner among their ruins, beside many exquisite pillars of carved stone ; and the ruins likewise of one hundred thousand stone houses, as many English by the observation have guessed. There is but one ascent to it, cut out of a firm rock, to which a man must pass through four (sometime very magnificent) gates. Its chief inhabitants at this day are Züm and Ohim, birds and wild beasts ; but the stately ruins thereof give a shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride. It was won from Ranas, an ancient Indian prince, who was forced to live himself ever after on high mountainous places adjoining to that province, and his posterity to live there ever since. Taken from him it was by Achabar Podsha (the father of that king who lived and reigned when I was in these parts) after a very long siege, which famished the besieged, without which it could never have been gotten."

desolation, the ruined pride of his ancestors. But it is gratifying to record, that not even by this recreant son of Cheetore could the impressions formed in contemplating such scenes be resisted; and Sugra, though flinty as the rock to a brother and nephew, could not support the silent admonition of the altars of the heroes who had fallen in her defence. The triumphal column raised for victory over a combination of kings, was a perpetual memento of his infamy; nor could he pass over one finger's breadth of her ample surface, without treading on some fragment which reminded him of their great deeds and his own unworthiness. We would be desirous of recording, that a nobler remembrancer than 'coward conscience,' animated the brother of Pertáp to an act of redeeming virtue; but when the annals tell us, that "the terrific Bhiroo (the god of battle) openly manifested his displeasure," it is decisive that it was not less the wish for greatness, than the desire to be "without the illness should attend it"; and sending for his nephew, he restored to him Cheetore, retiring to the isolated Kandhar.¹ Some time after, upon going to court, and being upbraided by Jehangír, he drew his dagger and slew himself in the emperor's presence: an end worthy of such a traitor.²

Umra took possession of the seat of his ancestors; but wanting the means to put it in defence, the acquisition only served to increase the temporary exultation. The evil resulting from attaching so much consequence to a capital had been often signally manifested; as to harass the enemy from their mountains, and thereby render his conquests unavailing, was the only policy which could afford the chance of independencè. With Cheetore the Rana acquired, by surrender or assault, possession of no less than eighty of the chief towns and fortresses of Méwar: amongst them Ontalla, at whose capture occurred the patriotic struggle between the clans of Chondawut and Suktawut for the leading of the vanguard, elsewhere related.³ On this memorable storm, besides the leaders of the rival bands, five of the infant clan Suktawut, consisting but of sixteen brave brothers, with three of the house of Saloombra, perished, struggling for the immortality promised by the bard. We may here relate the rise of the Suktawuts, with which is materially connected the future history of Méwar.

Sukta was the second of the twenty-four sons of Oody Sing. When only five years of age, he discovered that fearless temperament which marked his manhood. The armourer having brought a new dagger to try its edge by the usual proof on thinly spread cotton, the child asked the Rana "if it was not intended to cut bones and flesh," and seizing it, tried it on his own little hand. The blood gushed on the carpet, but he betrayed no symptom of pain or surprise. Whether his father admitted the tacit reproof of his own want of nerve, or that it recalled the prediction of the

¹ An isolated rock in the plain between the confluence of the Parbutty and Chumbul, and the famous Rint'humbor. The author has twice passed it in his travels in these regions.

² It was one of his sons who apostatised from his faith, who is well known in the imperial history as Mohabet Khan, beyond doubt the most daring chief in Jehangír's reign. This is the secret of his bond of union with prince Khoorum (Shah Jehan), himself half a Rajpoot. It was with his Rajpoots Mohabet did that daring deed, making Jehangír prisoner in his own camp, in the zenith of his power.

³ P. 122.

astrologers, who, in casting Sukta's horoscope, had announced that he was to be "the bane of Méwar," he was incontinently commanded to be put to death, and was carried off for this purpose, when saved by the Saloombra chief, who arrested the fiat, sped to the Rana, and begged his life as a boon, promising, having no heirs, to educate him as the future head of the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief had children in his old age, and while wavering between his own issue and the son of his adoption, the young Sukta was sent for to court by his brother Pertáp. The brothers for a considerable time lived on the most amicable footing, unhappily interrupted by a dispute while hunting, which in time engendered mutual dislike. While riding in the ring, Pertáp suddenly proposed to decide their quarrel by single combat, "to see who was the best lancer." Not backward, Sukta replied, "Do you begin"; and some little time was lost in a courteous struggle for the first spear, when, as they took their ground and agreed to charge together, the Purohit¹ rushed between the combatants and implored them not to ruin the house. His appeal, however, being vain, there was but one way left to prevent the unnatural strife: the priest drew his dagger, and plunging it in his breast, fell a lifeless corpse between the combatants. Appalled at the horrid deed, "the blood of the priest on their head," they desisted from their infatuated aim. Pertáp, waving his hand, commanded Sukta to quit his dominions, who bowing retired, and carried his resentments to Akbér. Pertáp performed with the obsequies of this faithful servant many expiatory rites, and made an irrevocable grant of Salaira to his son, still enjoyed by his descendants, while a small column yet identifies the spot of sacrifice to fidelity. From that hour to the memorable day when the founder of the Suktawuts gained the byrd of the race '*Khorasan Mooltán ca Aggul*,' on the occasion of his saving his sovereign flying from the field, the brothers had never beheld each other's face.

Sukta had seventeen sons, all of whom, excepting the heir of Bhynsrór,² attended his obsequies. On return from this rite they found the gates barred against them by Bhánji, now chief of the Suktawuts, who told them "there were too many mouths," and that they must push their fortunes elsewhere while he attended his sovereign with the quota of Bhynsrór. They demanded their horses and their arms, if such were his pleasure; and electing Achil as their head (whose wife was then pregnant), they took the route to Edur, which had recently been acquired by a junior branch of the Rahtores of Marwar. They had reached Palode when the pangs of childbirth seized the wife of Achil; and being rudely repulsed by the Sonigurra vassal of Palode, who refused her shelter at such a moment, they sought refuge amidst the ruins of a temple.³ It was the shrine of *Mata Januvi*, 'the mother of births,' the *Juno Lucina* of the Rajpoots. In a corner of the sanctuary they placed the mother of a future race; but the rain, which fell in torrents, visibly affected the ruin. A beam of

¹ Family priest.

² I have visited the cenotaphs of Sukta and his successors at the almost insulated Bhynsrór on the Chumbul. The castle is on a rock at the confluence of the *black Bamuni* and the Chumbul.

³ Probably the identical temple to *the Mother*, in which I found a valuable inscription of Komarpal of Anhulwarra Puttun, dated S. 1207. Palode is in the district of Neemahaira, now alienated from Méwar, and under that upstart Pat'han, Meer Khan.

stone gave way, which but for Ballo would have crushed her : he supported the sinking roof on his head till the brothers cut down a babool tree, with which they propped it and relieved him. In this retreat Assa (*Hope*) was born, who became the parent of an extensive branch known as the Achilés Suktawuts.

The 'Great Mother' was propitious. The parent of '*Hope*' was soon enabled to resume her journey for Edur, whose chief received them with open arms, and assigned lands for their support. Here they had been some time when the Rana's prime minister passed through Edur from a pilgrimage to Satrunja.¹ A violent storm would have thrown down the tent in which was his wife, but for the exertion of some of the brothers ; and the minister, on learning that it was to the near kin of his sovereign he was indebted for this kindness, invited them to Oodipoor, taking upon him to provide for them with their own proper head, which they declined without a special invitation. This was not long wanting ; for Umra was then collecting the strength of his hills against the king, and the services of the band of brothers, his kinsmen, were peculiarly acceptable. The first act of duty, though humble, is properly recorded, as ennobled by the sentiment which inspired it, and the pictured scene is yet preserved of Ballo and Joda collecting logs of wood for a night fire in the mountain bivouac for their kinsman and sovereign. In the more brilliant exploit which followed Ballo took the lead, and though the lord of Bhynsrar was in camp, it was Ballo who obtained the leading of the vanguard : the commencement of that rivalry of clanship from whence have resulted some of the most daring, and many of the most merciless deeds in the history of Méwar. The right to lead in battle belonged to the Chondawuts, and the first intimation the chieftain had of his prince's inconsiderate insult was from the bard incessantly repeating the '*byrd*' of the clan, until "the portal of the ten thousand" of Méwar deemed him mad. "Not so," replied he ; "but it is, perhaps, the last time your ears may be gratified with the watchword of Chonda, which may to-morrow be given as well as the Herole to the Suktawuts." An explanation followed, and the assault of Ontalla ensued, which preserved the rights of the Chondawuts, though nobly contested by their rivals. The vassal of Bakrole carried the tidings of the successful assault to the Rana, who arrived in time to receive the last obeisance of Ballo, whose parting words to his prince were seized on by the bard and added to the *byrd* of the clan : and although, in sloth and opium, they now "lose and neglect the creeping hours of time," yet whenever a Suktawut chief enters the court of his sovereign, or takes his seat amongst his brother chiefs, the bards still salute him with the dying words of Ballo :

*"Doonoh dātār.
Chāḡgoona joojār,
Khorasan Mooltān ca aggul."*²

¹ One of the five sacred mounts of the Jains, of whose faith was the minister. Of these I shall speak at length in the Personal Narrative.

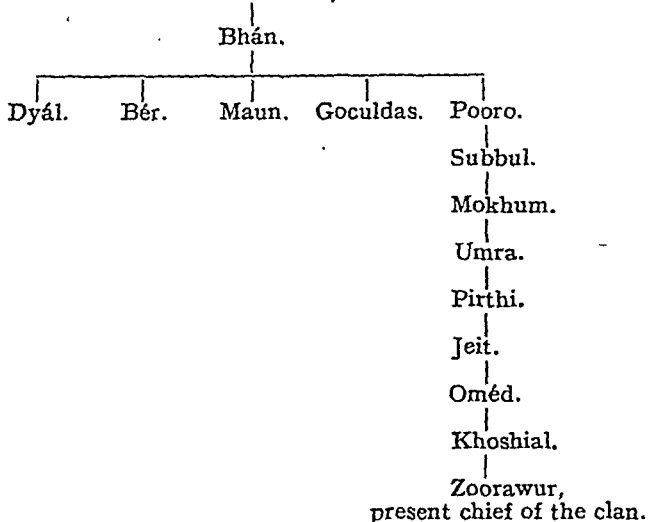
² "Double gifts, fourfold sacrifice." Meaning, with increase of their prince's favour the sacrifice of their lives would progress ; and which, for the sake of euphony probably, preceded the *byrd* won by the founder, "*the barrier to Khorasan and Mooltān.*"

The *Byrd* of the Chondawuts is : *Dos sehés Mēwār ca bur Kēwār*, "the portal of the ten thousand [towns] of Méwar." It is related that Sukta, jealous of so

Then passing the hand over his moustache, for a moment the escalade of Ontalla flits before his vision, where Ballo, Achilés, Joda, Dilla, and Chut'-harbhan, five of the seventeen sons of Sukta, fell for the maintenance of the post of honour. Bhánji soon after performed a service which obtained him the entire favour of his prince, who, returning from Rutlam, was insulted by the Rahtores of Bheendir, which was punished by the Suktawut, who took the town by assault, expelling the aggressors. Umra added it to his fief of Bhynsrór, and since the latter was bestowed on the rival clan, Bheendir has continued the chief residence of the leader of the Suktawuts. Ten chiefs¹ have followed in regular succession, whose issue spread over Méwar, so that in a few generations after Sukta, their prince could muster the swords of ten thousand Suktawuts; but internal feuds and interminable spoliation have checked the progress of population, and it might be difficult now to assemble half that number of the 'children of Sukta' fit to bear arms.

To return. These defeats alarmed Jehangír, who determined to equip an overwhelming force to crush the Rana. To this end he raised the imperial standard at Ajmér, and assembled the expedition under his immediate inspection, of which he appointed his son Fúrvéz commander, with instructions on departure "that if the Rana or his elder son Kurrún should repair to him, to receive them with becoming attention, and to offer no molestation to the country."² But the Seesodia prince little thought of submission: on the contrary, flushed with success, he gave the royal army the meeting at a spot oft moistened with blood, the pass of Khamnor,³ leading into the heart of the hills. The imperial army was disgracefully beaten, and fled, pursued with great havoc, towards Ajmér. The Mogul historian admits it to have been a glorious day for Méwar. He sweeping a byrd, complained that nothing was left for him: when the master bard replied, he was *Kéwár ca Aggul*, the bar which secures the door (*Kéwár*).

¹ Sukta.—17 sons.



² A.D. 1611.

³ Translated 'Brampoor' in Dow's *Ferishta*, and transferred to the Deccan; and the *pass* (*bala-ghat*) rendered *the Balaghat mountains of the south*. There are numerous similar errors.

describes Purvéz entangled in the passes, dissensions in his camp, his supplies cut off, and under all these disadvantages attacked; his precipitate flight and pursuit, in which the royal army lost vast numbers of men.¹ But Jehangír in his diary slurs it over, and simply remarks: "I recalled Purvéz to join me at Lahore, and directed his son with some chiefs to be left to watch the Rana."

This son, tutored by the great Mohabet Khan, fared no better than Purvéz; he was routed and slain. But the Hydra was indestructible; for every victory, while it cost the best blood of MĒwar, only multiplied the number of her foes. Seventeen pitched battles had the illustrious Rajpoot fought since the death of his father: but the loss of his experienced veterans withered the laurels of victory, nor had he sufficient repose either to husband his resources, or to rear his young heroes to replace them. Another, and yet more mighty army, was assembled under prince Khoorum, the ablest of the sons of Jehangír, and better known in history as Shah Jehán, when emperor of the Moguls.

Again did the Rana with his son Kurrún collect the might of their hills; but a handful of warriors was all their muster to meet the host of Dehli, and 'the crimson banner,' which for more than eight hundred years had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotés, was now to be abased to the son of Jehangír. The Emperor's own pen shall narrate the termination of this strife.

"Eighth year of my reign, A.H. 1022,² I determined to move³ to Ajmér and send my fortunate son Khoorum before me; and having fixed the moment of departure, I dismissed him with magnificent khelats, an elephant, horse, sword, shield, and dagger, and besides his usual force added twelve thousand horse under Azim Khan, and presented to all the officers of his army suitable gratifications.

"On the commencement of the ninth year (A.D. 1614), while seated on my throne, in an auspicious moment, the elephant Alum Gomán,⁴ with seventeen others, male and female, captured from the Rana, were sent by my son Khoorum and presented before me. The next day I went abroad mounted on Alum Gomán, to my great satisfaction, and distributed gold in great quantity.

"Pleasing intelligence arrived of the intention of Rana Umra Sing to repair and make his obedience to me. My fortunate son Khoorum had established my authority and garrisons in divers strongholds of the Rana's country, *which owing to the malign influence of the air and water, its barrenness and inaccessibility, it was deemed impossible to bring under subjection;*

¹ The details of battles, unless accompanied by exploits of individuals, are very uninteresting. Under this impression, I have suppressed whatever could impair the current of action by amplification, otherwise not only the Rajpoot bard, but the contemporary Mogul historian, would have afforded abundant matter; but I have deemed both worthy of neglect in such cases. Ferishta's history is throughout most faulty in its geographical details, rendered still more obscure from the erroneous orthography (often arising from mistaken punctuation) of the only translation of this valuable work yet before the public. There is one gentleman (Licut.-Col. Briggs) well qualified to remedy these defects, and who, with a laudable industry, has made an entire translation of the works of Ferishta, besides collating the best MSS. of the original text. It is to be hoped he will present his performance to the public.

² A.D. 1613.

³ See p. 42.

⁴ Dow gives in a note a description of his camp.

'The Arrogant of the earth.'

yet, from the perpetual overrunning of the country, without regard to the heats or the rains, by my armies, the capture and imprisonment of the wives and children of many of the men of rank of the country, the Rana was at length reduced to acknowledge the despair to which he was driven, and that a further continuance of such distress would be attended with utter ruin, with the choice of captivity or being forced to abandon the country. He therefore determined to make his submission, and sent two of his chiefs, Soopkurrin and Heridás Jhala, to my son Khoorum, to represent that if he would forgive and take him by the hand, he would pay his respects to him, and would send his eldest son Kurrin to attend and to serve the emperor, as did other Hindu princes ; but that, *on account of his years, he would hold himself¹ excused from attending in person.* Of these events my son sent a full relation by Shukur Oolah Afzul Khanee.

"I was greatly rejoiced at this event happening under my own reign, and I commanded that these ancient possessors of the country should not be driven from it. The fact is, Rana Umra Sing and his ancestors were proud, and confident in the strength and inaccessibility of their mountainous country and its strongholds, *and had never beheld a king of Hindustan, nor made submission to any one. I was desirous, in my own fortunate time, the opportunity should not slip my hands ; instantly, therefore, on the representation of my son, I forgave the Rana, and sent a friendly firmaun that he might rest assured of my protection and care, and imprinted thereon, as a solemn testimony of my sincerity, my 'five fingers' (punja²) ; I also wrote my son, that by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes.*

"My son despatched the letter and firmaun by the chiefs Soopkurrin and Heridás Jhala, accompanied by Shukur Oolla and Soonderdás, with assurances to the Rana that he might rely on my generosity and esteem, to receive my firmaun and *impress of my hand* : and it was agreed that on the 26th of the month he should repair to my son.

"Having gone out of Ajmér to hunt, Mahmood Bég, a servant of my son Khoorum, arrived, and presented a letter from him, and stated to me verbally the Rana having met my son.

"On receiving this news, I presented Mahmood Bég with an elephant, horse, and dagger, and gave him the title of Zoolfecar Khan.

"Account of the meeting of Rana Umra Sing with Sultan Khoorum and of Khoorum's visit to prince Kurrin, with all the Omras, and of the rank bestowed on prince Kurrin in the household of the emperor, on the part of the empress Noor Jehán."

"On Sunday the 26th the Rana, with respect and due attention to

¹ "He would hold himself excused." In these few words, to which the emperor has nobly given a place in his diary, we have the Rajpoot's prince's feelings depicted on this painful occasion.

² The giving the hand amongst all nations has been considered as a pledge for the performance or ratification of some act of importance, and the custom amongst the Scythic or Tatar nations, of transmitting its impress as a substitute, is here practically described. I have seen the identical Firmán in the Rana's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood, is applied to the paper, and the palm and five fingers (*punja*) are yet distinct. In a masterly delineation of Oriental manners (*Carne's Letters from the East*) is given an anecdote of Mahommed, who, unable to sign his name to a convention, dipped his hand in ink, and made an impression therewith. It is evident the prophet of Islám only followed an ancient solemnity, of the same import as that practised by Jehangir.

etiquette, as other vassals of the empire, paid his respects to my son, and presented a celebrated ruby, well known in possession of this house, and various arms inlaid with gold ; with seven elephants of great price, which alone remained after those formerly captured ; and also nine horses as tribute. My son received him with princely generosity and courtesy ; when the Rana taking my son by the knee, requested¹ to be forgiven. He raised his head, and gave him every kind assurance of countenance and protection, and presented him with suitable khelats, an elephant, horses, and a sword. Though he had not above one hundred persons in his train worthy to be dignified with khelats, yet one hundred and twenty khelats, fifty horses, and twelve jewelled aigrettes, were bestowed on them. The custom, however, of these princes being that the heir and the father never visit together,¹ he observed this usage, and Kurrun, his declared successor, did not accompany the Rana. Sultan Khoorum, the same day, gave Umra Sing his leave, promising forthwith to send his son Kurrun, who was introduced, and khelats, with elephant, sword, and dagger, were bestowed ; and that same day he repaired with him to me.

" In my interview with Sultan Khoorum on his arrival at Ajmér, he represented that if it was my pleasure he would present the prince Kurrun, whom I accordingly desired him to bring. He arrived, paid his respects, *and his rank was commanded to be, at the request of my son, immediately on my right hand*, and I rewarded him with suitable khelats. As Kurrun, owing to the rude life he had led in his native hills, was extremely shy, and unused to the pageantry and experience of a court, in order to reconcile and give him confidence I daily gave him some testimonies of my regard and protection, and in the second day of his service I gave him a jewelled dagger, and on the third a choice steed of Irak with rich caparisons ; and on the same day, I took him with me to the queen's court, when the queen, Noor Jehán, made him splendid khelats, elephant and horse caparisoned, sword, etc. The same day I gave him a rich necklace of pearls, another day an elephant, and it was my wish to give him rarities and choice things of every kind. I gave him three royal hawks and three gentle falcons trained to the hand,² a coat of mail, chain and plate armour, and two rings of value ; and, on the last day of the month, carpets, state cushions, perfumes, vessels of gold, and a pair of the bullocks of Guzzerat.

" 10th year.³ At this time I gave prince Kurrun leave to return to his jagheer ;⁴ when I bestowed on him an elephant, horse, and a pearl necklace valued at 50,000 rupees (£5000) ; and from the day of his repairing to my court to that of his departure, the value of the various gifts I presented him exceeded ten lakhs of rupees (£125,000), exclusive of one hundred and ten horses, five elephants, or what my son Khoorum gave him. I sent Mabarick Khan along with him, by whom I sent an elephant, horse, etc., and various confidential messages to the Rana.

" On the 8th Suffur of the 10th year of the H. 1024, Kurrun was

¹ This was to avoid treachery. I have often had the honour to receive the descendant princes, father and son, " of these illustrious ones " together.

² Baz and Toora.

³ Of his reign.

⁴ Such was now the degraded title of the ancient, independent, sovereign Méwar. Happy Pertáp, whose ashes being mingled with his parent earth, was spared his country's humiliation !

elevated to the dignity of a Munsubdar ¹ of five thousand, when I presented him with a bracelet of pearls, in which was a ruby of great price.

" 24th Mohurram, 10th year (A.D. 1615), Juggut Sing, son of Kurrun, aged twelve years, arrived at court and paid his respects, and presented the arzees of his father and grandfather, Rana Umra Sing. *His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction,*² *and I delighted his heart with presents and kindness.*

¹ With this the annals state the restoration of many districts: the Kheirár, Phoolia, Bednore, Mandelgurh, Jeerun, Neemutch, and Bhynsrur, with supremacy over Deola and Dongerpoor.

² It must have been this grandson of Umra of whom Sir Thomas Roe thus writes: "The right issue of Porus is here a king in the midst of the Mogul's dominions, never subdued till last year; and, to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquered: won to own a superior by gifts and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet standing at Dehli, the ancient seat of Rama, the successor of Porus."—*Extract of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Ajmere, January 29th, 1615.*

"Copy of a letter written by the great Mogul unto King James, in the Persian tongue, here faithfully translated, which was as follows:—

"Unto a king rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, clothed with honour and justice, a commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in the religion which the great prophet Christ did teach, King James, whose love hath bred such an impression in my thoughts as shall never be forgotten; but as the smell of amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whose beauty and odour is still increasing, so, be assured, my love shall still grow and increase with yours.

"The letters which you sent me in the behalf of your merchants I have received, whereby I rest satisfied of your tender love towards me, desiring you not to take it ill, that I have not wrote to you heretofore: this present letter I send to you to renew our loves, and herewith do certifie you, that I have sent forth my firmaunes throughout all my countries to this effect, that if any English ships or merchants shall arrive in any of my ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to do what they please, freely in their merchandising causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasion of injuries that shall be offered them, that the least cause of discourtesie be not done unto them; that they may be as free, or freer than my own people.

"And as now, and formerly, I have received from you divers tokens of your love; so I shall still desire your mindfulness of me by some novelties from your countries, as an argument of friendship betwixt us, for such is the custom of princes here.

"And for your merchants, I have given express order through all my dominions, to suffer them to buy, sell, transport, and carry away at their pleasure, without the lett or hinderance of any person whatsoever, all such goods and merchandises as they shall desire to buy; and let this my letter as fully satisfie you in desired peace and love, as if my own son had been messenger to ratifie the same.

"And if any in my countries, not fearing God, nor obeying their king, or any other void of religion, should endeavour to be an instrument to break this league of friendship, I would send my son Sultan Caroom, a souldier approved in the wars, to cut him off, that, no obstacle may hinder the continuance and increase of our affections.

"When your majesty shall open this letter, let your royal heart be as fresh as a small garden, let all people make reverence at your gate. Let your throne be advanced higher. Amongst the greatness of the kings of the prophet Jesus, let your majesty be the greatest; and all monarchs derive their wisdom and counsel from your breast, as from a fountain, that the law of the majesty of Jesus may receive, and flourish under your protection.

"The letters of love and friendship which you sent me, the present tokens of your good affection towards me, I have received by the hands of your ambassador, Sir Thomas Row, who well deserveth to be your trusty servant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour; upon which mine eyes were so

"On the 10th Shaban, Juggut Sing had permission to return to his house. At his departure I presented him with 20,000 rupees, a horse, elephant, and khelats; and to Heridás Jhala, preceptor of Prince Kurrun, 5000 rupees, a horse, and khelat; and I sent by him six golden images¹ to the Rana.

"28th Rubee ool Akber, 11th year. *The statues of the Rana and Kurrun, sculptured in white marble, I desired should have inscribed the date in which they were prepared and presented, and commanded they should be placed in the gardens at Agra.*

"In the 11th year of my reign, an arzee from Etimad Khan acquainted me that Sultan Khoorum had entered the Rana's country, and that prince and his son had both exchanged visits with my son; and that from the tribute, consisting of seven elephants, twenty-seven saddle horses, trays of jewels, and ornaments of gold, my son took three horses and returned all the rest, and engaged that Prince Kurrun and fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse should remain with him in the wars.

"In the 13th year Prince Kurrun repaired to my court, then at Sindla, to congratulate me on my victories and conquest of the Dukhun, and presented 100 mohors,² 1000 rupees, nuzzerana, and effects in gold and jewels to the amount of 21,000 rupees, hardy elephants and horses; the last I returned, but kept the rest, and next day presented him a dress of honour; and from Futchpoor gave him his leave, with elephant, horse, sword, and dagger, and a horse for his father.

"14th year of my reign. On the 17th Rubbee-ool-awal, 1029 H., I received intelligence of the death of Rana Umra Sing. To Juggut Sing, his grandson, and Bheem Sing, his son, in attendance, I gave khelats, and dispatched Raja Kishoredás³ with the firmán conferring benefits and with the dignity of Rana, the khelat of investiture, choice horses, and a letter of condolence suitable to the occasion to Prince Kurrun. 7th Shuval. Beharri dás Bramin I dispatched with a firmán to Rana Kurrun, desiring that his son with his contingent should attend me."

To have generalised this detail of the royal historian would have been to lessen the interest of this important period in the annals of Méwar. Jehangír merits to have his exultation, his noble and unostentatious conduct, described by his own pen, the extreme minuteness of which description but increases the interest. With his self-gratulation, he bears full testimony to the gallant and long-protracted resistance of the Rajpoots;

fixed, that I could not easily remove them unto any other objects, and have accepted them with great joy and delight, etc."

The last letter had this beginning:—"How gracious is your majesty, whose greatness God preserve. As upon a rose in a garden, so are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintain your estate, that your monarchy may prosper and be augmented; and that you may obtain all your desires worthy the greatness of your renown; and as the heart is noble and upright, so let God give you a glorious reign, because you strongly defend the law of the majesty of Jesus, which God made yet more flourishing, for that it was confirmed by miracles, etc."—*Della Valle*, p. 473.

¹ There are frequent mention of such images (*poottis*), but I know not which they are.

² Golden suns, value £1. 12s.

³ Increasing the respect to the Ranas by making a prince the bearer of the firmán.

and while he impartially, though rather erroneously, estimates their motives and means of opposition, he does Umra ample justice in the declaration, that he did not yield until he had but the alternative of captivity or exile ; and with a magnanimity above all praise, he records the Rajpoot prince's salvo for his dignity, " that he would hold himself excused from attending in person." The simple and naïve declaration of his joy, " his going abroad on Alum Gomán," the favourite elephant of the Rana which had been captured, on learning his submission, is far stronger than the most pompous testimony of public rejoicing. But there is a heart-stirring philanthropy in the conduct of the Mogul which does him immortal honour ; and in commanding his son " to treat the illustrious one according to his heart's wishes," though he so long and so signally had foiled the royal armies, he proved himself worthy of the good fortune he acknowledges, and well shows his sense of the superiority of the chief of all the Rajpoots, by placing the heir of Méwar, even above all the princes of his own house, " immediately on *his right hand*." Whether he attempts to relieve the shyness of Kurrun, or sets forth the princely appearance of Juggut Sing, we see the same amiable feeling operating to lighten the chains of the conquered. But the shyness of Kurrun deserved a worthier term : he felt the degradation which neither the statues raised to them, the right hand of the monarch, the dignity of a 'commander of five thousand,' or even the restoration of the long-alienated territory could neutralise, when the kingdom to which he was heir was called a fief (*jagheer*), and himself, ' the descendant of a hundred kings,' a vassal (*jagheerdar*) of the empire, under whose banner, which his ancestors had so signally opposed, he was now to follow with a contingent of fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse.

Seldom has subjugated royalty met with such consideration ; yet, to a lofty mind like Umra's, this courteous condescension but increased the severity of endurance. In the bitterness of his heart he cursed the magnanimity of Khoorum, himself of Rajpoot blood¹ and an admirer of Rajpoot valour, which circumstance more than the force of his arms had induced him to surrender ; for Khoorum demanded but the friendship of the Rajpoot as the price of peace, and to withdraw every Mahomedan from Méwar if the Rana would but receive the emperor's firmán outside of his capital. This his proud soul rejected ; and though he visited Prince Khoorum as a friend, he spurned the proposition of acknowledging a superior, or receiving the rank and titles awaiting such an admission. The noble Umra, who—

" Rather than be less,
Cared not to be at all"—

took the resolution to abdicate² the throne he could no longer hold but at the will of another. Assembling his chiefs, and disclosing his determination, he made the *teeka* on his son's forehead ; and observing that the honour of Méwar was now in his hands, forthwith left the capital

¹ Khoorum was son of a Rajpoot princess of Ambér, of the *Cutchwaha* tribe, and hence his name was probably *Koorm*, synonymous to *cutchwa*, a *tortoise*. The bards are always punning upon it.

² Surrendered S. 1672, A.D. 1616 (according to Dow, S. 1669, A.D. 1613) ; died 1621.

and secluded himself in the *No-choki*:¹ nor did he from that hour cross its threshold, but to have his ashes deposited with those of his fathers.

All comment is superfluous on such a character as Rana Ūmra. He was worthy of Pertáp and his race. He possessed all the physical as well as mental qualities of a hero, and was the tallest and strongest of all the princes of Méwar. He was not so fair as they usually are, and he had a reserve bordering upon gloominess, doubtless occasioned by his reverses, for it was not natural to him; he was beloved by his chiefs for the qualities they most esteem, generosity and valour, and by his subjects for his justice and kindness, of which we can judge from his edicts, many of which yet live on the column or the rock.

CHAPTER XIII

Rana Kurrun fortifies and embellishes Oodipoor—The Ranas of Méwar excused attendance at court—Bheem commands the contingent of Méwar—Leagues with Sultan Khoorum against Purvéz—Jehangír attacks the insurgents—Bheem slain—Khoorum flies to Oodipoor—His reception by the Rana—Death of Kurrun—Rana Juggut Sing succeeds—Death of Jehangír and accession of Khoorum as Shah Jehán—Méwar enjoys profound peace—The island palaces erected by Juggut Sing—Repairs Cheetore—His death—Rana Raj Sing—Deposal of Shah Jehán and accession of Arungzéb—Causes for attachment to the Hindus of Jehangír and Shah Jehán—Arungzéb's character; imposes the Jezeya or capitation tax on the Rajpoots—Raj Sing abducts the intended wife of the emperor and prepares for war—Arungzéb marches—The valley of Girwo—Prince Akber surprised—Defeated—Blocked in the mountains—Liberated by the heir of Méwar—Delhire Khan defeated—Arungzéb defeated by the Rana and his Rahtore allies—Arungzéb quits the field—Prince Bheem invades Guzzerat—The Rana's minister ravages Malwa—United Rajpoots defeat Azím and drive him from Cheetore—Méwar freed from the Moguls—War carried into Marwar—Seesodias and Rahtores defeat Sultan Akber—Rajpoot stratagem—Design to depose Arungzéb and elevate Akber to the throne—Its failure—The Mogul makes overtures to the Rana—Peace—Terms—The Rana dies of his wounds—His character, contrasted with that of Arungzéb—Lake Rajsumund—Dreadful famine and pestilence.

KURRUN, or Kurna (*the radiant*), succeeded to the last independent king of Méwar, S. 1677, A.D. 1621. Henceforth we shall have to exhibit these princely 'children of the sun' with diminished lustre, moving as satellites round the primary planet; but, unaccustomed to the laws of its attraction, they soon deviated from the orbit prescribed, and in the eccentricity of their movements occasionally displayed their unborrowed effulgence. For fifteen hundred years we have traced each alternation of the fortune of this family, from their establishment in the second, to their expulsion in the fifth century from Saurashtra by the Parthians; the acquisition and loss of Edur; the conquest and surrender of Cheetore; the rise of Oodipoor and abasement of the red flag to Jehangír; and we shall conclude with

¹ It must have been here that Sultan Khoorum visited the Rana. The remains of this palace, about half a mile without the city wall (north), on a cluster of hills, are yet in existence. It was built by Oody Sing on the banks of a lake, under which are gardens and groves, where the author had the Rana's permission to pitch his tents in the hottest months.

not the least striking portion of their history, their unity of interests with Britain.

Kurrun was deficient neither in courage nor conduct; of both he had given a decided proof, when, to relieve the pecuniary difficulties of his father, with a rapidity unparalleled, he passed through the midst of his foes, surprised and plundered Surat, and carried off a booty which was the means of protracting the evil days of his country. But for the exercise of the chief virtue of the Rajpoot, he had little scope throughout his reign, and fortunately for his country the powerful esteem and friendship which Jehangir and Prince Khoorum evinced for his house, enabled him to put forth the talents he possessed to repair past disasters. He fortified the heights round the capital, which he strengthened with a wall and ditch, partly enlarged the noble dam which retains the waters of the Peshola, and built that entire portion of the palace called the Rawula, still set apart for the ladies of the court.

When Rana Umra made terms with Jehangir, he stipulated, as a salvo for his dignity and that of his successors, exemption from all personal attendance; and confined the extent of homage to his successors receiving, on each lapse of the crown, the firmaun or imperial decree in token of subordination, which, more strongly to mark their dependent condition, the Rana was to accept without the walls of his capital; accordingly, though the heirs-apparent of Méwar¹ attended the court, they never did as Rana. Partly to lessen the weight of this sacrifice to independence, and partly to exalt the higher grade of nobles, the princes of the blood-royal of Méwar were made to rank below the *sixteen*, a fictitious diminution of dignity which, with similar acts peculiar to this house, enhanced the self-estimation of the nobles, and made them brave every danger to obtain such sacrifices to the ruling passion of the Rajpoot, a love of distinction.² It is mentioned by the emperor that he placed the heir-apparent of Méwar immediately on his right hand, over all the princes of Hindusthan; consequently the superior nobles of Méwar, who were all men of royal descent,

¹ The contingent of Méwar was one thousand horse.

² During the progress of my mediation between the Rana and his nobles, in 1818, the conduct of the lineal representative of Jeimul, the defender of Cheetore against Akber, was striking. Instead of surrendering the lands which he was accused of usurping, he placed himself at the door of the threshold of the palace, whence he was immovable. His claims were left to my adjudication; but he complained with great heat of the omission of ceremonials, and especially of the prostration of honours by the prince. I incautiously remarked that these were trivial compared with the other objects in view, and begged him to disregard it. "Disregard it! why, it was for these things my ancestors sacrificed their lives; when such a band¹ as this on my turban was deemed ample reward for the most distinguished service, and made them laugh at wounds and hardships!" Abashed at the inconsiderate remark which provoked this lofty reproof, I used my influence to have the omission rectified: the lands were restored, and the enthusiastic reverence with which I spoke of Jeimul would have obtained even greater proof of the Bednore chief's regard for the fame of his ancestors than the surrender of them implied. Who would not honour this attachment to such emblems in the days of adversity?

¹ *Bala-bund*, a fillet or band, sometimes embroidered; often, as in the present case, of silk or gold thread knotted, and tassels tied round the turban. *Bala-bund* is synonymous with *diadem*.

deemed themselves, and had their claims admitted, to rank above their peers at other courts, and to be seated almost on an equality with their princes.¹

The Seesodia chieftains were soon distinguished amongst the Rajpoot vassals of the Mogul, and had a full share of power. Of these Bheem, the younger brother of Kurrun, who headed the quota of Méwar, was conspicuous, and became the chief adviser and friend of Sultan Khoorum, who well knew his intrepidity. At his son's solicitation, the emperor conferred upon him the title of Raja, and assigned a small principality on the Bunas for his residence, of which Thoda was the capital. Ambitious of perpetuating a name, he erected a new city and palace on the banks of the river, which he called Rajmahl, and which his descendants held till about forty years ago. The ruins of Rajmahl² bear testimony to the architectural taste of this son of Méwar, as do the fallen fortunes of his descendant to the instability of power: the lineal heir of Raja Bheem serves the chief of Shahpoora on half a crown a day!

Jehangír, notwithstanding his favours, soon had a specimen of the insubordinate spirit of Bheem. Being desirous to separate him from Sultan Khoorum, who aspired to the crown in prejudice to his elder brother Purvéz, he appointed Bheem to the government of Guzzerat, which was distinctly refused. Detesting Purvéz, who, it will be recollected, invaded Méwar, and was foiled for his cruelty on this occasion, Bheem advised his friend at once to throw off the mask, if he aspired to reign. Purvéz was slain, and Khoorum manifested his guilt by flying to arms. He was secretly supported by a strong party of the Rajpoot interest, at the head of which was Guj Sing of Marwar, his maternal grandfather, who cautiously desired to remain neutral. Jehangír advanced to crush the incipient revolt; but dubious of the Rahtore (Guj Sing), he gave the van to Jeipoor, upon which the prince furlled his banners and determined to be a spectator. The armies approached and were joining action, when the impetuous Bheem sent a message to the Rahtore either to aid or oppose them. The insult provoked him to the latter course, and Bheem's party was destroyed, him-

¹ This was conceded, as the following anecdote will attest. When the first Peshwa appeared at the Jeipoor court he was accompanied by the Saloombra chieftain. The Jeipoor prince divided his gadi (*cushion*) with the Peshwa, and the latter made room for the Saloombra chief upon it, observing that their privileges and rank were similar. The same Peshwa had the address to avoid all discussion of rank at Oodipoor, by alleging the prerogative of his order to '*spread his cloth in front of the throne*,' a distinction to which every priest is entitled.

² There are many picturesque scenes of this nature on the Bunas. Doonee made a celebrated defence against Sindia's army in 1808, and held out several months, though the Mahratta prince had an army of forty thousand men and a park of eighty pieces of cannon to oppose two hundred Rajpoots. They made sorties, captured his foragers, cut his batteries to pieces, and carried off his guns (of which they had none), and, placing them on their walls, with his own shot made the whole army change position, beyond matchlock range. At last their in-expertness rendered them useless, and they obtained honourable terms. On one occasion the foragers of our escort were returning, and met Sindia's coming away without their guns and cattle, which had just been taken from them. Our lads, from fellowship, volunteered to recover them, and returned on the captors, who gave them up (if my memory deceive me not) without a struggle, and from respect to the *red coat*!

self slain,¹ and Khoorum and Mohabet Khan compelled to seek refuge in Oodipoor. In this asylum he remained undisturbed : apartments in the palace were assigned to him ; but his followers little respecting Rajpoot prejudices, the island became his residence, on which a sumptuous edifice was raised, adorned with a lofty dome crowned with the crescent. The interior was decorated with mosaic, in onyx, cornelian, jaspers, and agates, rich Turkey carpets, etc. ; and that nothing of state might be wanting to the royal refugee, a throne was sculptured from a single block of serpentine, supported by quadriform female Caryatidæ. In the court a little chapel was erected to the Mahomedan saint Madar, and here the prince with his court resided, every wish anticipated, till a short time before his father's death, when he retired into Persia.²

Such was Rajpoot gratitude to a prince who, when the chances of war made him victor over them, had sought unceasingly to mitigate the misery attendant on the loss of independence ! It is pleasing to record to the honour of this calumniated race, that these feelings on the part of Kurrun were not transient ; and that so far from expiring with the object,

" The debt immense of endless gratitude "

was transmitted as an heirloom to his issue ; and though two centuries have fled, during which Méwar had suffered every variety of woe, pillaged by Mogul, Pat'han, and Mahratta, yet the turban of Prince Khoorum, the symbol of fraternity,³ has been preserved, and remains in the same folds as when transferred from the head of the Mogul to that of the Rajpoot prince. The shield is yet held as the most sacred of relics, nor will the lamp which illumines the chapel of Madar want oil while the princes of Oodipoor have wherewithal to supply it.⁴

¹ Maun Sing, chief of the Suktawuts, and his brother Gokuldas, were Bheem's advisers, and formed with Mohabet Khan the junta who ruled the Mogul heir-apparent. Maun held Sanwar in the Khairâr, and was celebrated in Umra's wars as the great champion of the Seesodias. He counted above eighty wounds, and had at various times " sent a *seer* (two pounds) of exfoliated bone to the Ganges." Such was the affection between Maun and Bheem, that they concealed the death of the latter, sending him food in Bheem's name ; but he no sooner learned the truth than he tore away the bandages and expired. Of Gokuldas the bard says, in allusion to the peaceful reign of Kurrun, " The wreath of Kurrun's renown was fading, but Gokul revived it with his blood." It was with the Seesodia Rajpoots and the Suktawuts that Mohabet performed the most daring exploit in Mogul history, making Jehangir prisoner in his own camp : but it is too long for insertion in a note.

² Contemporary historians say to Golconda.

³ An exchange of turbans is the symbol of fraternal adoption.

⁴ It is an affecting proof of the perpetuity of true gratitude,

" Which owing, owes not,"

as well as of religious toleration, to find the shrine of the Mahomedan saint maintained in this retreat of the Seesodias, and the priest and establishment kept up, though the son of their benefactor persecuted them with unrelenting barbarity. Are these people worth conciliating ? or does the mist of ignorance and egotism so blind us that we are to despise the minds hidden under the cloak of poverty and long oppression ? The orange-coloured turban, and the shield of Shah Jehân, have been brought from their sacred niche for my view : that I looked on them with sentiments of reverence, as relics consecrated by the noblest feeling of the mind, will be credited. I bowed to the turban with an irresistible impulse, and a fervour as deep as ever did pilgrim before the most hallowed shrine.

Rana Kurrun had enjoyed eight years of perfect tranquillity when he was gathered to his fathers. The sanctuary he gave Prince Khoorum had no apparent effect on Jehangir, who doubtless believed that the Rana did not sanction the conduct of his brother Bheem. He was succeeded by his son Juggut Sing, 'the lion of the world,' in S. 1684 (A.D. 1628).

The Emperor Jehangir died shortly after his accession, and while Khoorum was in exile. This event, which gave the throne to the friend of his house, was announced to him by the Rana, who sent his brother and a band of Rajpoots to Surat to form the cortège of the emperor, who repaired directly to Oodipoor; and it was in the Bādul Mahl ('the cloud saloon') of his palace that he was first saluted by the title of 'Shah Jihán,' by the satraps and tributary princes of the empire.¹ On taking leave, the new monarch restored five alienated districts, and presented the Rana with a ruby of inestimable value, giving him also permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Chectore.

The twenty-six years during which Juggut Sing occupied the throne passed in uninterrupted tranquillity: a state unfruitful to the bard, who flourishes only amidst agitation and strife. This period was devoted to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, especially architecture; and to Juggut Sing Oodipoor is indebted for those magnificent works which bear his name, and excite our astonishment, after all the disasters we have related, at the resources he found to accomplish them.

The palace on the lake (covering about four acres), called the Jugnewás, is entirely his work, as well as many additions to its sister isle, on which is the Jugmunder.² Nothing but marble enters into their composition; columns, baths, reservoirs, fountains, all are of this material, often inlaid with mosaics, and the uniformity pleasingly diversified by the light passing through glass of every hue. The apartments are decorated with historical paintings in water-colours, almost meriting the term fresco from their deep absorption in the wall, though the darker tints have blended with and in part obscured the more delicate shades, from atmospheric causes. The walls, both here and in the grand palace, contain many medallions, in considerable relief, in gypsum, portraying the principal historical events of the family, from early periods even to the marriage pomp of the present Rana. Parterres of flowers, orange and lemon groves, intervene to dispel the monotony of the buildings, shaded by the wide-spreading tamarind and magnificent evergreen kheenee; while the graceful palmyra and cocoa wave their plume-like branches over the dark cypress or cooling plantain. Detached colonnaded refectories are placed on the water's edge for the chiefs, and extensive baths for their use. Here they listened to the tale of the bard, and slept off their noonday opiate amidst the cool breezes of the lake, wafting delicious odours from myriads of the lotus-flower which covered the surface of the waters; and as the fumes of the potion evaporated, they opened their eyes on a landscape to which not even its inspirations could frame an equal: the broad waters of the Peshola, with its indented and well-wooded margin receding to the terminating

¹ Ferishta, whose geography is often quite unintelligible, omits this in his history, and passes the king direct to Ajmer: but the annals are fuller, and describe the royal insignia conveyed by Mohabet, Abdoola, Khan Jihán, and his secretary Sadoola.

² 'The *minster* of the world.'

point of sight, at which the temple of Brimpoori opened on the pass of the gigantic Aravulli, the field of the exploits of their forefathers. Amid such scenes did the Seesodia princes and chieftains recreate during two generations, exchanging the din of arms for voluptuous inactivity.

Juggut Sing was a highly respected prince, and did much to efface the remembrance of the rude visitations of the Moguls. The dignity of his character, his benevolence of address and personal demeanour, secured the homage of all who had access to him, and are alike attested by the pen of the emperor, the ambassador of England, and the chronicles of Méwar. He had the proud satisfaction of redeeming the ancient capital from ruin ; rebuilding the "chaplet bastion,"¹ restoring the portals, and replacing the pinnacles on the temples of Chutterkote." By a princess of Marwar he left two sons, the eldest of whom succeeded.

Raj Sing (the royal lion) mounted the throne in S. 1710 (A.D. 1654). Various causes over which he had no control, combined, together with his personal character, to break the long repose his country had enjoyed. The emperor of the Moguls had reached extreme old age, and the ambition of his sons to usurp his authority involved every Rajpoot in support of their individual pretensions. The Rana inclined to Dara,² the legitimate heir to the throne, as did nearly the whole Rajpoot race ; but the battle of Futtehabad silenced every pretension, and gave the lead to Arungzéb, which he maintained by the sacrifice of whatever opposed his ambition. His father, brothers, nay, his own offspring, were in turn victims to that thirst for power which eventually destroyed the monarchy of the Moguls.

The policy introduced by their founder, from which Akber, Jehangir, and Shah Jehán had reaped so many benefits, was unwisely abandoned by the latter, who of all had the most powerful reasons for maintaining those ties which connected the Rajpoot princes with his house. Historians have neglected to notice the great moral strength derived from this unity of the indigenous races with their conquerors ; for during no similar period was the empire so secure, nor the Hindu race so cherished, as during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehán : the former born from a Rajpoot princess of Ambér, and the latter from the house of Marwar. Arungzéb's unmixed Tatar blood brought no Rajpoot sympathies to his aid ; on the contrary, every noble family shed their best blood in withstanding his accession, and in the defence of Shah Jehán's rights, while there was a hope of success. The politic Arungzéb was not blind to this defect, and he tried to remedy it in his successor ; for both his declared heir, Shah Allum, and Azim, as well as his favourite grandson,³ were the offspring of Rajpootnis ; but, uninfluenced himself by such predilections, his bigotry outweighed his policy, and he visited the Rajpoots with an unrelenting and unwise persecution.

We shall pass the twice-told tale of the struggle for power which ended in the destruction of the brothers, competitors with Arungzéb : this belongs to general history, not to the annals of Méwar ; and that history

¹ The *Mala Boorj*, a 'chaplet bastion' blown up by Akber, is a small fortress of itself.

² I have copies of the original letters written by Dara, Sujah, Morad, and Arungzéb on this occasion, each soliciting the Rana's aid.

³ Kám-buksh (son of Jodpoori, not Udipoori), *the gift of Cupid*. Of this the Greeks made Cambyases.

is in every hand,¹ in which the magnanimity of Dara, the impetuosity of Morad, and the activity of Sujah met the same tragical end.

It has seldom occurred that so many distinguished princes were contemporary as during the reign of Arungzéb. Every Rajpoot principality had a head above mediocrity in conduct as in courage. Jey Sing of Ambér, surnamed 'the Mirza Raja'; Jeswunt Sing of Marwar, with the Haras of Boondí and Kotah; the Rahtores of Bikanér, and Boondélas of Orcha and Duttea, were men whose prejudices, properly consulted, would have rendered the Mogul power indissoluble: but he had but one measure of contumely for all, which inspired Sevaji with designs of freedom to Mahrashtra, and withdrew every sentiment of support from the princes of Rajast'han. In subtlety and the most specious hypocrisy, in that concentration of resolve which confides its deep purpose to none, in every qualification of the warrior or scholar,² Arungzéb had no superior amongst

¹ Bernier, who was an eye-witness of these transactions, describes them far better than the Mogul historians, and his accounts tally admirably with the Rajpoot annals.

² We possess a most erroneous idea of the understanding of Asiatic princes, and the extent of its cultivation. Arungzéb's rebuke to his tutor *Moolla Salt*, who beset him with a sycophantic intrusion on his coming to the throne, may correct this, and, with the letter of Rana Raj Sing, give the European world juster notions of the powers of mind both of Hindu and Mahomedan. It is preserved by Bernier, who had ample opportunity to acquire a knowledge of them. (*From an edition in the author's possession, printed A.D. 1684, only three years after these events.*)

"What is it you would have of me, Doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief *Omrahs* of my court? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just; for I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father. But where are those good documents you have given me? In the first place, you have taught me that all that Frangistan (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little island, of which the greatest king was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England: and as to the other kings, as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty *Rajas*; telling me that the kings of Indostan were far above them all together, and that they were the true and only *Houmajons*, the *Ekbars*, the *Jehan-Guyres*, the *Chah-Jehans*, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world; and that Persia and Usbec, Kachguer, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China and Matchina did tremble at the name of the kings of Indostan. Admirable geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different states of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments, and interests; and, by the perusal of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors those great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name of my grand-sires, the famous founders of this empire: so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquests. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write. I am much obliged to you, forsooth, for having made me lose so much time upon a language that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the son of a king should think it to be an honour to him to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctancy, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsom and tedious, as is that of learning words.'

"Thus did Arung-Zebe resent the pedantic instructions of his tutor; to

the many distinguished of his race ; but that sin by which 'angels fell' had steeped him in an ocean of guilt, and not only neutralised his natural capacities, but converted the means for unlimited power into an engine of self-destruction. "This hypocrisy," says the eloquent Orme, "increased with his power, and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindus by the severest penalties, and even by the sword : as if the blood of his subjects were to wash away the stains from his hands, already encrimsoned with that of his family. Labour left the field and industry the loom, until the decrease of the revenues induced Arungzéb to substitute a capitation tax¹ as the balance of account between the two religions." The same historian justly characterises this enactment as one so contrary to all notions of sound policy, as well as of the feelings of humanity, that "reflection seeks the motive with amazement." In this amazement we might remain, nor seek to develop the motive, did not the ample page of history in all nations disclose that in the name of religion more blood has been shed, and more atrocity committed, than by

which 'tis affirmed in that court, that after some entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof :—

"Know you not, that childhood well govern'd, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions ? The law, prayers, and science, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue as in Arabick ? You told my father, *Chah Jehan*, that you would teach me philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very well, that you have entertain'd me for many years with airy questions of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use in humane society, empty notions and mere phancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand and very easie to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion that is insupportable. I still remember, that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex, and tire out the best wits, and only invented the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words are hid great mysteries which they alone are capable to understand. If you had season'd me with that philosophy which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons, if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity nor debased by adversity ; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are and what are the first principles of things, and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof ; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle, and believe it my duty to recompense you otherwise than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects and those of subjects to their sovereign ; and ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers ? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Indostan ? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what 'tis to besiege a town or to set an army in array ? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village whence you are come, and let no body know who you are or what is become of you."

¹ The Jezeya.

the united action of the whole catalogue of the passions. Mahomed's creed was based on conversion, which, by whatever means effected, was a plenary atonement for every crime. In obedience thereto Arungzéb acted ; but though myriads of victims who clung to their faith were sacrificed by him at the fiat of this gladiatorial prophet, yet nor these, nor the scrupulous fulfilment of fanatic observances, could soothe at the dread hour the perturbations of the 'still small voice' which whispered the names of father, brother, son, bereft by him of life. Eloquently does he portray these terrors in his letters to his grandson on his death-bed, wherein he says, "Whichever way I look, I see only the divinity"—and that an offended divinity.¹

¹ I deem it right, in order further to illustrate the cultivated understanding of Arungzéb, to annex the letters written to his sons a few days before his death. With such talents, with so just a conception as these and the rebuke to his tutor evince of his knowledge of the right, what might he not have been had not fell ambition misguided him !

" To Shaw Azim Shaw.

"Health to thee ! my heart is near thee. Old age is arrived : weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting, there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son (Kaum Buksh), though gone towards Beejapore, is still near ; and thou, my son, are yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shaw Aulum, is far distant ; and my grandson (Azeem Ooshaun), by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

"I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me ; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bukht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter), appears afflicted ; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell ! farewell ! farewell ! "

" To the Prince Kaum Buksh.

"My son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me ? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence ! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever which troubled me for twelve days has left me. Wherever I look, I see *nothing* but the divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great : but, alas ! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken ; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or

Raj Sing had signalised his accession by the revival of the warlike *Teeka-dour*, and plundered Malpoora, which though on the Ajmér frontier, Shah Jehán, when advised to vengeance, replied "it was only a folly of his nephew."¹ An appeal to his gallantry made him throw down the gauntlet to Arungzéb in the plenitude of his power, when the valour of the Seesodias again burst forth in all the splendour of the days of Pertáp ; nor did the contest close till after a series of brilliant victories, and with the narrow escape from captivity of the Xerxes of Hindust'han. The Mogul demanded the hand of the princess of Roopnagurh, a junior branch of the Marwar house, and sent with the demand (a compliance with which was contemplated as certain) a cortège of two thousand horse to escort the fair to court. But the haughty Rajpootni, either indignant at such precipitation or charmed with the gallantry of the Rana, who had evinced his devotion to the fair by measuring his sword with the head of her house, rejected with disdain the proffered alliance, and, justified by brilliant precedents in the romantic history of her nation, she entrusted her cause to the arm of the chief of the Rajpoot race, offering herself as the reward of protection. The family priest (her preceptor) deemed his office honoured by being the messenger of her wishes, and the billet he conveyed is incorporated in the memorial of this reign. "Is the swan to be the mate of the stork : a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian !" concluding with a threat of self-destruction if not saved from dishonour. This appeal, with other powerful motives, was seized on with avidity by the Rana as a pretext to throw away the scabbard, in order to illustrate the opening of a warfare, in which he determined to put all to the hazard in defence of his country and his faith. The issue was an omen of success to his warlike and superstitious vassalage. With a chosen band he rapidly passed the foot of the Aravulli and appeared before Roopnagurh, cut up the imperial guards, and bore off the prize to his capital. The daring act was applauded by all who bore the name of Rajpoot, and his chiefs with joy gathered their retainers around the 'red standard,' to protect the queen so gallantly achieved.

their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Behadur Shaw is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. *Odiaporee*,¹ your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death ; but every thing has its appointed time.

"The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekkoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself ; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul ; but I see that mine is departing."—*Memoirs of Eradul Khan*. See Scott's *Hist. of the Dekhan*.

¹ The emperor was the adopted brother of Rana Kurrun.

¹ Orme calls her a Cashmerian ; certainly she was not a daughter of the Rana's family, though it is not impossible she may have been of one of the great families of Shahpoora or Bunéra (then acting independently of the Rana), and her desire to burn shows her to have been Rajpoot.

The annalist of Rajpootana is but an indifferent chronologist, and leaves us doubtful of the exact succession of events at this period. It was not, however, till the death of those two powerful princes, Jeswunt Sing of Marwar and Jey Sing of Ambér, both poisoned by command of the tyrant, the one at his distant government of Cabul, the other in the Dekhan, that he deemed himself free to put forth the full extent of his long-concealed design, the imposition of the *jezeeya* or capitation tax, on the whole Hindu race. But he miscalculated his measures, and the murder of these princes, far from advancing his aim, recoiled with vengeance on his head. Foiled in his plot to entrap the infant sons of the Rahtore by the self-devotion of his vassals,¹ the compound treachery evinced that their only hope lay in a deadly resistance. The mother of Ajit, the infant heir of Marwar, a woman of the most determined character, was a princess of Méwar, and she threw herself upon the Rana as the natural guardian of his rights, for sanctuary (*sirna*) during the dangers of his minority. This was readily yielded, and Kailwa assigned as his residence, where under the immediate safeguard of the brave Doorga-das Ajit resided,² while she nursed the spirit of resistance at home. A union of interests was cemented between these the chief states of Rajpootana, for which they never before had such motive, and but for repeated instances of an ill-judged humanity, the throne of the Moguls might have been completely overturned.

On the promulgation of that barbarous edict, the *jezeeya*, the Rana remonstrated by letter, in the name of the nation of which he was the head, in a style of such uncompromising dignity, such lofty yet temperate resolve, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence, such elevated ideas of the Divinity with such pure philanthropy, that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime, or condition.³ In this are contained the true principles

¹ Two hundred and fifty Rajpoots opposed five thousand of the Imperialists at a pass, till the family of Jeswunt escaped.

² The Rana received the young Rahtore with the most princely hospitality, and among other gifts a diamond worth ten thousand dinárs is enumerated.

³ This letter, first made known to Europe by Orme, has by him been erroneously attributed to Jeswunt Sing of Marwar, who was dead before the promulgation of the edict, as the mention of *Ramsing* sufficiently indicates, whose father, Jy Sing, was contemporary with Jeswunt, and ruled nearly a year after his death. My Moonshee obtained a copy of the original letter at Oodipoor, where it is properly assigned to the Rana. It were superfluous to give a translation after the elegant production of Sir W. B. Rouse.

“ Letter from Rana Raj Sing to Arungzéb.

“ All due praise be rendered to the glory of the Almighty, and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I, your well-wisher, have separated from your sublime presence, I am nevertheless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajahs, and Roys of the provinces of Hindostan, and the chiefs of Aeraun, Turaun, Room, and Shawn, the inhabitants of the seven climates, and all persons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and your majesty's condescension, I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances, in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested.

“ I have been informed that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well-wisher; and that you

of Christianity, and to the illustrious Gentile, and such as acted as he did, was pointed that golden sentence of toleration, "Those who have not the law, yet do by nature the things contained in the law, shall be a law unto themselves."

This letter, the sanctuary afforded Ajít, and (what the historical have ordered a tribute to be levied to satisfy the exigencies of your exhausted treasury.

"May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or Mahomed; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour: insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of *Juggul Gooroo* (Guardian of Mankind).

"His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangheer, likewise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection over the heads of his people; successful by a constant fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm in business.

"Nor less did the illustrious Shâh Jehân, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

"Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, wheresoever they directed their steps, conquest and prosperity went before them; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and farther loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to the soldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants complaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindoos destitute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation.

"How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people thus miserably reduced? At this juncture it is told from east to west, that the emperor of Hindostan, jealous of the poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Brahmins, Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sanyasees; that, regardless of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he condescends to exercise his power over the solitary inoffensive anchorite. If your majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in His presence. Distinctions of colour are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples, to His name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, presume not to arraign or scrutinise the various works of power divine.

"In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice: it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country: moreover, it is an innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan. But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to determine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the rules of equity, to have been made first upon Ramsing, who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will have less difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind. It is wonderful that the ministers of your government should have neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of rectitude and honour."

parasite of the Mogul's life dared not indite ¹) the carrying off of his betrothed, made him pour out all the phials of his wrath against the devoted Méwar, and his preparations more resembled those for the conquest of a potent kingdom than the subjugation of a Rajpoot *zemindar*,² a vassal of that colossal empire, on whose surface his domain was but a speck. In the very magnitude of these, the Suzerain of Hindust'han paid the highest tribute of praise to the tributary Rajpoot, for he denuded the very extremities of his empire to assemble a host which he deemed must prove irresistible. Akber was recalled from his province, Bengal; Azim from the distant Cabul; and even Mauzum (the Mogul's heir) from the war in the Dekhan. With this formidable array ³ the emperor entered Méwar, and soon reduced the low countries, which experience had taught them were indefensible, the inhabitants previously retiring with their effects to the hills. Chetore, Mandelgurh, Mundisor, Jeerun, and many other strongholds were obtained after the usual form of opposition, and garrisoned by the Moguls. Meanwhile the Rana was animating the might of the Aravulli, where he meditated a resistance proportioned to the peril which threatened every cherished prejudice of his race: not the mere defence of dominion or dignity, but a struggle, *pro aris et focis*, around which rallied every Rajpoot with the most deadly determination. Even the primitive races of the western wilds, "the Palindas ⁴ and Palipats ⁴ (*lord of the passes*), with thousands of bows, and hearts devoted in the cause of Hinduput,"⁵ assembled round the red banner of Méwar. The Rana divided his forces into three bodies. His eldest son, Jey Sing, was posted on the crest of the Aravulli, ready to act on the invaders from either side of the mountains. Prince Bheem was to the west, to keep up the communications with the outlets to Guzzerat; while the Rana, with the main body, took post in the Naén defile, unassailable by the enemy, and hanging on his left flank, ready to turn it, and cut off all retreat the moment the Imperialists entered the mountains. Arungzéb advanced to Dobarri, but instead of entering the valley of which it was the gorge, he halted, and by the advice of Tyber Khan sent on Prince Akber with fifty thousand men to the capital. This caution of the wily monarch saved him from the ably planned scheme of the Rajpoot prince, who evinced a thorough knowledge ⁶ of the topography of this intricate and romantic portion of his domain. The *Girwo*, emphatically '*the Circle*,' from which the valley of the capital is named, has this form to the eye when viewing it from thence as a centre. It is, however,

¹ It is well known that Arungzéb forbade the continuation of the history of his life, subsequent to that portion comprehending the first ten years.

² The epithet by which these Tatar sovereigns affected to call the indigenous (*blámia*) princes.

³ There were no such field trains in Europe as those of the Moguls. Seventy pieces of heavy ordnance, sixty of *horse artillery*, and a dromedary corps three hundred strong, mounting swivels, accompanied the emperor on an *excursion* to Cashmere. Bernier, who gives this detail, describes what he saw.

⁴ *Pál* is the local term for these long defiles, the residence of the mountaineers: their *chiefs* are called *Indras*, *Pati*, in bhaka, *Put*.

⁵ Chief of the Hindus.

⁶ The Suktawut leader, Gureeb Dás, has the merit of having prompted this plan. His speech on the advance of Arungzéb is given in the Annals; and his advice, "Let the king have free entrance through the passes, shut him in, and make famine his foe," was literally followed, with the hard knocks, which being a matter-of-course accompaniment, the gallant Suktawut deemed it unnecessary to specify.

an irregular ellipse of about fourteen miles in length from south to north, and about eleven in breadth from east to west, the capital being situated towards the extremity of the transverse axis, having only the lake Pëshola between it and the base of the Aravulli. The mountains of this circular (*girwo*) valley, ranging from eight to twelve hundred feet in height, are of primitive formation, and raise their fantastic pinnacles in every diversity of shape over each other. To the westward the grand chain rises two thousand feet above the plains, and might be termed the chord, of which the Girwo is an irregular segment of a circle, less in height, and far less compound in character. Towards the plains east, it has three practicable passes; one, the more northern, by Dailwarra; the other (central), by Dobarri; a third, leading to the intricacies of Chuppun, that of Naén. Of these three passes the emperor chose the most practicable, and encamped near the Oody-sagur lake, on the left of its entrance.

Prince Akber advanced. "Not a soul interrupted his progress to the city. "Palaces, gardens, lakes, and isles met his eye, but no living thing: all was silence." Akber encamped. Accustomed to this desertion from the desire of the people to avoid a licentious soldiery, and lulled into a hardy security, he was surprised by the heir of Méwar. Some were praying, some feasting, some at chess: "they came to steal and yet fell asleep," says the annalist, and were dispersed with terrific and unrelenting slaughter. Cut off from the possibility of a junction with the emperor by a movement of a part of the Rana's personal force, Akber attempted a retreat to the plains of Marwar by the route of Gogoonda. It was a choice of evils, and he took the worst. The allodial vassals of the mountains, with the Bhil auxiliaries, outstripped his retreat, and blocked up farther egress in one of those long-extended valleys termed *Nal*, closed by a natural rampart or *Col*, on which they formed *abbatis* of trees, and manning the crests on each side, hurled destruction on the foe; while the prince, in like manner, blocked up the entrance and barred retrogression. Death menaced them in every form. For several days they had only the prospect of surrender to save them from famine and a justly incensed foe, when an ill-judged humanity on the part of Jey Sing saved them from annihilation. He admitted overtures, confided in protestations to renounce the origin of the war, and gave them guides to conduct them by the defile of Jilwarra, nor did they halt till protected by the walls of Cheetore.¹

¹ Orme, who has many valuable historical details of this period, makes Arungzéb in person to have been in the predicament assigned by the annals to his son, and to have escaped from the operation of those high and gallant sentiments of the Rajpoot, which make him no match for a wily adversary.

"In the meantime Aurengzebe was carrying on the war against the Rana of Cheetore, and the Raja of Marwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of the preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the accessible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the vallies, within the mountains; the army advanced amongst the defiles with incredible labour, and with so little intelligence, that the division which moved with Aurengzebe himself was unexpectedly stopped by insuperable defences and precipices in front; whilst the Rajpoots in one night closed the streights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees; and from their stations above prevented all endeavours of the troops, either within or without, from removing the obstacle. Udeperri, the favourite and Circassian wife of Aurengzebe, accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and escort was enclosed in another part of the mountains; her conductors, dreading to expose her person to danger or public view, surrendered. She was carried to the Rana, who received her with homage and every attention. Meanwhile the

Another body of the Imperialists, under the celebrated Delhire Khan, who entered by the Daisoori Pass from Marwar (probably with a view of extricating Prince Akber), were allowed to advance unopposed, and when in the long intricate gorge were assailed by Bikram Solanki¹ and Gopinath Rahtore² (both nobles of Méwar), and after a desperate conflict entirely destroyed. On each occasion a vast booty fell into the hands of the Rajpoots.

So ably concerted was this mountain warfare, that these defeats were the signal for a simultaneous attack by the Rana on Arungzéb, who, with his son Azim, watched at Dobarri the result of the operations under Akber and Delhire. The great home-clans had more than their wonted rivalry to sustain them, for the gallant Doorga-das with the Rahtore swords (*tulwár Rahtorán*) whetted by an accumulation of wrongs, were to combat with them against their common oppressor; and nobly did they contest the palm of glory. The tyrant could not withstand them: his guns, though manned by *Franks*, could not protect him against the just cause and avenging steel of the Rajpoot, and he was beaten and compelled to disgraceful flight, with an immense loss in men and equipment. The Rana had to lament many brave leaders, home and auxiliary; and the imperial standard, elephants, and state equipage fell into his hands, the acquisition of Mohkim and the Suktawuts. This glorious encounter occurred in the spring month of Falgoon, S. 1737.³

The discomfited forces formed a junction under the walls of Cheetore, whence the emperor dictated the recall of his son, Prince Mauzum, from the Dekhan, deeming it of greater moment to regain lost importance in the north than to prevent the independence of Sevaji. Meanwhile the activity of Sawuldás (descended from the illustrious Jeimul) cut off the communication between Cheetore and Ajmér, and alarmed the tyrant for his personal safety. Leaving, therefore, this perilous warfare to his sons Azim and Akber, with instructions how to act till reinforced,—foiled in his vengeance and personally disgraced, he abandoned Méwar, and at the head of his guards repaired to Ajmér. Thence he detached Khan Rohilla, with twelve thousand men, against Sawuldás, with supplies and equipments for

emperor himself might have perished by famine, of which the Rana let him see the risque, by a confinement of two days; when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their stations, and suffer the way to be cleared. As soon as Aurongzebe was out of danger, the Rana sent back his wife, accompanied by a chosen escort, who only requested in return that he would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion which might still be left in the plains; but Aurongzebe, who believed in no virtue but self-interest, imputed the generosity and forbearance of the Rana to the fear of future vengeance, and continued the war. Soon after he was again well-nigh enclosed in the mountains. This second experience of difficulties beyond his age and constitution, and the arrival of his sons, Azim and Acbar, determined him not to expose himself any longer in the field, but to leave its operations to their conduct, superintended by his own instructions from Azmir; to which city he retired with the households of his family, the officers of his court, and his bodyguard of four thousand men, dividing the army between his two sons, who each had brought a considerable body of troops from their respective governments. They continued the war each in a different part of the country, and neither at the end of the year had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains."

¹ Chief of Roopnagurh.

² Chief of Ganora, in Godwar, now alienated from Méwar.

³ March 1681, A.D.

his sons. The Rahtore, joined by the troops of Marwar, gave him the meeting at Poorh Mandel, and defeated the Imperialists with great loss, driving them back on Ajmér.

While the Rana, his heir and auxiliaries, were thus triumphant in all their operations, Prince Bheem with the left division was not idle, but made a powerful diversion by the invasion of Guzzerat, captured Edur, expelling Hussun and his garrison, and proceeding by Birnuggur, suddenly appeared before Puttun, the residence of the provincial satrap, which he plundered. Sidpoor, Mhourasso, and other towns shared the same fate; and he was in full march to Surat, when the benevolence of the Rana, touched at the woes of the fugitives, who came to demand his forbearance, caused him to recall Bheem in the midst of his career.

Contrary to the Rajpoot character, whose maxim is *parcere subjectis*, they were compelled by the utter faithlessness of Arungzéb (chiefly vulnerable through his resources) to retaliate his excesses; and Dyal Sah, the civil minister, a man of high courage and activity, headed another flying force, which ravaged Malwa to the Nerbudda and Bétwa. Sarangpoor, Déwás, Saronj, Mandoo, Oojein, and Chandéri were plundered, and numerous garrisons put to the sword; and, to use the words of the Chronicle, "husbands abandoned their wives and children, and whatever could not be carried off was given to the flames." For once they avenged themselves, in imitation of the tyrant, even on the religion of their enemies: "the Kazees were bound and shaved, and the Korans thrown into wells." The minister was unrelenting and made Malwa a desert, and from the fruits of his incursions repaired the resources of his master. Flushed with success, he formed a junction with the heir of Méwar, and gave battle to Azím near Cheetore. On this occasion the flower of Méwar, with the Rahtore and Kheetchee auxiliaries,¹ were engaged, and obtained a glorious victory, the Mogul prince being defeated and pursued with great slaughter to Rinthumbor, which he entered. This was a just revenge, for it was Azím who surprised Cheetore the year preceding. In Méwar the contest terminated with the expulsion of the Imperialists from the country; when the Rana, in support of the rights of the minor prince of Marwar, united his arms to the forces of that state, and opened the campaign at Ganora, the chief town of Godwar. The heroic mother of the infant Rahtore prince, a daughter of Méwar, had, since the death of her husband, well supported his rights, having resisted every aggression and regained many lost advantages over their antagonist. Prince Bheem commanded the Seesodias, who formed a junction with the Rahtores, and gave battle to the royal forces led by Akber and Tyber Khan, whom they entirely defeated. The victory is chiefly attributed to a stratagem of a Rajpoot chief, who, having carried off five hundred camels from the Imperialists, conceived the idea of fixing torches to them and letting them loose in the royal camp; and, in the confusion produced by the charge of such a body, the Rajpoots assaulted them. On their continued successes, the Rana and his allies meditated the project of dethroning the tyrant and setting up his son Akber. The pernicious example of his

¹ Mokhim and Gunga Suktawuts, Rutten Chondawut of Saloombra, Chandrasén Jhala of Sadri, Subbul Sing Chohan of Baidla, Berri-Sal Pñar of Bijolli. Four of the chiefs made speeches on the eve preceding the battle, which are recorded in the Chronicle.

father towards Shah Jehán was not lost upon Akber, who favourably received the overture ; but he wanted the circumspection which characterised Arungzéb, whose penetration defeated the scheme when on the eve of execution. Already had the Rajpoot armies united with Akber, and the astrologer had fixed the day which was to exalt him ; but the revealer of secrets baffled his own prediction by disclosing it to the emperor. Arungzéb, attended only by his guards at Ajmér, had recourse to the same artifice which raised him to empire, in order to ward off this danger. Akber was but one day's march distant ; his elder sons, Mauzum and Azím, yet far off. Not a moment was to be lost : he penned a letter to his son, which by a spy was dropped in the tent of the Rajpoot leader Doorga-Das. In this he applauded a pretended scheme by which Akber was to fall upon them when they engaged the emperor. The same scheme had saved Shere Shah in this country from Maldeo, and has more recently been put in practice, and with like success, in the war with Sevaji. It succeeded. The Rajpoots detached themselves from the prince who had apparently betrayed them. Tyber Khan, in despair, lost his life in an attempt to assassinate the emperor, and before the artifice was discovered, the reinforcements under Mauzum and Azím arrived, and Arungzéb was saved. The Rajpoots still offered *siná* (refuge) to Akber ; but aware of his father's vigour of character, he deemed himself unsafe in his vicinage, and accepted the escort of five hundred Rajpoots led by Doorga-Das,¹ who cut their way through every opposition by the defiles of Méwar and Dongerpoor, and across the Nerbudda, to the Mahratta leader Sambaji, at Palergurh, whence he was shortly after conveyed in an English ship to Persia.

"The escape of Akber" (observes an historian,² who appreciated the importance of the transactions of this period) "to Sambaji, oppressed Arungzéb with as much anxiety, as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongst the Pat'hans ; and the consequence of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war against the Rajpoots, whose gallant activity prevented a speedy decision by the sword ; but the dignity of the throne precluded any overtures of peace to a resistance which had attempted the deposal, if not the life, of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer, who had long served with distinction under Delhír Khan, solved the difficulty : he quitted the army under pretence of retiring to his own country and visited the Rana as from courtesy on his journey.

¹ A portrait of this Rahtore hero was given to the author of the present work by his descendants. He was chief of Droonara, on the Looni. He saved his young sovereign's life from the tyrant, and guarded him during a long minority, heading the Rahtores in all the wars for the independence of his country. A bribe of forty thousand *gold suns* was sent to him by Azím *without stipulation*, when conveying Akber out of danger. The object was obvious, yet the Mogul prince dared not even specify his wishes. It is needless to say that Doorga spurned the offer.

² "We are not without hopes that some of the many in India who have the means will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the inquiry ; for, besides the magnitude of the events and the energy of the characters which arise within this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connexion or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurungzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors."—Orme's *Fragments*, p. 165.

The conversation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented, and he persuaded the Rana that though Arungzéb would never condescend to make, he might accept overtures of peace: upon which he was empowered by the Rana to tender them." The domestic annals confirm this account, and give the name of this mediator, Raja Shiam Sing of Bikanér; but the negotiation was infamously protracted to the rains, the period when operations necessarily cease, and by which time Arungzéb had recruited his broken forces, and was again enabled to take the field; and it was concluded "without assertion or release of the capitation tax, but with the surrender of the districts taken from Cheetore, and the state of Jodpoor was included in the treaty." How correctly this elegant historian had obtained a knowledge of those events, a translation of the treaty evinces.¹ But these occurrences belong to the succeeding reign, for the Rana died about this period,² from wounds and vexation.

Once more we claim the reader's admiration on behalf of another patriot prince of Méwar, and ask him to contrast the indigenous Rajpoot with the emperor of the Moguls; though to compare them would be manifestly unjust, since in every moral virtue they were antipodes to each other. Arungzéb accumulated on his head more crimes than any prince who ever sat on an Asiatic throne. With all the disregard of life which marks his nation, he was never betrayed, even in the fever of success, into a single generous action; and, contrary to the prevailing principle of our nature, the moment of his foe's submission was that chosen for the malignant completion of his revenge: witness his scourging the prostrate King of Golconda. How opposite to the beneficence of the Rajpoot prince, who, when the most efficient means of self-defence lay in the destruction of the resources of his enemy, feeling for the miseries of the suffering population of his persecutor, recalled his son in the midst of victory! As a skilful

¹ "Jowab-sowal¹ of Soor Sing
and Nurhur Bhut

Punja, or impress of the Em-
'Munzoori,' written by himself.



(uncle of Rana Raj Sing)
with the Emperor.

peror's hand, with the word
Munzoori ('agreed').

"Your servants, according to your royal pleasure and summons, have been sent by the Rana to represent what is written underneath. We hope you will agree to these requests, besides others which will be made by Puddum Sing.

"1. Let Cheetore, with the districts adjacent appertaining thereto when it was inhabited, be restored.

"2. In such temples and places of Hindu religious resort as have been converted into mosques, the past cannot be recalled, but let this practice be abolished.

"3. The aid hitherto afforded to the empire by the Rana shall be continued, but let no additional commands be imposed.

"4. The sons and dependants of the deceased Raja Jeswunt Sing, so soon as enabled to perform their duties, we hope will have their country restored to them.²

"Respect prevents inferior demands. May the splendour of your fortune, like the sun illuminating the world, be for ever increasing and never set.

"The Arzi (requests) of your servants, Soor Sing and Nurhur Bhut."

² S. 1737, A.D. 1681.

¹ Treaties or engagements are thus designated; literally *stipulations* and *answers*.

² It was to defend the rights of the heir of Marwar, as well as to oppose the odious *jezeya*, that the Rana took to arms. Ajit was still under the Rana's safeguard.

general and gallant soldier, in the defence of his country, he is above all praise. As a chivalrous Rajpoot, his braving all consequences when called upon to save the honour of a noble female of his race, he is without parallel. As an accomplished prince and benevolent man, his dignified letter of remonstrance to Arungzéb on the promulgation of the capitation edict, places him high in the scale of moral as well as intellectual excellence; and an additional evidence of both, and of his taste for the arts, is furnished by the formation of the inland lake, the Rajsomund, with a slight account of which, and the motives for its execution, we shall conclude the sketch of this glorious epoch in the annals of Méwar.

LAKE RAJSUMUND.—This great national work is twenty-five miles north of the capital, and is situated on the declivity of the plain about two miles from the base of the Aravulli. A small perennial stream, called the *Gomtee* or 'serpentine,' flowing from these mountains, was arrested in its course, and confined by an immense embankment, made to form the lake called after himself, *Rajsomund*, or 'royal sea.' The *bund* or dam forms an irregular segment of a circle, embracing an extent of nearly three miles, and encircling the waters on every side except the space between the north-west and north-east points. This barrier, which confines a sheet of water of great depth, and about twelve miles in circumference, is entirely of white marble, with a flight of steps of the same material, throughout this extent, from the summit to the water's edge; the whole buttressed by an enormous rampart of earth, which, had the projector lived, would have been planted with trees to form a promenade. On the south side are the town and fortress built by the Rana, and bearing his name, Rajnuggur; and upon the embankment stands the temple of Kunkeraoli, the shrine of one of the seven forms (*saroorp*) of Crishna. The whole is ornamented with sculpture of tolerable execution for the age; and a genealogical sketch of the founder's family is inscribed in conspicuous characters. One million one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling,¹ contributed by the Rana, his chiefs and opulent subjects, was expended on this work, of which the material was from the adjacent quarries. But, magnificent, costly, and useful as it is, it derives its chief beauty from the benevolent motive to which it owes its birth: to alleviate the miseries of a starving population, and make their employment conducive to national benefit, during one of those awful visitations of providence, famine, and pestilence with which these states are sometimes afflicted.

It was in S. 1717,² only seven years after the accession of Raj Sing, that these combined evils reached Méwar, less subject to them, owing to its natural advantages, than any other state in India;³ and on Tuesday the 8th of Pos, *Hasti Nakhetra* (constellation of the elephant), as fixed by the astrologer, the first stone was laid. "The chief of Méwar, deeply meditating on this extreme distress, determined to raise a monument, by which the wretched might be supported and his own name perpetuated.

¹ Ninety-six lakhs of rupees.

² A.D. 1661.

³ From all I could learn, it was the identical pestilence which has been ravaging India for the last ten years, erroneously called *cholera morbus*. About thirty-five years ago the same disease carried off multitudes in these countries. Orme gives notice of something similar in A.D. 1684, in the imperial camp near Goa, when five hundred victims daily fell its prey. Méwar was not free from the last visitation of 1818, and the only son of the Rana was the first person attacked.

This was seven years in constructing, and at its commencement and termination all the rites of sacrifice and oblation were observed.

"The Rana went to implore favour at the temple of the 'four-armed'; for though Asár¹ was over, not a drop of rain fell from the heavens; and, in like manner, the months of Sawun¹ and Bhadoon¹ passed away. For want of water the world was in despair, and people went mad with hunger. Things unknown as food were eaten. The husband abandoned the wife, the wife the husband—parents sold their children—time increased the evil; it spread far and wide: even the insects died: they had nothing to feed on. Thousands of all ages became victims to hunger. Those who procured food to-day, ate twice what nature required. The wind was from the west, a pestilential vapour. The constellations were always visible at night, nor was there a cloud in the sky by day, and thunder and lightning were unknown. Such portents filled mankind with dread. Rivers, lakes, and fountains were dried up. Men of wealth meted out the portions of food. The ministers of religion forgot their duties. There was no longer distinction of caste, and the Soodra and Brahmin were undistinguishable. Strength, wisdom, caste, tribe, all were abandoned, and food alone was the object. The *Charburrun*² threw away every symbol of separation; all was lost in hunger. Fruits, flowers, every vegetable thing, even trees were stripped of their bark, to appease the cravings of hunger: nay, *man ate man*! Cities were depopulated. The seed of families was lost, the fishes were extinct, and the hope of all extinguished."³

Such is the simple yet terrific record of this pestilence, from which Méwar was hardly freed, when Arungzéb commenced the religious warfare narrated, with all its atrocities, still further to devastate this fair region. But a just retribution resulted from this disregard to the character and prejudices of the Rajpoots, which visited the emperor with shame, and his successors with the overthrow of their power.

CHAPTER XIV

Rana Jey Sing—Anecdote regarding him and his twin brother—The Rana and Prince Azim confer—Peace—Rupture—The Rana forms the Lake Jeysumund—Domestic broils—Umra, the heir-apparent, rebels—The Rana dies—Accession of Umra—His treaty with the heir of Arungzéb—Reflections on the events of this period—Imposition of the Jezeya or capitation tax—Alienation of the Rajpoots from the empire—Causes—Arungzéb's death—Contests for empire—Buhadoor Shah, emperor—The Sikhs declare for independence—Triple alliance of the Rajpoot states of Méwar, Marwar, and Ambér—They commence hostilities—Death of the Mogul Buhadoor Shah—Elevation of Ferochsér—He marries the daughter of the Prince of Marwar—Origin of the British power in India—The Rana treats with the emperor—The Jâts declare their independence—Rana Umra dies—His character.

RANA JEY SING took possession of the *Gadi*⁴ in S. 1737 (A.D. 1681). A circumstance occurred at his birth, which as descriptive of manners may

¹ The three months of rain, termed the *Bursât*.

² The four castes, sacerdotal, military, mercantile, and servile.

³ From the *Raj Vulas*, the chronicle of the reign of Raj Sing.

⁴ "The Cushion," by which a Rajpoot throne is designated.

deserve notice. A few hours only intervened between his entrance into the world and that of another son called Bheem. It is customary for the father to bind round the arm of the new-born infant a root of that species of grass called the *ámirdhob*, the 'imperishable' *dhob*, well known for its nutritive properties and luxuriant vegetation under the most intense heat. The Rana first attached the ligature round the arm of the youngest, apparently an oversight, though in fact from superior affection for his mother. As the boys approached to manhood, the Rana, apprehensive that this preference might create dissension, one day drew his sword, and placing it in the hand of Bheem (the elder), said, it was better to use it at once on his brother, than hereafter to endanger the safety of the state. This appeal to his generosity had an instantaneous effect, and he not only ratified, "*by his father's throne*,"¹ the acknowledgment of the sovereign rights of his brother, but declared, to remove all fears, "he was not his son if he again drank water within the pass of Dobari"; and, collecting his retainers, he abandoned Oodipoor to court Fortune where she might be kinder. The day was sultry, and on reaching the barrier he halted under the shade of a sacred fig-tree to bestow a last look upon the place of his birth. His cup-bearer (*Panairi*) brought his silver goblet filled from the cool fountain, but as he raised it to his lips, he recollected that his vow was incomplete while within the portal; he poured the libation on the earth in the name of the Supreme, and casting the cup as an offering to the deity of the fountain, the huge gates closed upon the valley. He proceeded to Buhadoor Shah, who conferred upon him the dignity (*munsab*) of a leader of three thousand five hundred horse, with the *Bawana*, or fifty-two districts for their support: but quarrelling with the imperial general, he was detached with his contingent west of the Indus, where he died.²

Let us return to Jey Sing (*the lion of victory*). He concluded a treaty with Arungzéb, conducted by Prince Azím and Delhír Khan, who took every occasion to testify his gratitude for the clemency of Rana Raj Sing, when blockaded in the defiles of the Aravulli. At this conference, the Rana was attended by ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot, besides the multitude collected from the mountains to view the ceremony, above one hundred thousand souls, who set up a shout of joy at the prospect of revisiting the plains, which disconcerted Azím, while Delhír expatiated on the perils from which the Rana's generosity had liberated him. Azím, who said he was no stranger to the Rana's illustrious house, concluded a treaty on the spot, in which, as a salvo for the imperial dignity, a nominal fine and surrender of three districts were inserted for aiding Akber's rebellion, and a hint that the regal colour (*crimson*) of his

¹ *Gádi ca An.*

² I give these anecdotes as related to me by his descendant and representative the Raja of Bunéra, while seated in a balcony of his castle overlooking the plains of Méwar. Often have I quenched my thirst at the fountain, and listened to their traditionary tales. It is a spot consecrated to recollections: every altar which rises around it is a text for the '*great ancients*' of the clans to expatiate on; and it is, moreover, a grand place of rendezvous, whether for the traveller or sportsman.

Bheem dislocated his spine in a feat of strength. He was celebrated for activity, and could, while his steed was urged to his speed, disengage and suspend himself by the arms from the bough of a tree; and to one of these experiments he owed his death.

tents and umbrella should be discontinued. That advantages were gained by the Rana, we may infer from Delhír's sons being left as hostages for Azím's good faith ; a fact we learn from his farewell address to the Rana : " Your nobles are rude, and my children are the hostages of your safety ; but if at the expense of their lives I can obtain the entire restoration of your country, keep your mind at ease, for there was friendship between your father and me."

But all other protection than what his sword afforded was futile ; and though Delhír's intentions were noble, he had little control over events : in less than five years after his accession, the Rana was again forced to fly the plains for the inaccessible haunts of Kamori. Yet, in spite of these untoward circumstances and uninterrupted warfare, such were the resources of this little state that the Rana completed a work which perpetuates his name. He threw a dam across a break in the mountains, the channel of an ever-flowing stream, by which he formed the largest lake in India, giving it his own name, the Jeysumund, or *sea of victory*. Nature had furnished the hint for this undertaking, for there had always existed a considerable volume of water ; but the Rana had the merit of uniting these natural buttresses, and creating a little sea from the *Dheybur pool*, its ancient appellation. The circumference cannot be less than thirty miles, and the benefits to cultivation, especially in respect to the article of rice, which requires perpetual irrigation, were great. On this huge rampart he erected a palace for his favourite queen, Comálá-devi, a princess of the Pramara race, familiarly known as the *Roota Ranee*, or " testy queen."

Domestic unhappiness appears to have generated in the Rana inaptitude to state affairs ; and, unluckily, the favoured queen estranged him from his son. Umra, a name venerated in Méwar, was that of the heir of Jey Sing. His mother was of the Boondí house, a family which has performed great services to, and brought great calamities upon, the ancient sovereigns of Méwar. To the jealousies of the rival queens, one of them mother to the heir, the other the favourite of the sovereign, are attributed dissensions, which at such a juncture were a greater detriment than the loss of a battle, and which afford another illustration, if any were wanting, of the impolicy of polygamy. The annals of Méwar seldom exhibit those unnatural contentions for power, from which no other Hindu state was exempt ; this was owing to the wholesome regulation of not investing the princes of the blood with any political authority ; and establishing as a counterpoise to natural advantages an artificial degradation of their rank, which placed them beneath the sixteen chief nobles of the state ; which, while it exalted these in their own estimation, lessened the national humiliation, when the heirs-apparent were compelled to lead their quota in the *arrière-ban* of the empire.

Rana Jey Sing, who had evinced such gallantry and activity in the wars of Arungzéb, now secluded himself with Comálá in the retreat of Jeysumund, leaving Umra under the guidance of the Pancholi minister, at the capital. But he having personally insulted this chief officer of the state, in consequence of receiving a rebuke for turning loose an infuriated elephant in the town, the Rana left his retreat, and visiting Cheetore in his tour, arrived at Oodipoor. Umra awaited not his father's arrival, but adding his mother's resentments to a feeling of patriotic indignation at the abasement his indolence produced, fled to Boondí, took up arms,

and, joined by many of his own nobles and Hara auxiliaries, returned at the head of ten thousand men. Desirous of averting civil war, the Rana retired to Godwar beyond the Aravulli, whence he sent the Ganora chieftain, the first feudatory of that department, to expostulate with his son. But Umra, supported by three-fourths of the nobles, made direct for Komulmér to secure the state treasure, saved by the Dépra governor for his sovereign. A failure in this project, the knowledge that the Rahtores fostered the quarrel with a view to obtain Godwar, and the determination of the few chiefs yet faithful¹ to the Rana, to defend the Jilwarra pass to the last, made the prince listen to terms, which were ratified at the shrine of Eklinga, whereby the Rana was to return to the capital, and the prince to abide in exile at the new palace during the life of his father, which closed twenty years after his accession. Had he maintained the reputation he established in his early years, the times were well calculated for the redemption of his country's independence; but documents which yet exist afford little reason to doubt that in his latter years a state of indolence, having all the effects of imbecility, supervened, and but for the formation of 'the victorious sea,' would have left his name a blank in the traditional history of Méwar.

Umra II., who succeeded in S. 1756 (A.D. 1700), had much of the gallantry and active turn of mind of his illustrious namesake; but the degrading conflict with his father had much impaired the moral strength of the country, and counteracted the advantages which might have resulted from the decline of the Mogul power. The reigns of Raj Sing and Jey Sing illustrate the obvious truth, that on the personal character of the chief of a feudal government everything depends. The former, infusing by his talent and energy patriotic sentiments into all his subordinates, vanquished in a series of conflicts the vast military resources of the empire, led by the emperor, his sons, and chosen generals; while his successor, heir to this moral strength, and with every collateral aid, lowered her to a stage of contempt from which no talent could subsequently raise her.

Umra early availed himself of the contentions amongst the sons of Arungzébb to anticipate events, and formed a private treaty² with the

¹ Béri Sál of Bijollí, Kandul of Saloombra, Gopinat'h of Ganora, and the Solanki of Daisoori.

² " *Private Treaty between the Rana and Shah Alum Buhadoor Shah, and bearing his sign-manual.*

" Six articles of engagement, just, and tending to the happiness of the people, have been submitted by you, and by me accepted, and with God's blessing shall be executed without deviation—

" 1. The re-establishment of Chectore as in the time of Shah Jehan.

" 2. Prohibition of kine-killing.¹

¹ From the second of these articles, which alternate between stipulations of a temporal and spiritual nature, we may draw a lesson of great political importance. In all the treaties which have come under my observation, the insertion of an article against the slaughter of kine was prominent. This sacrifice to their national prejudices was the subject of discussion with every ambassador when the states of Rajast'han formed engagements with the British government in 1817-8, "the prohibition of kine-killing within their respective limits." From the construction of our armies we could not guarantee this article, but assurances were given that every practical attention would be paid to their wishes; and kine are not absolutely slain within the jurisdiction of any of these Rajpoot princes. But even long habit, though it has familiarised, has not

Mogul heir-apparent, Shah Alum, when commanded to the countries west of the Indus, on which occasion the Méwar contingent¹ accompanied him, and fought several gallant actions under a Suktawut chieftain.

It is important to study the events of this period, which involved the overthrow of the Mogul power, and originated that form of society which paved the way to the dominion of Britain in these distant regions. From such a review a political lesson of great value may be learned, which will show a beacon warning us against the danger of trusting to mere physical power, unaided by the latent, but more durable support of moral influence. When Arungzéb neglected the indigenous Rajpoots, he endangered the key-stone of his power; and in despising opinion, though his energetic mind might for a time render him independent of it, yet long before his death the enormous fabric reared by Akber was tottering to its foundation: demonstrating to conviction that the highest order of talent, either for government or war, though aided by unlimited resources, will not suffice for the maintenance of power, unsupported by the affections of the governed. The empire of Arungzéb was more extensive than that of Britain at this day—the elements of stability were incomparably more tenacious: he was associated with the Rajpoots by blood, which seemed to guarantee a respect for their opinions; he possessed the power of distributing the honours and emoluments of the state, when a service could be rewarded by a province,² drawing at will supplies of warriors from the

"3. The restoration of all the districts held in the reign of Shah Jehan.

"4. Freedom of faith and religious worship, as during the government of him whose *nest is Paradise* (Akber).

"5. Whoever shall be dismissed by you shall receive no countenance from the king.

"6. The abrogation of the contingent for the service of the Dekhan."¹

¹ It consisted of twenty-two *Nagarbund* chiefs, *i.e.* each entitled to a kettle-drum, and fifteen *Toorads*, or chiefs, entitled to brass trumpets.

² In lieu of all, what reward does Britain hold out to the native population to be attached? Heavy duties exclude many products of their industry from

reconciled them to this revolting sacrifice; nor would the kine-killer in Méwar be looked upon with less detestation than was Cambyzes by the Egyptians, when he thrust his lance into the flank of Apis. But in time this will be overlooked, and the verbal assurance will become a dead letter; men of good intention will be lulled into the belief that, because not openly combated, the prejudice is extinct, and that homage to our power has obliterated this article of their creed. Thus Arungzéb thought, but he avowedly and boldly opposed the religious opinions of his tributaries; we only hold them in contempt, and even protect them when productive of no sacrifice. Yet if we look back on the early page of history, we shall find both policy and benevolence combined to form this legislative protection to one of the most useful of domestic animals, and which would tempt the belief that Triptolemus, the lawgiver of Sparta, had borrowed from Menu, or rather from the still greater friends of dumb creatures, the Jains, in the law which exempted not only the lordly bull from the knife, but "every living thing."

¹ The Méwar contingent had been serving under Azím in the south, as the following letter from him to the Rana discloses:—

"Be it known to Rana Umra Sing, your arzee arrived, and the accounts of your mother gave me great grief, but against the decrees of God there is no struggling. Pray for my welfare. Raja Raé Sing made a request for you; you are my own; rest in full confidence and continue in your obedience. The lands of your illustrious ancestors shall all be yours—but this is the time to evince your duty—the rest learn from your own servants—continue to think of me."

"Your Rajpoots have behaved well."

mountains of the west, as a check on his indigenous subjects, while these left the plains of India to control the Afghan amidst the snows of Caucasus. But the most devoted attachment and most faithful service were repaid by insults to their habits, and the imposition of an obnoxious tax; and to the *jeseva*, and the unwise pertinacity with which his successors adhered to it, must be directly ascribed the overthrow of the monarchy. No condition was exempted from this odious and impolitic assessment, which was deemed by the tyrant a mild substitute for the conversion he once meditated of the entire Hindu race to the creed of Islam.

An abandonment of their faith was the Rajpoot's surest road to the tyrant's favour, and an instance of this dereliction in its consequences powerfully contributed to the annihilation of the empire. Rao Gopál, a branch of the Rana's family, held the fief of Rampoorá, on the Chumbul,¹ and was serving with a select quota of his clan in the wars of the Dekhan, when his son, who had been left at home, withheld the revenues, which he applied to his own use instead of remitting them to his father. Rao Gopál complained to the emperor; but the son discovered that he could by a sacrifice not only appease Arungzéb, but attain the object of his wishes: he apostatised from his faith, and obtained the emperor's forgiveness, with the domain of Rampoorá. Disgusted and provoked at such infurious conduct, Rao Gopál fled the camp, made an unsuccessful attempt to redeem his estate, and took refuge with Rana Umra, his suzerain. This natural asylum granted to a chief of his own kin was construed by the tyrant into a signal of revolt, and Azím was ordered to Malwa to watch the Rana's motions: conduct thus characterised in the memoirs of a Rajpoot chieftain,² one of the most devoted to Arungzéb, and who died fighting for his son. "The emperor showed but little favour to his faithful and most useful subjects the Rajpoots, which greatly cooled their ardour in his service." The Rana took up arms, and Malwa joined the tumult; while the first irruption of the Mahrattas across the Nerbudda,³ under Neema Sindia, compelled the emperor to detach Raja Jey Sing to join Prince Azím. Amidst these accumulated troubles, the Mahrattas rising into importance, the Rajpoot feudatories disgusted and alienated, his sons and grandsons ready to commit each individual pretension to the decision of the sword, did Arungzéb, after a reign of terror of half a century's duration, breathe his last on the 28th Zekaud, A.D. 1707, at the city bearing his name—Arungabad.

At his death his second son Azím assumed the imperial dignity, and aided by the Rajpoot princes of Duttea and Kotah,⁴ who had always served in his division, he marched to Agra to contest the legitimate claims of his eldest brother Mauzum, who was advancing from Cabul supported by the contingents of Méwar and Marwar, and all western Rajwarra. The

the home market. The rates of pay to civil officers afford no security to integrity; and the faithful soldier cannot aspire to higher reward than £120 per annum, were his breast studded with medals. Even their prejudices are often too little considered, prejudices, the violation of which lost the throne of India, in spite of every local advantage, to the descendants of Arungzéb.

¹ Rampoorá *Bhánpoora* (city of the sun) to distinguish it from Rampoorá *Tonk*. Rao Gopál was of the Chanderawut clan. See note, p. 212.

² Rao Dulput Boondéla of Duttea, a portion of whose memoirs were presented to me by the reigning prince, his descendant.

³ A.D. 1706-7.

⁴ Rao Dulput (Boondéla), and Rao Ram Sing (Hara).

battle of Jajow was fatal to Azim, who with his son Bedar-bukt and the princes of Kotah and Duttea was slain, when Mauzum ascended the throne under the title of Shah Alum Buhadoor Shah. This prince had many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoots, to whom his sympathies were united by the ties of blood, his mother being a Rajpoot princess. Had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Shah Jehan, the race of Timoor, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Dehli, and might have presented a picture of one of the most powerful monarchies of Asia. But Arungzéb had inflicted an incurable wound on the mind of the Hindu race, which for ever estranged them from his successors; nor were the virtues of Buhadoor, during the short lustre of his sway, capable of healing it. The bitter fruit of a long experience had taught the Rajpoots not to hope for amelioration from any graft of that stem, which, like the deadly Upas, had stifled the vital energies of Rajast'han, whose leaders accordingly formed a league for mutual preservation, which it would have been madness to dissolve merely because a fair portion of virtue was the inheritance of the tyrant's successor. They had proved that no act of duty or subserviency could guarantee them from the infatuated abuse of power, and they were at length steeled against every appeal to their loyalty, replying with a trite adage, which we may translate "*quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*,"—of common application with the Rajpoot in such a predicament.

The emperor was soon made to perceive the little support he had in future to expect from the Rajpoots. Scarcely had he quashed the pretensions of Kambuksh, his youngest brother, who proclaimed himself emperor in the Dekhan, than he was forced to the north, in consequence of an insurrection of the Sikhs of Lahore. This singular race, the disciples (*sikhs*) of a teacher called Nanuk, were the descendants of the Scythic Gete,¹ or Jit, of Transoxiana, who so early as the fifth century were established in the tract watered by the five arms (*Punjab*) of the Indus. Little more than a century has elapsed since their conversion from a spurious Hinduism to the doctrines of the sectarian Nanuk, and their first attempt to separate themselves, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, from all control, and they are now the sole independent power within the limits of the Mogul monarchy. On this occasion² the princes of Ambér and Marwar visited the emperor, but left his camp without permission, and, as the historian³ adds, manifested a design to struggle for independence. Such was the change in their mutual circumstances that the Mogul sent the heir-apparent to conciliate and conduct them to him; but they came at the head of all their native bands, when "they were gratified with whatever their insolence demanded":⁴ a splenetic effusion of the historian, which well paints their altered position. From the royal *oordoo*,⁵ or camp, they repaired to Rana Umra at Oodipoor, where a triple league was formed, which once more united them to the head of their nation. This treaty of unity of interests against the common foe was solemnised by nuptial engagements, from which those princes had been excluded since

¹ See *History of the Tribes*, article "Jits," p. 88.

² A.D. 1709-10.

³ *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, p. 58; also autograph letters of all those princes, with files of the regular newspapers (*akbars*) of the day, in my possession, dated from the emperor's camp.

⁴ *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*.

⁵ Hence the corruption of *horde*.

the reigns of Akber and Pertáp. To be readmitted to this honour was the basis of this triple alliance, in which they ratified on oath the renunciation of all connection, domestic or political, with the empire. It was, moreover, stipulated that the sons of such marriage should be heirs, or if the issue were females, that they should never be dishonoured by being married to a Mogul.

But this remedy, as will be seen, originated a worse disease; it was a sacrifice of the rights of primogeniture (clung to by the Rajpoots with extreme pertinacity), productive of the most injurious effects, which introduced domestic strife, and called upon the stage an umpire not less baneful than the power from whose iron grasp they were on the point of freeing themselves: for although this treaty laid prostrate the throne of Baber, it ultimately introduced the Mahrattas as partisans in their family disputes, who made the bone of contention their own.

The injudicious support afforded by the emperor to the apostate chief of Rampoorra first brought the triple federation into action. The Rana, upholding the cause of Himmut Sing, made an attack on Rampoorra, which the apostate usurper Ruttun Sing, now *Raj Mooslim Khan*, defeated, and was rewarded for it by the emperor.¹ But the same report conveyed to the king "*that the Rana determined to lay waste his country, and retire to the hills,*"² which was speedily confirmed by the unwelcome intelligence that Sawuldás, an officer of the Rana's, had attacked Feeroz Khan, the governor of Poorh Mandel, who was obliged to retreat with great loss to Ajmér;³ on which occasion this loyal descendant of the illustrious Jeimul lost his life.⁴ The brave Doorga-Das, who conveyed the rebellious Akber through all opposition to a place of refuge, again appeared upon the stage—his own prince being unable to protect him, he had found a safe asylum at Oodipoor, and had the sum of five hundred rupees daily paid for his expenditure—a princely liberality. But the result of this combination was reserved for the following reigns, Shah Alum being carried off by poison,⁵ ere he could correct the disorders which were rapidly breaking up the empire from the Hindu-Koosh to the ocean. Had his life been spared, his talents for business, his experience, and courteous manners might have retarded the ruin of the monarchy, which the utter unworthiness of his successor sunk beyond the power of man to redeem. Every subsequent succession was through blood; and the sons of Shah Alum performed the part for which they had so many great examples. Two brothers,⁶ Syeds, from the town of Bareh in the Doáb, were long the Warwicks of Hindust'han, setting up and plucking down its puppet kings at their pleasure; they had elevated Ferochsér when the triumvirs of Rajast'han commenced their operations.

Giving loose to long-suppressed resentment, the Rajpoots abandoned the spirit of toleration which it would have been criminal to preserve;

¹ Newspapers, dated 3rd Rejib, Sun. 3—(3rd year of his reign).

² Newspapers, 10th Rejib, Sun. 3.

³ Newspapers, 5th Shaval, Sun. 3.

⁴ The following edict, which caused this action, I translated from the archives; it is addressed to the son of Sawuldás:—

"Mahrana Umra Sing to Rahtore Raé Sing *Sawuldasote* (race of Sawuldás)—

"Lay waste your villages and the country around you—your families shall have other habitations to dwell in—for particulars consult Dowlut Sing Chondawut: obey these."—Asoj, S. 1764 (Dec. A.D. 1708).

⁵ A.D. 1712.

⁶ Husein Alli and Abdoolla Khan.

and profiting by the lessons of their tyrants, they overthrew the mosques built on the sites of their altars, and treated the civil and religious officers of the government with indignity. Of these every town in Rajast'han had its *moolâh* to proclaim the name of Mahomed, and its *câzi* for the administration of justice,—branches of government entirely wrested from the hands of the native princes,¹ abusing the name of independence. But for a moment it was redeemed, especially by the brave Rahtores, who had made a noble resistance, contesting every foot of land since the death of Jeswunt Sing, and now his son Ajît entirely expelled the Moguls from Marwar. On this occasion the native forces of the triple alliance met at the salt lake of Sambur, which was made the common boundary of their territory, and its revenues were equally divided amongst them.

The pageant of an emperor, guided by the Syeds, or those who intrigued to supplant their ministry, made an effort to oppose the threatening measures of the Rajpoots; and one of them, the Ameer-ool Omra,² marched against Raja Ajît, who received private instructions from the emperor to resist his commander-in-chief, whose credit was strengthened by the means taken to weaken it, which engendered suspicions of treachery. Ajît leagued with the Syeds, who held out to the Rahtore an important share of power at court, and agreed to pay tribute and give a daughter in marriage to Ferochsér.

This marriage yielded most important results, which were not confined to the Moguls or Rajpoots, for to it may be ascribed the rise of the British power in India. A dangerous malady,³ rendering necessary a surgical operation upon Ferochsér, to which the faculty of the court were unequal, retarded the celebration of the nuptials between the emperor and the Rajpoot princess of Marwar, and even threatened a fatal termination. A mission from the British merchants at Surat was at that time at court, and, as a last resource, the surgeon attached to it was called in, who cured the malady, and made the emperor happy in his bride.⁴ His gratitude was displayed with oriental magnificence. The emperor desired Mr. Hamilton to name his reward, and to the disinterested patriotism of this individual did the British owe the first royal grant or *fîrmân*, conferring territorial possession and great commercial privileges. These were the objects of the mission, which till this occurrence had proved unsuccessful.

This gorgeous court ought to have been, and probably was, impressed with a high opinion of the virtuous self-denial of the inhabitants of Britain ;

¹ Next to kine-killing was the article inhibiting the introduction of the *Adawlet*, or British courts of justice, into the Rajpoot states, in all their treaties with the British government in A.D. 1817-8, the very name of which is abhorrent to a native.

² The title of Hussein Alli,—as Kootub-ool Moolk (*the axis of the state*), was that of his brother Abdoolla.

³ A white swelling or tumour on the back.

⁴ The ceremony is described, as it was celebrated, with true Asiatic pomp. "The Ameer-ool Omra conducted the festivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence till then unseen among the princes of Hindust'han. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal cortège upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. The nuptials were performed at the palace of the Ameer-ool Omra, whence the emperor conveyed his bride with the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amidst the resoundings of musical instruments and the acclamations of the people."—Scott's *History of Arungzéb's Successors*, p. 132, vol. i.

and if history has correctly preserved the transaction, some mark of public gratitude should have been forthcoming from those who so signally benefited thereby. But to borrow the phraseology of the Italian historian, "Obligations which do not admit of being fully discharged are often repaid with the coin of ingratitude": the remains of this man rest in the churchyard of Calcutta, without even a stone to mark the spot!

This marriage, which promised a renewal of interests with the Rajpoots, was soon followed by the revival of the obnoxious *jezeyā*. The character of this tax, though much altered from its original imposition by Arungzēb, when it was at once financial and religious, was held in unmitigated abhorrence by the Hindus from the complex association; and although it was revived chiefly to relieve pecuniary wants, it kindled a universal feeling of hatred amongst all classes, and quenched the little zeal which the recent marriage had inspired in the Rajpoots of the desert. The mode and channel of its introduction evinced to them that there was no hope that the intolerant spirit which originally suggested it would ever be subdued. The weak Ferochsér, desirous of snapping the leading-strings of the Syeds, recalled to his court Enayet Oolla Khan, the minister of Arungzēb, and restored to him his office of *Déwān*, who, to use the words of the historian of the period, "did not consult the temper of the times, so very different from the reign of Arungzēb, and the revival of the *jezeyā* came with him." Though by no means severe in its operation, not amounting to three-quarters per cent. on annual income,¹—from which the lame, the blind, and very poor were exempt,—it nevertheless raised a general spirit of hostility, particularly from its retaining the insulting distinction of a "*tax on infidels*." Resistance to taxation appears to be a universal feeling, in which even the Asiatic forgets the divine right of sovereignty, and which throws us back on the pervading spirit of selfishness which governs human nature. The *temgha*, or stamp tax, which preceded the *jezeyā*, would appear to have been as unsatisfactory as it was general, from the solemnity of its renunciation by Baber on the field of battle after the victory over *infidels*, which gave him the crown of India; and though we have no record of the *jezeyā* being its substitute, there are indications which authorise the inference.

Rana Umra was not an idle spectator of these occurrences; and although the spurious thirst for distinction so early broke up the alliance by detaching Ajft, he redoubled his efforts for personal independence, and with it that of the Rajpoot nation. An important document attests this solicitude, namely, a treaty² with the emperor, in which the second article

¹ 13 rupees on every 2000 rupees.

² "Memorandum of Requests.

"1. The *Munsib*¹ of 7000.

"2. Firmán of engagement under the *punja* private seal and sign that the *jezeyā* shall be abolished—that it shall no longer be imposed on the Hindu nation; at all events, that none of the Chagitai race shall authorise it in Méwar. Let it be annulled.

"3. The contingent of one thousand horse for service in the Dekhan to be excused.

"4. All places of Hindu faith to be rebuilt, with perfect freedom of religious worship.

¹ The dignity (*munsib*) of commander of a legion of 7000 horse, the highest grade of rank.

stipulates emancipation from the galling *jezeyā*: It may be well to analyse this treaty, which attests the altered condition of both parties. Its very title marks the subordination of the chief of the Rajpoots; but while this is headed a "Memorandum of Requests," the eighth article discloses the effective means of the Rana, for there he assumes an air of protection towards the emperor. In the opening stipulation for the *munsib* of 7000, the mind reverts to the great Umra, who preferred abdication to acknowledgment of a superior; but opinion had undergone a change as great as the mutual relations of the Rajpoots. In temporal dignities other states had risen to an equality with Méwar, and all had learned to look on the Mogul as he fountain of honour. The abolition of the *jezeyā*, freedom from religious restraint, control over the ancient feudatories of his house, and the restoration of all sequestrations, distinguish the other articles, and amply attest the improving attitude of Méwar, and the rapid decay of the Mogul empire. The Mahrattas under Raja Sahoo were successfully prosecuting their peculiar system in the south, with the same feelings which characterised the early Gothic invaders of Italy; strangers to settled government, they imposed the taxes of *chout'h* and *desmookie*, the fourth and tenth of all territorial income, in the countries they overran. The Jât tribes west of the Chumbul likewise bearded their oppressors in this reign, by hoisting the standard of independence at the very threshold of their capital; and from the siege of Sinsini (mentioned in this treaty) to the last storm of Bhurtpoor, they maintained the consequence thus assumed.

This treaty was the last act of Rana Umra's life; he died in A.D. 1716, leaving the reputation of an active and high-minded prince, who well upheld his station and the prosperity of his country, notwithstanding the anarchy of the period. His encouragement of agriculture and protection

"5. If my uncles, brothers, or chiefs, repair to the presence, to meet no encouragement.

"6. The Bhomias of Deola, Banswarra, Dongerpoor, and Sirohi, besides other zemindars over whom I am to have control, they shall not be admitted to the presence.

"7. The forces I possess are my chiefs—what troops you may require for a given period, you must furnish with rations (*paithi*), and when the service is over, their accounts will be settled.

"8. Of the Hukdars, Zemindars, Munsubdars, who serve you with zeal and from the heart, let me have a list—and those who are not obedient I will punish; but in effecting this no demand is to be made for *Pâémâlî*."¹

"List of the districts attached to the *Punj-hazari*,² at present under sequestration, to be restored—Phoolia, Mandelgurb, Bednore, Poorh, Bassar, Ghiaspoor, Purdhar, Banswarra, Dongerpoor. Besides the 5000 of old, you had on ascending the throne granted an increase of 1000, and on account of the victory at Sinsini 1000 more, of two and three horse."³

"Of three crones of *dams*⁴ in gift (*endm*), namely, two according to firman, and one for the payment of the contingent in the Dekhan, and of which two are immediately required, you have given me in lieu thereof Sirohi.

"Districts now desired—Eidur, Kekri, Mandel, Jehajpoor, Malpoor (and another illegible).

¹ Destruction of property, alluding to the crops which always suffered in the movements of disorderly troops.

² Munsub of 5000.

³ It was usual to allow two and three horses to each cavalier when favour was intended.

⁴ 40 dams to the rupee.

of manufactures are displayed in the edicts engraved on pillars, which will hand down his name to posterity. His memory is held in high veneration; nor do the Rajpoots admit the absolute degradation of Méwar till the period of the second prince in succession to Umra.

CHAPTER XV

Rana Sangram—Dismemberment of the Mogul Empire—Nizam-ool Moolk establishes the Hydrabad state—Murder of the Emperor Ferochshér—Abrogation of the Jezeya—Mahomed Shah, Emperor of Dehli—Saadut Khan obtains Oude—Repeal of the Jezeya confirmed—Policy of Méwar—Rana Sangram dies—Anecdotes regarding him—Rana Juggut Sing II. succeeds—Treaty of triple alliance with Marwar and Ambér—The Mahrattas invade and gain footing in Malwa and Guzzerat—Invasion of Nadir Shah—Sack of Dehli—Condition of Rajpootana—Limits of Méwar—Rajpoot alliances—Bajerow invades Méwar—Obtains a cession of annual tribute—Contest to place Madhú Sing on the throne of Ambér—Battle of Rajmahal—The Rana defeated—He leagues with Mulhar Holkar—Esuri Sing of Ambér takes poison—The Rana dies—His character.

SANGRAM SING (*the lion of battle*) succeeded; a name renowned in the annals of Méwar, being that of the opponent of the founder of the Moguls. He ascended the throne about the same time with Mahomed Shah, the last of the race of Timoor who deserved the name of emperor of India. During the reign of Sangram, from A.D. 1716 to 1734, this mighty empire was dismembered; when, in lieu of one paramount authority, numerous independent governments started up, which preserved their uncertain existence until the last revolution, which has given a new combination to these discordant materials—Mahomedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot, in the course of one century under the dominion of a handful of Britons! Like the Satraps of the ancient Persian, or the Lieutenants of Alexander, each chief proclaimed himself master of the province, the government of which was confided to his loyalty and talents; and it cannot fail to diminish any regret at the successive prostration of Bengal, Oude, Hydrabad, and other less conspicuous states, to remember that they were founded in rebellion, and erected on ingratitude; and that their rulers were destitute of those sympathies, which could alone give stability to their ephemeral greatness, by improving the condition of their subjects. With the Mahrattas the case is different: their emergence to power claims our admiration, when tyranny transformed the industrious husbandman, and the minister of religion, into a hardy and enterprising soldier, and a skilful functionary of government. Had their ambition been restrained within legitimate bounds, it would have been no less gratifying than politically and morally just that the family of Sevaji should have retained its authority in countries which his active valour wrested from Arungzéeb. But the genius of conquest changed their natural habits; they devastated instead of consolidating; and in lieu of that severe and frugal simplicity, and that energy of enterprise, which were their peculiar characteristics, they became distinguished for mean parsimony, low cunning, and dastardly depredation. Had they, retaining their original character, been content with their proper sphere of action, the Dekhan, they might yet have held the sovereignty

of that vast region, where their habits and language assimilated them with the people. But as they spread over the north they encountered national antipathies, and though professing the same creed, a wider difference in sentiment divided the Mahratta from the Rajpoot, than from the despots of Dehli, whose tyrannical intolerance was more endurable, because less degrading, than the rapacious meanness of the Southron. Rajast'han benefited by the demolition of the empire : to all but Méwar it yielded an extension of power. Had the national mind been allowed to repose, and its energies to recruit, after so many centuries of demoralisation, all would have recovered their strength, which lay in the opinions and industry of the people, a devoted tenantry and brave vassalage, whom we have so often depicted as abandoning their habitations and pursuits to aid the patriotic views of their princes.

The short reign of Ferochsér was drawing to a close ; its end was accelerated by the very means by which that monarch hoped to emancipate himself from the thralldom of the Syeds, against whose authority the faction of Enayet Oolla was but a feeble counterpoise, and whose arbitrary habits, in the re-establishment of the jezeya, lost him even the support of the father of his queen. It was on this occasion that the celebrated Nizam-ool Moolk, the founder of the Hyderabad state, was brought upon the stage : he then held the unimportant charge of the district of Moradabad ; but possessed of high talents, he was bought over, by the promise of the government of Malwa, to further the views of the Syeds. Supported by a body of ten thousand Mahrattas, these makers of kings soon manifested their displeasure by the depōsal of Ferochsér, who was left without any support but that of the princes of Ambér and Boondí. Yet they would never have abandoned him had he hearkened to their counsel to take the field, and trust his cause to them : but, cowardly and infatuated, he refused to quit the walls of his palace, and threw himself upon the mercy of his enemies, who made him dismiss the faithful Rajpoots and " admit a guard of honour of their troops into the citadel." ¹

¹ Amongst the archives of the Rana to which I had access, I discovered an autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing, addressed at this important juncture to the Rana's prime minister, Beharri-dás.

"The Ameer-ool Omra has arrived, and engagements through Ballajee Pundit have been agreed to : he said that he always had friendship for me, but advised me to *march*, a measure alike recommended by Kishen Sing and Jewa Loll. On this I presented an *arzee* to his Majesty, stated the advice, but desired to have his Majesty's commands ; when the king sanctioning my leave, such being the general desire, on Thursday the 9th of Falgoon I moved, and pitched my tents at Serbul Serai. I told the Rao Rajah (of Boondí) to accompany me, but it did not reach his mind, and he joined Kootub-ool Moolk, who gave him some horse, and made him encamp with Ajít Sing. Bheem Sing's (of Kotah) army arrived, and an engagement took place, in which Jaet Sing Hara was killed, and the Rao Raja fled to Aliverdi Khan's serai. I sent troops to his aid ; the king has made over the baths and wardrobe to the Syeds, who have everything their own way. *You know the Syeds ; I am on my way back to my own country, and have much to say vivá voce to the Huzoor :¹ come and meet me. Falgoon, S. 19, 1775 (A.D. 1719).*"

"Sid Sri Mahraja dheraj Sri Singram Sing ji ; receive the *moojra* ² of Raja

¹ *Huzoor* signifies the *Presence*. Such was the respectful style of the Ambér prince to the Rana ; to illustrate which I shall add another letter from the same prince, though merely complimentary, to the Rana.

² *Moojra* is a salutation of respect used to a superior.

Ferochsér hoped for security in the inviolability of the harem—but he found no sanctuary even there : to use the words of the Mogul memoir, "night advanced, and day, like the fallen star of the emperor, sunk in darkness. The gates of the citadel were closed upon his friends : the Vizier and Ajít Sing remained within. This night was dreadful to the inhabitants of the city ; no one knew what was passing in the palace, and the troops under the Ameer-ool Omra, with ten thousand Mahrattas, remained under arms : morning came, and all hope was extinguished by the royal band (*Nobut*) announcing the deposal of Ferochsér, in the proclamation of Rufféh-ool Dirjat, his successor." The interval between the deposal and the death of an Asiatic prince is short, and even while the heralds vociferated "long live the king!" to the new puppet, the bow-string was on the neck of the contemptible Ferochsér.

The first act of the new reign (A.D. 1719) was one of conciliation towards Ajít Sing and the Rajpoots, namely, the abrogation of the *jezeya* ; and the Syeds further showed their disposition to attach them by conferring the important office of *Déwán* on one of their own faith : Raja Ruttun Chund was accordingly inducted into the ministry in lieu of Enayet Oolla. Three phantoms of royalty flitted across the scene in a few months, till Roshun Akter, the eldest son of Buhadoor Shah, was enthroned with the title of Mahomed Shah (A.D. 1720), during whose reign of nearly thirty years the empire was completely dismembered, and Mahrattas from the south disputed its spoils with the Afghan mountaineers. The haughty demeanour of the Syeds disgusted all who acted with them, especially their coadjutor the Nizam,¹ of whose talents, displayed in restoring Malwa to prosperity, they entertained a dread. It was impossible to cherish any abstract loyalty for the puppets they established, and treason lost its name, when the Nizam declared for independence, which the possession of the fortresses of Asér and Boorhanpoor enabled him to secure. The brothers had just cause for alarm. The Rajpoots were called upon for their contingents,² and the princes of Kotah and Nirwur

Sawaie Jey Sing. Here all is well ; your welfare is desired ; you are the chief, nor is there any separation of interests : my horses and Rajpoots are at your service ; command when I can be of use. It is long since I have seen the royal mother (*Sri Baeji Raj*) ; if you come this way, I trust she will accompany you. For news I refer you to Deep Chund Pancholi. Asoj 6, S. 1777."

¹ Raja Jey Sing to Beharri-dás, the Rana's minister :—"You write that your Lord despatches money for the troops—I have no accounts thereof ; put the treasure on camels and send it without delay. The Nawab Nizam-ool Moolk is marching rapidly from Oojein, and Jubeela Ram is coming hither, and according to accounts from Agra he has crossed at Calpee. Let the Déwán's army form a speedy junction. Make no delay ; in supplies of cash everything is included."—Bhadoo, 4th, S. 1776 (A.D. 1720).

² Letter from Raja Bukhta Sing of Nagore to Beharri-das, the Rana's prime minister :—"Your letter was received, and its contents made me happy. Sri *Déwán's roqqua* reached me and was understood. You tell me both the Nawabs (*Syeds*) had taken the field, that both the Maharajas attended, and that your own army was about to be put in motion, for how could ancient friendships be severed ? All was comprehended. But neither of the Nawabs will take the field, nor will either of the Maharajas proceed to the Dekhan ; they will sit and enjoy themselves quietly in talking at home. But should by some accident the Nawabs take the field, espouse their cause ; if you cling to any other you are lost ; of this you will be convinced ere long, so guard yourself—if you can wind up our own thread, don't give it to another to break—you are wise, and can anticipate intentions. Where there is such a servant as you, that house can be in no danger."

gallantly interposed their own retainers to cut off the Nizam from the Nerbudda, on which occasion the Kotah prince was slain. The independence of the Nizam led to that of Oude. Saadut Khan was then but the commandant of Biana, but he entered into the conspiracy to expel the Syeds, and was one of those who drew lots to assassinate the Ameer-ool Omra. The deed was put into execution on the march to reduce the Nizam, when Hyder Khan buried his poniard in the Ameer's heart. The emperor then in camp, being thus freed, returned against the Vizier, who instantly set up Ibrahim and marched against his opponents. The Rajpoots wisely remained neutral, and both armies met. The decapitation of Ruttun Chund was the signal for the battle, which was obstinate and bloody; the Vizier was made prisoner, and subjected to the bowstring. For the part Saadut Khan acted in the conspiracy he was honoured with the title of Buhadoor Jung, and the government of Oude. The Rajpoot princes paid their respects to the conqueror, who confirmed the repeal of the *jezeya*, and as the reward of their neutrality the Rajas of Ambér and Jodpoor, Jey Sing and Ajít, were gratified, the former with the government of the province of Agra, the last with that of Guzzerat and Ajmér, of which latter fortress he took possession. Gheerdir-dás¹ was made governor of Malwa to oppose the Mahrattas, and the Nizam was invited from his government of Hyderabad to accept the office of vizier of the empire.

The policy of Méwar was too isolated for the times; her rulers clung to forms and unsubstantial homage, while their neighbours, with more active virtue, plunged into the tortuous policy of the imperial court, and seized every opportunity to enlarge the boundaries of their states: and while Ambér appropriated to herself the royal domains almost to the Jumna; while Marwar planted her banner on the battlements of Ajmér, dismembered Guzzerat, and pushed her clans far into the desert, and even to "the world's end";² Méwar confined her ambition to the control of her ancient feudatories of Aboo, Edur, and the petty states which grew out of her, Dongerpoor and Banswarra. The motive for this policy was precisely the same which had cost such sacrifices in former times; she dreaded amalgamating with the imperial court, and preferred political inferiority to the sacrifice of principle. The internal feuds of her two great clans also operated against her aggrandisement; and while the brave Suktawut, Jeit Sing, expelled the Rahtore from Edur, and subdued the wild mountaineers even to Koliwarra, the conquest was left incomplete by the jealousy of his rival, and he was recalled in the midst of his success. From these and other causes an important change took place in the internal policy of Méwar, which tended greatly to impair her energies. To this period none of the vassals had the power to erect places of strength within their domains, which, as already stated, were not fixed, but subject to triennial change; their lands were given for subsistence, their native hills were their fortresses, and the frontier strongholds defended their families in time of invasion. As the Mogul power waned, the general defensive system was abandoned, while the predatory warfare which succeeded compelled them to stud their country with castles, in order

¹ Gheerdir-dás was a Nagar Bramin, son of Jubeela Ram, the chief secretary of Ruttun Chund.

² *Juggut coont*, the *Jigat point*, of our maps, at Dwarica, where the *Bhadails*, a branch of the Rahtores, established themselves.

to shelter their effects from the Mahratta and Pat'hān, and in later times to protect rebels.

Rana Sangram ruled eighteen years ; under him Méwar was respected, and the greater portion of her lost territory was regained. His selection of Beharri-das Pancholi evinced his penetration, for never had Méwar a more able or faithful minister, and numerous autograph letters of all the princes of his time attest his talent and his worth as the oracle of the period. He retained his office during three reigns : but his skill was unable to stem the tide of Mahratta invasion, which commenced on the death of Sangram.

Tradition has preserved many anecdotes of Sangram, which aid our estimate of Rajpoot character, whether in the capacity of legislators or the more retired sphere of domestic manners. They uniformly represent this Rana as a patriarchal ruler, wise, just, and inflexible,¹ steady in his application to business, regulating public and private expenditure, and even the sumptuary laws, which were rigidly adhered to, and on which the people still expatiate, giving homely illustrations of the contrast between them and the existing profusion. The Chohan of Kotario, one of the highest class of chieftains, had recommended an addition to the folds of the court robe, and as courtesy forbids all personal denial, his wish was assented to, and he retired to his estate pluming himself on his sovereign's acquiescence. But the Rana, sending for the minister, commanded the sequestration of two villages of Kotario, which speedily reaching the ears of the chief, he repaired to court, and begged to know the fault which had drawn upon him this mark of displeasure. "None, Raoji ; but on a minute calculation I find the revenue of these two villages will just cover the expense of the superfluity of garment which obedience to your wishes will occasion me, and as every iota of my own income is appropriated, I had no other mode of innovating on our ancient costume than by making you bear the charge attending a compliance with your suggestion." It will readily be believed, that the Chohan prayed the revocation of this edict, and that he was careful for the future of violating the sumptuary laws of his sovereign.

On another occasion, from lapse of memory or want of consideration, he broke the laws he had established, and alienated a village attached to the household. Each branch had its appropriate fund, whether for the kitchen, the wardrobe, the privy purse, the queens ; these lands were called *thooa*, and each had its officer, or *thooa-dar*, all of whom were made accountable for their trust to the prime minister ; it was one of these he had alienated. Seated with his chiefs in the *russorah*, or banqueting-hall, there was no sugar forthcoming for the curds, which has a place in the dinner *carte* of all Rajpoots, and he chid the superintendent for the omission. "*Andata*" (giver of food), replied the officer, "the minister says you have given away the village set apart for sugar."—"Just," replied the Rana, and finished his repast without further remark, and without sugar to his curds.

Another anecdote will show his inflexibility of character, and his resistance to that species of interference in state affairs which is the bane of Asiatic governments. Sangram had recently emancipated him-

¹ In the dialect, "*churri muzboot t'ha*," *his rod was strong*—a familiar phrase, which might be rendered "*sceptre*"—a long rod with an iron spike on it, often placed before the *gadi*, or throne.

self from the trammels of a tedious minority, during which his mother, according to custom, acted a conspicuous part in the guardianship of her son and the state. The chieftain of Deriavud had his estate confiscated : but as the Rana never punished from passion or pardoned from weakness, none dared to plead his cause, and he remained proscribed from court during two years, when he ventured a petition to the queen-mother through the *Bindarins*,¹ for the reversion of the decree, accompanied with a note for two lacks of rupees,² and a liberal donation to the fair mediators. It was the daily habit of the Rana to pay his respects to his mother before dinner, and on one of these visits she introduced the Ranawut's request, and begged the restoration of the estate. It was customary, on the issue of every grant, that eight days should elapse from the mandate to the promulgation of the edict, to which eight official seals³ were attached ; but on the present occasion the Rana commanded the execution of the deed at once, and to have it ere he left the *Rawula*. On its being brought, he placed it respectfully in his mother's hands, begging her to return the note to the Ranawut ; having made this sacrifice to duty, he bowed and retired. The next day he commanded dinner an hour earlier, without the usual visit to the *Rawula* : all were surprised, but none so much as the queen-mother—the day passed—another came—still no visit, and to a confidential message, she received a ceremonious reply. Alarmed for the loss of her son's affections, she pondered on the cause, but could find none, except the grant—she entreated the minister's interference ; he respectfully intimated that he was interdicted from the discussion of state affairs but with his sovereign—she had recourse to other expedients, which proving alike fruitless, she became sullen, punished her damsels without cause, and refused food : Sangram still remained obdurate. She talked of a pilgrimage to the Ganges, and befitting equipage and escort were commanded to attend her—the moment of departure was at hand, and yet he would not see her. She repaired by Ambér on her route to Muttra, to worship the Apollo of Vrij, when the great Raja Jey Sing (married to the Rana's sister)⁴ advanced, and

¹ The dames attendant on the queens,—the Lady Mashams of every female court in Rajast'han.

² £25,000.

³ There were eight ministers ; from this the Mahrattas had their *ushi purdhans*, the number which formed the ministry of Rama.

⁴ I discovered the following letter from one of the princesses of Ambér to Rana Sangram, written at this period ; it is not evident in what relation she stood to him, but I think she must have been his wife, and the sister of Jey Sing :

"To *Sid Sri Singram Sing*, happiness ! the Cutchwaha Ranee (*queen*) writes, read her *asees*¹ (blessing). Here all is well ; the welfare of the *Sri Dêwân-jî* is desired. You are very dear to me ; you are great, the sun of Hindust'han ; if you do not thus act, who else can ? the action is worthy of you ; with your house is my entire friendship. From ancient times we are the Rajpoots of your house, from which both Rajas² have had their consequence increased, and I belong to it of old, and expect always to be fostered by it, nor will the *Sri Dêwân-jî* disappoint us. My intention was to proceed to the feet of the *Sri Dêwân-jî*, but the wet weather has prevented me ; but I shall soon make my appearance."—S. 1778 (A.D. 1722).

¹ *Asees* is benediction, which only ladies and holy men employ in epistolary writing or in verbal compliment.

² Ambér and Marwar ; this expression denotes the letter to have been written on intermarriage with the Rana's house, and shows her sense of such honour.

conducted her to his new city of Jeipoor, and to evince his respect "put his shoulder to the travelling litter or palkee," and promised to return with her and be a suppliant to his brother-in-law for the restoration of his regard. She made a tour of the sacred places, and on return accepted the escort of the Prince of Ambér. The laws of hospitality amongst the Rajpoots are rigid: the Rana could not refuse to his guest the request for which he had left his capital: but averse to owing reconciliation to external intercession, and having done enough for the suppression of intrigue, he advanced to meet the cortège when within one march of Oodipoor, as if to receive the Ambér prince; but proceeding direct to his mother's tents, he asked her blessing, and having escorted her to the palace, returned to greet and conduct his brother prince; all the allusion he made to the subject was in the simple but pithy expression, "family quarrels should be kept in the family."

Another anecdote shows him as the vigilant shepherd watching over the safety of his flock. As he sat down to dinner, tidings arrived of an invasion of the Malwa Pat'hans, who had rifled several villages at Mundisore, carrying the inhabitants into captivity. Pushing the platter from him, he ordered his armour, and the *nakara* to beat the assemblage of his chieftains. With all speed a gallant band formed on the terrace below, but they prevailed on the Rana to leave the punishment of the desultory aggression to them, as unworthy of his personal interference. They departed: several hours after, the chief of Kanorh arrived, having left a sick bed, and with a tertian come in obedience to his sovereign's summons. Vain was his prince's dissuasion to keep him back, and he joined the band as they came up with the invaders. The foe was defeated and put to flight, but the sick chieftain fell in the charge, and his son was severely wounded by his side. On the young chief repairing to court he was honoured with a *beera*¹ from the Rana's own hand, a distinction which he held to be an ample reward for his wounds, and testimonial of the worth of his father. The existence of such sentiments are the strongest tests of character.

On another occasion, some parasite had insinuated suspicions against the chief of the nobles, the Rawut of Saloombra, who had just returned victorious in action with the royal forces at Malwa, and had asked permission to visit his family on his way to court. The Rana spurned the suspicion, and to show his reliance on the chief, he despatched a messenger for Saloombra to wait his arrival and summon him to the presence. He had reached his domain, given leave to his vassals as they passed their respective abodes, dismounted, and reached the door of the *Rawula*, when the herald called aloud, "The Rana salutes you, Rawut-ji, and commands this letter." With his hand on the door where his wife and children awaited him, he demanded his horse, and simply leaving his "duty for his mother," he mounted, with half a dozen attendants, nor loosed the rein until he reached the capital. It was midnight; his house empty; no servants; no dinner; but his sovereign had foreseen and provided, and when his arrival was announced, provender for his cattle, and vessels

¹ The *beera* is the beetle or pan-leaf folded up, containing aromatic spices, and presented on taking leave. The Kanorh chieftain, being of the second grade of nobles, was not entitled to the distinction of having it from the sovereign's own hand.

of provision prepared in the royal kitchen, were immediately sent to his abode. Next morning, Saloombra attended the court. The Rana was unusually gracious, and not only presented him with the usual tokens of regard, a horse and jewels, but moreover a grant of land. With surprise he asked what service he had performed to merit such distinction, and from a sentiment becoming the descendant of Chonda solemnly refused to accept it; observing, that even if he had lost his head, the reward was excessive; but if his prince would admit of his preferring a request, it would be, that in remembrance of his sovereign's favour, when he, or his, in after times, should on the summons come from their estate to the capital, the same number of dishes from the royal kitchen should be sent to his abode: it was granted, and to this day his descendants enjoy the distinction. These anecdotes paint the character of Sangram far more forcibly than any laboured effort. His reign was as honourable to himself as it was beneficial to his country, in whose defence he had fought eighteen actions; but though his policy was too circumscribed, and his country would have benefited more by a surrender of some of those antique prejudices which kept her back in the general scramble for portions of the dilapidated monarchy of the Moguls, yet he was respected abroad, as he was beloved by his subjects, of whose welfare he was ever watchful, and to whose wants ever indulgent. Rana Sangram was the last prince who upheld the dignity of the *gadi* of Bappa Rawul; with his death commenced Mahratta ascendancy, and with this we shall open the reign of his son and successor.

Juggut Sing II., the eldest of the four sons of Sangram, succeeded S. 1790 (A.D. 1734). The commencement of his reign was signalled by a revival of the triple alliance formed by Rana Umra, and broken by Raja Ajít's connection with the Syeds and the renewal of matrimonial ties with the empire, the abjuration whereof was the basis of the treaty. The present engagement, which included all the minor states, was formed at Hoorlah, a town in Méwar on the Ajmér frontier, where the confederate princes met at the head of their vassals. To insure unanimity, the Rana was invested with paramount control, and headed the forces which were to take the field after the rains, already set in.¹ Unity of interests was the

¹ Treaty.

Seal of Rana.

Sri Eklinga. (a)

Agreed.

Agreed.

Seeta Rama jeyáti. (c)

Vrij Adhees. (b)

Abhé Sing. (d)

Swesta Sri! By the united chiefs the under-written has been agreed to, from which no deviation can take place. Sawun sood 13, S. 1791 (A.D. 1735), Camp Hoorlah.

1. All are united, in good and in evil, and none will withdraw therefrom,

(a) (b) (c). All these seals of Méwar, Marwar, and Ambér, bear respectively the names of the tutelary divinity of each prince and his tribe:—(a) Eklinga, or Mahadeva of the Seesodias of Méwar; (b) Vrij Adhees, the lord of Vrij, the country round Mat'hoora; the epithet of Crishna; seal of the Hara prince; (c) Victory to Seeta and Rama, the demi-god, ancestor of the princes of Ambér; (d) Abhé Sing, prince of Marwar.

chief character of the engagement, had they adhered to which, not only the independence, but the aggrandisement, of Rajast'han, was in their power, and they might have alike defied the expiring efforts of Mogul tyranny, and the Parthian-like warfare of the Mahratta. They were indeed the most formidable power in India at this juncture; but difficult as it had ever proved to coalesce the Rajpoots for mutual preservation, even when a paramount superiority of power, both temporal and spiritual, belonged to the Ranas, so now, since Ambér and Marwar had attained an equality with Méwar, it was found still less practicable to prevent the operation of the principles of disunion. In fact, a moment's reflection must discover that the component parts of a great feudal federation, such as that described, must contain too many discordant particles—too many rivalries and national antipathies—ever cordially to amalgamate. Had it been otherwise, the opportunities were many and splendid for the recovery of Rajpoot freedom; but though individually enamoured of liberty, the universality of the sentiment prevented its realisation: they never would submit to the control required to work it out, and this, the best opportunity which had ever occurred, was lost. A glance at the disordered fragments of the throne of Akber will show the comparative strength of the Rajpoots.

Nizam-ool Moolk had completely emancipated himself from his allegiance, and signalised his independence, by sending the head of the imperial general, who ventured to oppose it, as that of a traitor, to the emperor. He leagued with the Rajpoots, and instigated Bajerow to plant the Mahratta standard in Malwa and Guzzerat. In defending the former, Dya Buhadoor fell; and Jey Sing of Ambér, being nominated to the trust, delegated it to the invader, and Malwa was lost. The extensive province of Guzzerat soon shared the same fate; for in the vacillating policy of the court, the promise of that government to the Rahtores had been broken, and Abhé Sing, son of Ajít, who had expelled Sirbullund Khan after a severe contest, following the example of his brother prince of Ambér, connived with the invaders, while he added its most northern districts to Marwar. In Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, Shuja ud Dowlah, and his deputy Aliverdi Khan, were supreme, and Sufdur Jung (son of Saadut Khan) was established in Oude. The basest disloyalty marked the rise of this family, which owed everything to Mahomed Shah. It was Saadut Khan who invited Nadir Shah, whose invasion gave the final stab to the empire; and it was his son, Sufdur Jung, who, when commandant of the artillery (*mecr atush*), turned it against his sovereign's palace, and then conveyed it to Oude. Of the Déwans of Bengal we must speak only with reverence; but, whether they had any special dispensation, their loyalty to the descendant of Ferochsér has been very little more distinguished

on which oaths have been made, and faith pledged, which will be lost by whoever acts contrary thereto. The honour and shame of one is that of all, and in this everything is contained.

2. No one shall countenance the traitor of another.
3. After the rains the affair shall commence, and the chiefs of each party assemble at Rampoorá; and if from any cause the head cannot come, he will send his *Konwar* (heir), or some personage of weight.
4. Should from inexperience such *Konwar* commit error, the Rana alone shall interfere to correct it.
5. In every enterprise, all shall unite to effect it.

than that of the satraps enumerated, though the original tenure of Bengal is still apparent, and the feudal obligation to the suzerain of Dehli manifested, in the homage of *petite serjanterie*, in transmitting with the annual fine of relief (one hundred mohors) the spices of the eastern archipelago. Yet of all those who gloried in the title of *fidooé padshaé ghazi*, the only 'slave of the victorious king,' who has been generous to him in the day of his distress, is the Déwan of Bengal, better known as the English East India Company. In the hour of triumph, they rescued the blind and aged descendants of the illustrious Baber from a state of degradation and penury, and secured to him all the dignity and comfort which his circumstances could lead him to hope; and the present state of his family, contrasted with the thralldom and misery endured while fortune favoured the Mahratta, is splendid. Yet perhaps the most acute stroke of fortune to this fallen monarch was when the British governor of India lent his aid to the descendant of the rebellious Sufdur Jung to mount the throne of Oude, and to assume, in lieu of the title of vizier of the empire, that of king. We can appreciate and commiserate the feeling; for the days of power were yet too recent¹ for Akber Sani (the second) to receive such intelligence without a shock, or without comparing his condition with him whose name he bore. It is well to pause upon this page of eastern history, which is full of instruction; since by weighing the abuses of power, and its inevitable loss through placing a large executive trust in the hands of those who exercised it without sympathy towards the governed, we may at least retard the day of our decline.

The Mahratta establishments in Malwa and Guzzerat constituted a nucleus for others to form upon, and like locusts, they crossed the Nerbudda in swarms; when the Holkars, the Sindias, the Púars, and other less familiar names, emerged from obscurity; when the plough² was deserted for the sword, and the goat-herd³ made a lance of his crook. They devastated, and at length settled upon, the lands of the indigenous Rajpoots. For a time, the necessity of unity made them act under one standard, and hence the vast masses under the first Bajerow, which bore down all opposition, and afterwards dispersed themselves over those long-oppressed regions. It was in A.D. 1735 that he first crossed the Chumbul⁴ and appeared before Dehli, which he blockaded, when his retreat was purchased by the surrender of the *chout'h*, or fourth of the gross revenues of the empire. The Nizam, dreading the influence such pusillanimous concession might exert upon his rising power, determined to drive the Mahrattas from Malwa, where, if once fixed, they would cut off his communications with the north. He accordingly invaded Malwa, defeated Bajerow in a pitched battle, and was only prevented from following it up by Nadir Shah's advance, facilitated by the Afghans, who, on becoming independent in Cabul, laid open the frontiers of Hindust'han.⁵ In this emergency, "great hopes were placed on the valour of the Rajpoots"; but the spirit of devotion in this brave race, by whose aid the Mogul power

¹ I have conversed with an aged sheikh who recollected the splendour of Mahomed Shah's reign before Nadir's invasion. He was *darogah* (superintendent) to the Dooáb canal, and described to me the fête on its opening.

² Sindia's family were husbandmen.

³ Holkar was a goat-herd.

⁴ The ford near Dhalpoor still is called Bhow-ghát.

⁵ A.D. 1740.

was made and maintained, was irretrievably alienated, and not one of those high families, who had throughout been so lavish of their blood in its defence, would obey the summons to the royal standard, when the fate of India was decided on the plains of Kurnal. A sense of individual danger brought together the great home feudatories, when the Nizam and Saadut Khan (now Vizier) united their forces under the imperial commander; but their demoralised levies were no match for the Persian and the northern mountaineer. The Ameer-ool Omra was slain, the Vizier made prisoner, and Mahomed Shah and his kingdom were at Nadir's disposal. The disloyalty of the Vizier filled the capital with blood, and subjected his sovereign to the condition of a captive. Jealous of the Nizam, whose diplomatic success had obtained him the office of Ameer-ool Omra, he stimulated the avarice of the conqueror by exaggerating the riches of Dehli, and declared that he alone could furnish the ransom negotiated by the Nizam. Nadir's love of gold overpowered his principle; the treaty was broken, the keys of Dehli were demanded, and its humiliated emperor was led in triumph through the camp of the conqueror, who, on the 8th March A.D. 1740, took possession of the palace of Timoor, and coined money bearing this legend:

" King over the kings of the world
Is Nadir, king of kings, and lord of the period."

The accumulated wealth of India contained in the royal treasury, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure during the civil wars, and the profuse rewards scattered by each competitor for dominion, was yet sufficient to gratify even avarice itself, amounting in gold, jewels, and plate to forty millions sterling, exclusive of equipages of every denomination. But this enormous spoil only kindled instead of satiating the appetite of Nadir, and a fine of two millions and a half was exacted, and levied with such unrelenting rigour and cruelty on the inhabitants, that men of rank and character could find no means of escape but by suicide. A rumour of this monster's death excited an insurrection, in which several Persians were killed. The provocation was not lost: the conqueror ascended a mosque,¹ and commanded a general massacre, in which thousands were slain. Pillage accompanied murder; whilst the streets streamed with blood, the city was fired, and the dead were consumed in the conflagration of their late habitations. If a single ray of satisfaction could be felt amidst such a scene of horror, it must have been when Nadir commanded the minister of the wretch who was the author of this atrocity, the infamous Saadut Khan, to send, on pain of death, an inventory of his own and his master's wealth; demanding meanwhile the two millions and a half, the original composition settled by the Nizam, from the Vizier alone. Whether his "coward conscience" was alarmed at the mischief he had occasioned, or mortification at discovering that his ambition had "o'erleaped itself," and recoiled with vengeance on his own head, tempted the act, it is impossible to discover, but the guilty Saadut became his own executioner. He swallowed poison; an example followed by his déwan, Raja Mujlis Rae, in order to escape the rage of the offended Nadir. By the new treaty, all the western provinces, Cabul, Tatta, Sinde, and Mooltan, were surrendered and united to Persia, and on the vernal equinox, Nadir, gorged

¹ It is yet pointed out to the visitor of this famed city.

with spoil, commenced his march from the desolated Dehli.¹ The philosophic comment of the native historian on these events is so just, that we shall transcribe it verbatim. "The people of Hindust'han at this period thought only of personal safety and gratification; misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centred wholly in self, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindust'han at the invasion of Nadir Shah; nor have the people become more virtuous since, and consequently neither more happy nor more independent."

At this eventful era in the political history of India, the Rajpoot nation had not only maintained their ground amidst the convulsions of six centuries under the paramount sway of the Islamite, but two of the three chief states, Marwar and Ambér, had by policy and valour created substantial states out of petty principalities, junior branches² from which had established their independence, and still enjoy it under treaty with the British Government. Méwar at this juncture was defined by nearly the same boundaries as when Mahmood of Ghizni invaded her in the tenth century, though her influence over many of her tributaries, as Boondi, Aboo, Edur, and Deola, was destroyed. To the west, the fertile district of Godwar carried her beyond her natural barrier, the Aravulli, into the desert; while the Chumbul was her limit to the east. The Khary separated her from Ajmér, and to the south she adjoined Malwa. These limits comprehended one hundred and thirty miles of latitude and one hundred and forty of longitude, containing 10,000 towns and villages, with upwards of a million sterling of revenue, raised from a fertile soil by an excellent

¹ As the hour of departure approached, the cruelties of the ruthless invaders increased, to which the words of the narrator, an eye-witness, can alone do justice: "A type of the last day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city; hitherto it was a general massacre, but now came the murder of individuals. In every house was heard the cry of affliction. Bussunt Rae, agent for pensions, killed his family and himself; Khalik Yár Khan stabbed himself; many took poison. The venerable chief magistrate was dishonoured by stripes; sleep and rest forsook the city. The officers of the court were beaten without mercy, and a fire broke out in the imperial *ferásh-khana*, and destroyed effects to the amount of a crore (a million sterling). There was a scarcity of grain, two seers of coarse rice sold for a rupee, and from a pestilential disorder crowds died daily in every street and lane. The inhabitants, like the affrighted animals of the desert, sought refuge in the most concealed corners. Yet four or five crores (millions) more were thus extracted." On the 5th April, Nadir's seals were taken off the imperial repositories, and his firmans sent to all the feudatories of the empire to notify the peace and to inculcate obedience "to his dear brother," which as a specimen of eastern diplomatic phraseology is worth insertion. It was addressed to the Rana, the Rajas of Marwar and Ambér, Nagore, Sitarra, the Peshwa Bajerow, etc. "Between us and our dear brother, Mahomed Shah, in consideration of the regard and alliances of the two sovereignties, the connections of regard and friendship have been renewed, so that we may be esteemed as one soul in two bodies. Now our dear brother has been replaced on the throne of this extensive empire, and we are moving to the conquest of other regions, it is incumbent that ye, like your forefathers, walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother, as they did to former sovereigns of the house of Timoor. God forbid it; but if accounts of your rebelling should reach our ears, we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation."—"Memoirs of Fradut Khan,"—*Scott's History of Dekhan*, vol. ii. p. 213.

² Bikanér and Kishengurh arose out of Marwar, and Machéri from Ambér; to which we might add Shekhavati, which, though not separate, is tributary to Ambér (now Jeipoor).

agricultural population, a wealthy mercantile community, and defended by a devoted vassalage. Such was this little patriarchal state after the protracted strife which has been related ; we shall have to exhibit her, in less than half a century, on the verge of annihilation from the predatory inroads of the Mahrattas.

In order to mark with exactitude the introduction of the Mahrattas into Rajast'han, we must revert to the period ¹ when the dastardly intrigues of the advisers of Mahomed Shah surrendered to them as tribute the *chout'h*, or fourth of his revenues. Whether in the full tide of successful invasion, these spoilers deemed any other argument than force to be requisite in order to justify their extortions, they had in this surrender a concession of which the subtle Mahrattas were well capable of availing themselves ; and as the Mogul claimed sovereignty over the whole of Rajast'han, they might plausibly urge their right of *chout'h*, as applicable to all the territories subordinate to the empire.

The rapidity with which these desultory bands flew from conquest to conquest appears to have alarmed the Rajpoots, and again brought about a coalition, which, with the characteristic peculiarity of all such contracts, was commenced by matrimonial alliances. On this occasion, Beejy Sing, the heir of Marwar, was affianced to the Rana's daughter, who at the same time reconciled the princes of Marwar and Ambér, whose positions at the court of the Mogul often brought their national jealousies into conflict, as they alternately took the lead in his councils : for it was rare to find both in the same line of politics. These matters were arranged at Oodipoor.²

¹ A.D. 1735.

² These documents are interesting, if merely showing the high respect paid by every Rajpoot prince to the Ranas of Méwar, and illustrating what is recorded in the reign of Pertáp, who abjured all intercourse with them.

No. 1.

" From Konwar Beejy Sing of Marwar to the Mah-Rana Sri-Sri-Sri.

" Juggut Sing's Presence—let my *moajra* (obedience) be known. You honoured me by sending Rawut Kesuri Sing and Beharri-das, and commanding a marriage connection. Your orders are on your child's head. You have made me a servant. To every thing I am agreed, and now I am your child ; while I live I am yours. If a true Rajpoot, my head is at your disposal. You have made 20,000 Rahtores your servants. If I fail in this, the Almighty is between us. Whoever is of my blood will obey your commands, and the *fruit of this marriage shall be sovereign, and if a daughter, should I bestow her on the Toorkana, I am no true Rajpoot.* She shall be married to a proper connection, and not without your advice ; and even should *Sri Bhahoji* (an epithet of respect to his father), or others of our elders, recommend such proceeding, I swear by God I shall not agree. I am the Dêwans, let others approve or disapprove.—Assar Sood Poonum, Full Moon, Thursday, S. 1791 (A.D. 1735-6)."

" N.B.—This deed was executed in the balcony of the Kishen-bulas by Rawut Kesuri Sing and Pancholi Beharri-das, and written by Pancholi Laljee—namely, marriage-deed of Konwar Beejy Sing, son of Bukt Sing."

No. 2.

" From Beejy Sing to Rana Juggut Sing.

" Here all is well. Preserve your friendship and favour for me, and give me tidings of your welfare. That day I shall behold you will be without price (*amoluc*). *You have made me a thorough Rajpoot*—never shall I fail in whatever service I can perform. You are the father of all the tribes, and bestow gifts on each according to his worth—the support and preservation of all around you—to your enemy destruction ; great in knowledge, and wise like Brimha. May the Lord of the world keep the Rana happy.—Asar 13."

But, as we have often had occasion to observe, no public or general benefit ever resulted from these alliances, which were obstructed by the multitude of petty jealousies inseparable from clanship; even while this treaty was in discussion, the fruit of the triple league formed against the tyranny of Arungzéb was about to show its baneful influence, as will presently appear.

When Malwa was acquired by the Mahrattas, followed by the cession of the *chout'h*, their leader, Bajerow, repaired to Méwar, where his visit created great alarm.¹ The Rana desired to avoid a personal interview,

No. 3.

"Raja Bukt Sing to the Rana.

"To Mahrana Sri-Sri-Sri Juggut Sing, let Bukt Sing's respects (*moofra*) be made known. *You have made me a thorough Rajpoot*, and by such your favour is known to the world. What service I can perform, you will never find me backward. The day I shall see you I shall be happy, my heart yearns to be with you.—Asar 11."

No. 4.

"Sawaie Jey Sing to the Rana.

"May the respects of Sawaie Jey Sing be known to the Mahrana. According to the Sri Déwan's *commands* (*hoogm*), I have entered into terms of friendship with you (Abhí Sing of Marwar). For neither Hindu nor Mussulman shall I swerve therefrom. To this engagement God is between us, and the Sri Déwan-ji is witness.—Asar Sood 7."

No. 5.

"Raja Bukt Sing to the Rana.

"Your *Khas roqqua* (note in the Rana's own hand) I received, read, and was happy. Jey Sing's engagement you will have received, and mine also will have reached you. At your commands I entered into friendship with him, and as to my preserving it have no doubts, for having given you as my guarantee, no deviation can occur; do you secure his. Whether you may be accounted my father, brother, or friend, I am yours; besides you I care for neither connection nor kin.—Asar 6."

No. 6.

"From Raja Abhí Sing to the Rana.

"To the Presence of Mahrana Juggut Sing, Mahrana Abhí Sing writes—read his respects (*moofra*). God is witness to our engagement, whoever breaks it may he fare ill. In good and in evil we are joined; with one mind let us remain united, and let no selfishness disunite us. Your chiefs are witnesses, and the true Rajpoot will not deviate from his engagement.—Asoj 3, Thursday."

Abhí Sing and Bukt Sing were brothers, sons of Raja Ajít of Marwar, to whom the former succeeded, while Bukt Sing held Nagore independently. His son was Beejy Sing, with whom this marriage was contracted. He ultimately succeeded to the government of Marwar or Jodpoor. He will add another example of political expediency counteracting common gratitude, in seizing on domestic convulsions to deprive the Rana's grandson of the province of Godwar. Zalim Sing was the fruit of this marriage, who resided during his elder brother's (Futteh Sing) lifetime at Oodipoor. He was brave, amiable, and a distinguished poet. The *Yati* (priest), who attended me during twelve years, my assistant in these researches, was brought up under the eye of this prince as his amanuensis, and from him he imbibed his love of history and poetry, in reading which he excelled all the bards of Rajwarra.

¹ Letters from Rana Juggut Sing to Beharri-das Pancholi.

No. 1.

"Swesta Sri, chief of ministers, Pancholi-ji, read my *Johár*.¹ The remembrance of you never leaves me. The Dekhany question you have settled well but if a meeting is to take place,² let it be beyond Deola—nearer is not advisable. Lessen the number of your troops, by God's blessing there will be no want of

¹ A compliment used from a superior to any inferior.

² To the Peshwa is the allusion.

and sent as his ambassadors, the chief of Saloombra and his prime minister, Beharri-das. Long discussions followed as to the mode of Bajerow's

funds. Settle for Rampoor according to the preceding year, and let Dowlut Sing know the opportunity will not occur again. The royal mother is unwell. Garrarow and Guj Manik fought nobly, and Soondur Guj played a thousand pranks.¹ I regretted your absence. How shall I send Sobharam?—Asoj 6, S. 1791 (A.D. 1735)."

No. 2.—*To the Same.*

"I will not credit it, therefore send witnesses and a detail of their demands. Bajerow is come, and he will derive reputation from having compelled a contribution from me, besides his demand of land. He has commenced with my country, and will take twenty times more from me than other Rajas—if a proportionate demand, it might be complied with. Mulhar came last year, but this was nothing—Bajerow this, and he is powerful. But if God hears me he will not get my land. From Devichund learn particulars.

"Thursday.

S. 1792.

"At the *Holi* all was joy at the Jugmundur,² but what is food without salt? what Oodipoor without Beharri-das?"

No. 3.—*Same to the Same.*

"With such a man as you in my house I have no fears for its stability; but why this appearance of poverty? perhaps you will ask, what fault have you committed, that you sit and move as I direct? The matter is thus: money is all in all, and the troubles on foot can only be settled by you, and all other resolutions are useless. You may say, you have got nothing, and how can you settle them—but already two or three difficulties have occurred, in getting out of which, both your pinions and mine, as to veracity, have been broken, so that neither scheming nor wisdom is any longer available. Though you have been removed from me for some time, I have always considered you at hand; but now it will be well if you approach nearer to me, that we may raise supplies, for in the act of hiding you are celebrated, and the son³ (*bētā*) hides none: therefore your hoarding is useless, and begets suspicions. Therefore, unless you have a mind to efface all regard for your master and your own importance at my court, you will get ready some jewels and bonds under good security and bring them to me. There is no way but this to allay these troubles: but should you think you have got ever so much time, and that I will send for you at all events, then have I thrown away mine in writing you this letter. You are wise—look to the future, and be assured I shall write no second letter.—S. 1792."

This letter will show that the office of prime minister is not a bed of roses. The immediate descendants of Beharri-das are in poverty like their prince, though some distant branches of the family are in situations of trust; his ambassador to Dehli, and who subsequently remained with me as medium of communication with the Rana, was a worthy and able man—Kishen-das Pancholi.

I shall subjoin another letter from the Sitarra prince to Rana Juggut Sing, though being without date it is doubtful whether it is not addressed to Juggut Sing the First; this is, however, unimportant, as it is merely one of compliment, but showing the high respect paid by the sovereign of the Peshwas to the house whence they originally sprung.

"Swesta Sri, worthy of all praise (*opma*), from whose actions credit results; the worshipper of the remover of troubles; the ambrosia of the ocean of the Rajpoot race⁴ (*imritā rutndcāra khētrī cula*); resplendent as the sun; who has

¹ As the Rana never expected his confidential notes to be translated into English, perhaps it is illiberal to be severe on them; or we might say, his elephants are mentioned more *con amore* than his sick mother or state affairs. I obtained many hundreds of these autograph notes of this prince to his prime minister.

² The Hindu saturnalia held in the island, "The Minster of the world."

³ The Rana always styled him 'father.'

⁴ The ocean has the poetical appellation of *rutndcāra*, or "house of gems";

reception, which was settled to be on the same footing as the Raja of Bunéra,¹ and that he should be seated in front of the throne. A treaty followed, stipulating an annual tribute, which remained in force during ten years,² when grasping at the whole they despised a part, and the treaty became a nullity.³ The dissensions which arose soon after, in consequence of the Rajpoot engagements, afforded the opportunity sought for to mix in their internal concerns. It may be recollected that in the family engagements formed by Rana Umra there was an obligation to invest the issue of such marriage with the rights of primogeniture; and the death of Sawaie Jey Sing⁴ of Ambér, two years after Nadir's invasion, brought that stipulation into effect. His eldest son, Esuri Sing, was proclaimed Raja, but a strong party supported Madhú Sing, the Rana's nephew, and the stipulated, against the natural order of succession. We are left in doubt as to the real designs of Jey Sing in maintaining his guarantee, which was doubtless inconvenient; but that Madhú Sing was not brought up to the expectation is evident, from his holding a fief of the Rana Sangram, who appropriated the domain of Rampoorra for his support, subject to the service of one thousand horse and two thousand foot, formally sanctioned by his father, who allowed the transfer of his services. On the other hand, the letter of permission entitles him *Cheema*, an epithet only applied to the heir-apparent of Jeipoor. Five years, however, elapsed before any extraordinary exertions were made to annul the rights of Esuri Sing, who led his vassals to the Sutledge in order to oppose the first invasion of the Dooranees.⁵ It would be tedious to give even an epitome of the intrigues for the development of this object, which properly belong to the annals of Ambér, and whence resulted many of the troubles of Rajpootana.

made a river of tears from the eyes of the wives of your warlike foes; in deeds munificent. *Sriman Mahraja dheraj Mahrana Sri Juggut Sing-ji*, of all the princes chief, *Sriman Sahoo Chut'hurpáti Rahja* writes, read his Ram, Ram! Here all is well; honour me by good accounts, which I am always expecting, as the source of happiness.

"Your favour was received by the Pundhit Purdhan)¹ with great respect; and from the period of the arrival of Raj Sri Rawut Oody Sing to this time my good-will has been increasing towards him: let your favour between us be enlarged: what more can I write?"

¹ The descendant of Bheem, son of Rana Raj Sing. The seat assigned to Bajerow was made the precedent for the position of the representative of the British government.

² The amount was 160,000 rupees, divided into three shares of 53,333 0 4½, assigned to Holkar, Sindia, and the Púar. The management was entrusted to Holkar; subsequently Sindia acted as receiver-general. This was the only regular tributary engagement Méwar entered into.

³ See letter No. 2, in note, p. 336.

⁴ A.D. 1743.

⁵ A.D. 1747.

the fable of the churning of the ocean is well known, when were yielded many bounties, of which the *imrita* or 'immortal food' of the gods was one, to which the Rana, as head of all the Rajpoot tribes, is likened.

¹ This expression induces the belief that the letter is written by the Peshwa in his sovereign's name, as they had at this time commenced their usurpation of his power. It was to the second Juggut Sing that an offer was made to fill the Sitarra throne by a branch of his family, then occupied by an imbecile. A younger brother of the Rana, the ancestor of the present heir presumptive, Sheodan Sing, was chosen, but intrigues prevented it, the Rana dreading a superior from his own family.

The Rana took the field with his nephew, and was met by Esuri Sing,¹ supported by the Mahrattas; but the Seesodias did not evince in the battle of Rajmahl that gallantry which must have its source in moral strength: they were defeated and fled. The Rana vented his indignation in a galling sarcasm; he gave the sword of state to a common courtesan to carry in procession, observing "it was a woman's weapon in these degenerate times": a remark, the degrading severity of which made a lasting impression in the decline of Méwar. Elated with this success, Esuri Sing carried his resentments and his auxiliaries, under Sindia, against the Haras of Kotah and Boondí, who supported the cause of his antagonist. Kotah stood a siege and was gallantly defended, and Sindia (Appajee) lost an arm: on this occasion both the states suffered a diminution of territory, and were subjected to tribute. The Rana, following the example of the Cutchwahas, called in as auxiliary Mulhar Rao Holkar, and engaged to pay sixty-four lakhs of rupees (£800,000) on the deposal of Esuri Sing. To avoid degradation this unfortunate prince resolved on suicide, and a dose of poison gave Madhú Sing the *gadi*, Holkar his bribe, and the Mahrattas a firm hold upon Rajast'han. Such was the cause of Rajpoot abasement; the moral force of the vassals was lost in a contest unjust in all its associations, and from this period we have only the degrading spectacle of civil strife and predatory spoliation till the existing treaty of A.D. 1817.

In S. 1808 (A.D. 1752) Rana Juggut Sing died. Addicted to pleasure, his habits of levity and profusion totally unfitted him for the task of governing his country at such a juncture; he considered his elephant fights² of more importance than keeping down the Mahrattas. Like all his family, he patronised the arts, greatly enlarged the palace, and expended £250,000 in embellishing the islets of the Péshola. The villas scattered over the valley were all erected by him, and many of those festivals devoted to idleness and dissipation, and now firmly rooted at Oodipoor, were instituted by Juggut Sing II.

CHAPTER XVI

Rana Pertáp II.—Rana Raj Sing II.—Rana Ursi—Holkar invades Méwar, and levies contributions—Rebellion to depose the Rana—A Pretender set up by the rebel chiefs—Zalim Sing of Kotah—The Pretender unites with Sindia—Their combined force attacked by the Rana, who is defeated—Sindia invades Méwar and besieges Oodipoor—Umra Chund made minister by the Rana—His noble conduct—Negotiates with Sindia, who withdraws—Loss of territory to Méwar—Rebel chiefs return to their allegiance—Province of Godwar lost—Assassination of the Rana—Rana Hamír succeeds—Contentions between the Queen Regent and Umra—His noble conduct, death, and character—Diminution of the Méwar territory.

PERTÁP II. succeeded in A.D. 1752. Of the history of this prince, who renewed the most illustrious name in the annals of Méwar, there is nothing to record beyond the fact, that the three years he occupied the throne were

¹ The great Jey Sing built a city which he called after himself, and henceforth Jeipoor will supersede the ancient appellation, Ambr.

² See letters from Rana Juggut Sing to Beharri-das, p. 336.

marked by so many Mahratta invasions¹ and war contributions. By a daughter of Raja Jey Sing of Ambér he had a son, who succeeded him.

Rana Raj Sing II. was as little entitled to the name he bore as his predecessor. During the seven years he held the dignity, at least seven shoals of the Southrons overran Méwar,² and so exhausted this country, that the Rana was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahmin collector of the tribute, to enable him to marry the Rahtore chieftain's daughter. On his death the order of succession retrograded, devolving on his uncle,

Rana Ursi, in S. 1818, A.D. 1762. The levity of Juggut Sing, the inexperience of his successors Pertáp and Raj Sing, with the ungovernable temper of Rana Ursi, and the circumstances under which he succeeded to power, introduced a train of disorders which proved fatal to Méwar. Until this period not a foot of territory had been alienated. The wisdom of the Pancholi ministers, and the high respect paid by the organ of the Sitarra government, for a while preserved its integrity; but when the country was divided by factions, and the Mahrattas, ceasing to be a federate body, prowled in search of prey under leaders, each having an interest of his own, they formed political combinations to suit the ephemeral purposes of the former, but from which they alone reaped advantage. An attempt to depose Pertáp and set up his uncle Nat'hji introduced a series of rebellions, and constituted Mulhar Rao Holkar, who had already become master of a considerable portion of the domain of Méwar, the umpire in their family disputes.

The ties of blood or of princely gratitude are feeble bonds if political expediency demands their dissolution; and Madhú Sing, when firmly established on the throne of Ambér, repaid the immense sacrifices by which the Rana had effected it by assigning his fief of Rampoorá, which he had not a shadow of right to alienate, to Holkar: this was the first limb severed from Méwar.³ Holkar had also become the assignee of the tribute imposed by Bajerow, but from which the Rana justly deemed himself exempt, when the terms of all further encroachment in Méwar were set at naught. On the plea of recovering these arrears, and the rent of some districts⁴ on the Chumbul, Mulhar, after many threatening letters, invaded Méwar, and his threats of occupying the capital were only checked by draining their exhausted resources of six hundred thousand pounds.⁵ In the same year⁶ a famine afflicted them, when flour and tamarinds were equal in value, and were sold at the rate of a rupee for one pound and a half. Four years subsequent to this, civil war broke out

¹ The leaders of these invasions were Sutwaji, Jankoji, and Raganaut Rao.

² In S. 1812, Raja Buhadoor; in 1813, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Vitul Rao; in 1814, Ranaji Boortea: in 1813 *three* war contributions were levied, namely, by Sudasheo Rao, Govind Rao, and Kunaje Jadoon.

³ This was in S. 1808 (A.D. 1752); portions, however, remained attached to the fisc of Méwar for several years, besides a considerable part of the feudal lands of the Chanderawut chief of Amud. Of the former, the Rana retained Hinglazgurbh and the Tuppas of Jarda Kinjerra, and Boodsoo. These were surrendered by Raj Sing, who rented Boodsoo under its new appellation of Mulhargurbh.

⁴ Boodsoo, etc.

⁵ Holkar advanced as far as Ontala, where Urjoon Sing of Korabur and the Rana's foster-brothers met him, and negotiated the payment of fifty-one lakhs of rupees.

⁶ S. 1820, A.D. 1764.

and continued to influence all posterior proceedings, rendering the inhabitants of this unhappy country a prey to every invader until 1817, when they tasted repose under British protection.

The real cause of this rebellion must ever remain a secret : for while some regard it as a patriotic effort on the part of the people to redeem themselves from foreign domination, others discover its motive in the selfishness of the hostile clans, who supported or opposed the succession of Rana Ursi. This prince is accused of having unfairly acquired the crown, by the removal of his nephew Raj Sing ; but though the traditional anecdotes of the period furnish strong grounds of suspicion, there is nothing which affords a direct confirmation of the crime. It is, however, a public misfortune when the line of succession retrogrades in Méwar : Ursi had no right to expect the inheritance he obtained, having long held a seat below the sixteen chief nobles ; and as one of the ' infants ' (*babas*) he was incorporated with the second class of nobles with an appanage of only £3000 per annum. His defects of character had been too closely contemplated by his compeers, and had kindled too many enmities, to justify expectation that the adventitious dignity he had attained would succeed in obliterating the memory of them ; and past familiarity alone destroyed the respect which was exacted by sudden greatness. His insolent demeanour estranged the first of the home nobility, the Sadri chieftain,¹ whose ancestor at Huldighat acquired a claim to the perpetual gratitude of the Seesodias, while to an unfeeling pun on a personal defect of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh is attributed the hatred and revenge of this powerful branch of the Chondawuts. These chiefs formed a party which eventually entrained many of lesser note to depose their sovereign, and immediately set up a youth called Rutna Sing, declared to be the posthumous son of the last Rana by the daughter of the chief of Gogoonda, though to this hour disputes run high as to whether he was really the son of Raj Sing, or merely the puppet of a faction. Be the fact as it may, he was made a rallying point for the disaffected, who soon comprehended the greater portion of the nobles, while out of the ' sixteen ' greater chiefs five² only withstood the defection : of these, Saloombra, the hereditary premier, at first espoused, but soon abandoned, the cause of the Pretender ; not from the principle of loyalty which his descendants take credit for, but from finding the superiority of intellect of the heads of the rebellion³ (which now counted the rival Suktawuts) too powerful

¹ An autograph letter of this chief's to the minister of the day I obtained, with other public documents, from the descendant of the Pancholi :

" To Jeswunt Rao Pancholi, Raj Rinna Raghoodeo writes. After compliments. I received your letter—from old times you have been my friend, and have ever maintained faith towards me, for I am of the loyal to the Rana's house. I conceal nothing from you, therefore I write that my heart is averse to longer service, and it is my purpose in Asar to go to Gya.¹ When I mentioned this to the Rana, he sarcastically told me I might go to *Dwarica*.² If I stay, the Rana will restore the villages in my fief, as during the time of Jaetji. My ancestors have performed good service, and I have served since I was fourteen. If the Durbar intends me any favour, this is the time."

² Saloombra (*Chondawut*), Bijolli, Amait, Ganora, and Bednore.

³ Bheendir (*Suktawut*), Deogurh, Sadri, Gogoonda, Dailwarra, Baidla, Kotario, and Kanorh.

¹ Gya is esteemed the proper pilgrimage for the Rajpoots.

² Dwarica, the resort for religious and unwarlike tribes.

for the supremacy he desired. Bussut Pal, of the Dēpra tribe, was invested with the office of *Purdhan* to the Pretender. The ancestor of this man accompanied Samarsi in the twelfth century from Dehli, where he held a high office in the household of Pirthi Raj, the last emperor of the Hindus, and it is a distinguished proof of the hereditary quality of official dignity to find his descendant, after the lapse of centuries, still holding office with the nominal title of *Purdhan*. The *Fitoori*¹ (by which name the court still designates the Pretender) took post with his faction in Komulmér; where he was formally installed, and whence he promulgated his decrees as Rana of Méwar. With that heedlessness of consequences and the political debasement which are invariable concomitants of civil dissension, they had the meanness to invite Sindia to their aid, with a promise of a reward of more than one million sterling² on the dethronement of Ursi.

This contest first brought into notice one of the most celebrated Rajpoot chiefs of India, Zalim Sing of Kotah, who was destined to fill a distinguished part in the annals of Rajast'han, but more especially in Méwar, where his political sagacity first developed itself. Though this is not the proper place to delineate his history, which will occupy a subsequent portion of the work, it is impossible to trace the events with which he was so closely connected without adverting slightly to the part he acted in these scenes. The attack on Kotah, of which his father was military governor (during the struggle to place Madhú Sing on the throne of Ambér), by Esuri Sing, in conjunction with Sindia, was the first avenue to his distinguished career, leading to an acquaintance with the Mahratta chiefs, which linked him with their policy for more than half a century. Zalim having lost his prince's favour, whose path in love he had dared to cross, repaired, on his banishment from Kotah, to the Rana, who, observing his talents, enrolled him amongst his chiefs, and conferred on him, with the title of Raj Rinna, the lands of Cheeturkhaira for his support. By his advice the Mahratta leaders, Raghoo Paigawalla and Dowla Meea, with their bands, were called in by the Rana, who, setting aside the ancient Pancholi ministry, gave the seals of office to Uggurji Mehta. At this period (S. 1824, A.D. 1768), Madhaji Sindia was at Oojein, whither the conflicting parties hastened, each desirous of obtaining the chieftain's support. But the Pretender's proposals had been already entertained, and he was then encamped with Sindia on the banks of the Sippra.

The Rana's force, conducted by the chief of Saloombra, the Rajas of Shapoorá and Bunéra, with Zalim Sing and the Mahratta auxiliaries, did not hesitate to attack the combined camp, and for a moment they were victorious, driving Madhaji and the Pretender from the field, with great loss, to the gates of Oojein. Here, however, they rallied, and being joined by a fresh body of troops, the battle was renewed with great disadvantage to the Rajpoots, who, deeming the day theirs, had broken and dispersed to plunder. The chiefs of Saloombra, Shapoorá, and Bunéra were slain, and the auxiliary Dowla Meea, Raja Maun (ex-prince of Nirwur), and Raj Kullian, the heir of Sadri, severely wounded. Zalim Sing had his horse killed under him, and being left wounded on the field, was made prisoner, but hospitably treated by Trimluck Rao, father to the celebrated Umbaji. The discomfited troops retreated to Oodipoor

¹ Agitator, or disturber.

² One crore and twenty-five lakhs.

while the Pretender's party remained with Sindia, inciting him to invest that capital and place Rutna on the throne. Some time, however, elapsed before he could carry this design into execution ; when at the head of a large force the Mahratta chief gained the passes and besieged the city. The Rana's cause now appeared hopeless. Bheem Sing of Saloombra, uncle and successor to the chief slain at Oojein, with the Rahtore chief of Bednore (descendant of Jeimul), were the only nobles of high rank who defended their prince and capital in this emergency ; but the energies of an individual saved both.

Umra Chund Burwa, of the mercantile class, had held office in the preceding reigns, when his influence retarded the progress of evils which no human means could avert. He was now displaced, and little solicitous of recovering his transient power, amidst hourly increasing difficulties, with a stubborn and unpopular prince, a divided aristocracy, and an impoverished country. He was aware also of his own imperious temper, which was as ungovernable as his sovereign's, and which experienced no check from the minor Pertáp, who regarded him as his father. During the ten years he had been out of office, mercenaries of Sind had been entertained and established on the forfeited lands of the clans, perpetuating discontent and stifling every latent spark of patriotism. Even those who did not join the Pretender remained sullenly at their castles, and thus all confidence was annihilated. A casual incident brought Umra forward at this critical juncture. Oodipoor had neither ditch nor walls equal to its defence. Ursi was engaged in fortifying Eklingurh, a lofty hill south of the city, which it commanded, and attempting to place thereon an enormous piece of ordnance, but it baffled their mechanical skill to get it over the scraggy ascent. Umra happened to be present when the Rana arrived to inspect the proceedings. Excuses were made to avert his displeasure, when turning to the ex-minister, he inquired what time and expense ought to attend the completion of such an undertaking. The reply was, " a few rations of grain and some days " : and he offered to accomplish the task, on condition that his orders should be supreme in the valley during its performance. He collected the whole working population, cut a road, and in a few days gave the Rana a salute from Eklingurh. The foster-brother of the Rana had succeeded the Jhala chieftain, Raghoo Deo, in the ministerial functions. The city was now closely invested on every side but the west, where communications were still kept open by the lake, across which the faithful mountaineers of the Aravulli, who in similar dangers never failed, supplied them with provisions. All defence rested on the fidelity of the mercenary Sindies, and they were at this very moment insolent in their clamours for arrears of pay. Nor were the indecisive measures daily passing before their eyes calculated to augment their respect, or stimulate their courage. Not satisfied with demands, they had the audacity to seize the Rana by the skirt of his robe as he entered the palace, which was torn in the effort to detain him. The haughtiness of his temper gave way to this humiliating proof of the hopelessness of his condition ; and while the *D'habhae* (foster-brother) counselled escape by water to the mountains, whence he might gain Mandelgurh, the Saloombra chief confessed his inability to offer any advice save that of recourse to Umra Chund. He was summoned, and the uncontrolled charge of their desperate affairs offered to

his guidance. He replied that it was a task of which no man could be covetous, more especially himself, whose administration had formerly been marked by the banishment of corruption and disorder, for that he must now call in the aid of these vices, and assimilate the means to the times. "You know also," he added, "my defect of temper, which admits of no control. Wherever I am, I must be absolute—no secret advisers, no counteraction of measures. With finances ruined, troops mutinous, provisions expended, if you desire me to act, swear that no order, whatever its purport, shall be countermanded, and I may try what can be done: but recollect, Umra 'the just,' will be the unjust, and reverse his former character." The Rana pledged himself by the patron deity to comply with all his demands, adding this forcible expression: "Should you even send to the queen's apartment and demand her necklace or *nutha*,¹ it shall be granted." The advice of the *D'habhae* encountered the full flood of Umra's wrath. "The counsel is such as might be expected from your condition. What will preserve your prince at Mandelgurrh if he flies from Oodipoor, and what hidden resources have you there for your support? The project would suit you, who might resume your original occupation of tending buffaloes and selling milk, more adapted to your birth and understanding than state affairs; but these pursuits your prince has yet to learn." The Rana and his chiefs bent their heads at the bold bearing of Umra. Descending to the terrace, where the Sindie leaders and their bands were assembled, he commanded them to follow him, exclaiming, "look to me for your arrears, and as for your services, it will be my fault if you fail." The mutineers, who had just insulted their sovereign, rose without reply, and in a body left the palace with Umra, who calculated their arrears and promised payment the next day. Meanwhile he commanded the *bundars* (repositories) to be broken open, as the keeper of each fled when the keys of their trust were demanded. All the gold and silver, whether in bullion or in vessels, were converted into money—jewels were pledged—the troops paid and satisfied, ammunition and provisions laid in—a fresh stimulus supplied, the enemy held at defiance, and the siege prolonged during six months.

The Pretender's party had extended their influence over a great part of the crown domain, even to the valley of Oodipoor; but unable to fulfil the stipulation to Sindia, the baffled Mahratta, to whom time was treasure, negotiated with Umra to raise the siege, and abandon the Pretender on the payment of seventy lakhs. But scarcely was the treaty signed, when the reported disposition of the auxiliaries, and the plunder expected on a successful assault, excited his avarice and made him break his faith, and twenty lakhs additional were imposed. Umra tore up the treaty, and sent back the fragments to the faithless Mahratta with defiance. His spirit increased with his difficulties, and he infused his gallantry into the hearts of the most despairing. Assembling the Sindies and the home-clans who were yet true to their prince, he explained to them the transaction, and addressed them in that language which speaks to the souls of all mankind, and to give due weight to his exhortation, he distributed amongst the most deserving, many articles of cumbrous ornament lying useless in the treasury. The stores of grain in the city and neigh-

¹ The nose-jewel, which even to mention is considered a breach of delicacy.

bourhood, whether public or private, were collected and sent to the market, and it was proclaimed by beat of drum that every fighting man should have six months' provision on application. Hitherto grain had been selling at little more than a pound for the rupee, and these unexpected resources were matter of universal surprise, more especially to the besiegers.¹ The Sindies, having no longer cause for discontent, caught the spirit of the brave Umra, and went in a body to the palace to swear in public never to abandon the Rana, whom their leader, Adil Beg,² thus addressed: "We have long eaten your salt and received numerous favours from your house, and we now come to swear never to abandon you. Oodipoor is our home, and we will fall with it. We demand no further pay, and when our grain is exhausted, we will feed on the beasts, and when these fail we will thin the ranks of the Southrons and die sword in hand." Such were the sentiments that Umra had inspired, the expression of which extorted tears from the Rana—a sight so unusual with this stern prince, as to raise frantic shouts from the Sindies and his Rajpoots. The enthusiasm spread and was announced to Sindia with all its circumstances by a general discharge of cannon on his advanced posts. Apprehensive of some desperate display of Rajpoot valour, the wary Mahratta made overtures for a renewal of the negotiation. It was now Umra's turn to triumph, and he replied that he must deduct from the original terms the expense they had incurred in sustaining another six months' siege. Thus outwitted, Sindia was compelled to accept sixty lakhs, and three and a half for official expenses.³

Thirty-three lakhs in jewels and specie, gold and silver plate, and assignments on the chiefs, were immediately made over to Sindia, and lands mortgaged for the liquidation of the remainder. For this object the districts of Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, and Morwun were set aside to be superintended by joint officers of both governments, with an annual investigation of accounts. From S. 1825 to S. 1831 no infringement took place of this arrangement; but in the latter year Sindia dismissed the Rana's officers from the management, and refused all further settlement; and with the exception of a temporary occupation on Sindia's reverse of fortune in S. 1851, these rich districts have remained severed from Méwar. In S. 1831 the great officers of the Mahratta federation began to shake off the trammels of the Peshwa's authority; and Sindia retained for the state of which he was the founder, all these lands except Morwun, which was made over to Holkar, who the year after the transaction demanded of the Rana the surrender of the district of Neembahaira, threatening, in the event of non-compliance, to repeat the part his predatory coadjutor Sindia had just performed. The cession was unavoidable.

Thus terminated, in S. 1826, the siege of Oodipoor, with the dislocation of these fine districts from Méwar. But let it be remembered that they were only mortgaged:⁴ and although the continued degradation of the

¹ To Umra's credit it is related, that his own brother-in-law was the first and principal sufferer, and that to his remonstrance and hope that family ties would save his grain pits, he was told, that it was a source of great satisfaction that he was enabled through him to evince his disinterestedness.

² See grant to this chief's son, p. 162.

³ *Mootsuddi kurch*, or *douceur* to the officers of government, was an authorised article of every Mahratta *modmla*, or war contribution.

⁴ Little Maloni, now Gungapoor, with its lands, was the only place decidedly

country from the same causes has prevented their redemption, the claim to them has never been abandoned. Their recovery was stipulated by the ambassadors of the Rana in the treaty of A.D. 1817 with the British government ; but our total ignorance of the past transactions of these countries, added to our amicable relations with Sindia, prevented any pledge of the reunion of these districts ; and it must ever be deeply lamented that, when the teacherous and hostile conduct of Sindia gave a noble opportunity for their restoration, it was lost, from policy difficult to understand, and which must be subject to the animadversions of future historians of that important period in the history of India. It yet remains for the wisdom of the British government to decide whether half a century's abeyance, and the inability to redeem them by the sword, render the claim a dead letter. At all events, the facts here recorded from a multiplicity of public documents, and corroborated by living actors¹ in the scene, may be useful at some future day, when expedience may admit of their being reannexed to Méwar.

Umra's defence of the capital, and the retreat of the Mahrattas, was a deathblow to the hopes of the Pretender, who had obtained not only many of the strongholds, but a footing in the valley of the capital. Rajnuggur, Raepoor, and Ontala were rapidly recovered ; many of the nobles returned to the Rana and to their allegiance ; and Rana was left in Komulmér with the Dépra minister, and but three of the sixteen principal nobles, namely Deogurh, Bheendir, and Amait. These contentions lasted till S. 1831, when the chiefs above named also abandoned him, but not until their rebellion had cost the feather in the crown of Méwar. The rich province of Godwar, the most fruitful of all her possessions, and containing the most loyal of her vassalage, the Ranawuts, Rahtores, and Solankis, was nearly all held on tenure of feudal service, and furnished three thousand horse besides foot, a greater number than the aggregate of the Chondawuts. This district, which was won with the title of Rana from the Purihara prince of Mundore, before Jodpoor was built, and whose northern boundary was confirmed by the blood of the Chondawut chief in the reign of Joda, was confided by the Rana to the care of Raja Beejy Sing of Jodpoor, to prevent its resources being available to the Pretender, whose residence, Komulmér, commanded the approach to it : and the original treaty yet exists in which the prince of Marwar binds himself to provide and support a body of three thousand men for the Rana's service, from its revenues. This province might have been recovered ; but the evil genius of Ursi Rana at this time led him to Boondí to hunt at the spring festival (the *Ahairea*), with the Hara prince, in spite of the prophetic warning of the suttee, who from the funeral pile denounced a practice which had already thrice proved fatal to the princes of Méwar. Rana Ursi fell by the hand of the Boondí prince, and Godwar, withheld from his minor successor, has since remained severed. The Boondí heir, who perpetrated this atrocious assassination, was said to be prompted by the Méwar nobles, who detested their sovereign, and with whom, since the late events, it was impossible they could ever unite in confidence. Implacable in his disposition, he brooded over injuries, calmly awaiting the moment to avenge alienated, being a voluntary gift to Sindia, to endow the establishment of his wife, Gunga Baé, who died there.

¹ Zalim Sing of Kotah, and Lallaji Bellal, both now dead.

them. A single instance will suffice to evince this, as well as the infatuation of Rajpoot devotion. The Saloombra chief, whose predecessor had fallen in support of the Rana's cause at the battle of Oojein, having incurred his suspicions, the Rana commanded him to eat the *pan* (leaf) presented on taking leave. Startled at so unusual an order, he remonstrated, but in vain; and with the conviction that it contained his death-warrant he obeyed, observing to the tyrant, "my compliance will cost you and your family dear": words fulfilled with fearful accuracy, for to this and similar acts is ascribed the murder of Ursi, and the completion of the ruin of the country. A colour of pretext was afforded to the Boondí chief in a boundary dispute regarding a patch of land yielding only a few good mangoes; but, even admitting this as a palliative, it could not justify the inhospitable act, which in the mode of execution added cowardice to barbarity: for while both were pursuing the boar, the Boondí heir drove his lance through the heart of the Rana. The assassin fell a victim to remorse, the deed being not only disclaimed, but severely reprobated by his father, and all the Hara tribe. A cenotaph still stands on the site of the murder, where the body of Ursi was consumed, and the feud between the houses remains unappeased.

Rana Ursi left two sons, Hamir and Bheem Sing. The former, a name of celebrity in their annals, succeeded in S. 1828 (A.D. 1772) to the little enviable title of Rana. With an ambitious mother, determined to control affairs during his minority, a state pronounced by the bard peculiarly dangerous to a Rajpoot dynasty,—and the vengeful competition of the Saloombra chief (successor to the murdered noble), who was equally resolved to take the lead, combined with an unextinguishable enmity to the Suktawuts, who supported the policy of the queen-mother, the demoralisation of Méwar was complete: her fields were deluged with blood, and her soil was the prey of every paltry marauder.

The mercenary Sindies, who, won by the enthusiasm of Umra, had for a moment assumed the garb of fidelity, threw it off at their prince's death, taking possession of the capital, which it will be remembered had been committed to the charge of the Saloombra chief, whom they confined and were about to subject to the torture of the hot iron¹ to extort their arrears of pay, when he was rescued from the indignity by the unlooked-for return of Umra from Boondí. This faithful minister determined to establish the rights of the infant prince against all other claimants for power. But he knew mankind, and had attained, what is still more difficult, the knowledge of himself. Aware that his resolution to maintain his post at all hazards, and against every competitor, would incur the imputation of self-interest, he, like our own Wolsey, though from far different motives, made an inventory of his wealth, in gold, jewels, and plate, even to his wardrobe, and sent the whole in trays to the queen-mother. Suspicion was shamed and resentment disarmed by this proceeding; and to repeated entreaties that he would receive it back he was inflexible, with the exception of articles of apparel that had already been in use. This imperious woman was a daughter of Gogoonda. She possessed considerable talents, but was ruled by an artful *intriguante*, who, in her turn, was governed by a young *homme d'affaires*, then holding an inferior office, but who subsequently acted a conspicuous part; slew and was slain, like almost all who entered into the

¹ A heated platter used for baking bread, on which they place the culprit.

politics of this tempestuous period. The queen-mother, now supported by the Chondawuts, opposed the minister, who maintained himself by aid of the Sindies, kept the Mahrattas from the capital, and protected the crown land; but the ungrateful return made to his long-tried fidelity rendered his temper ungovernable. Rampearie¹ (such the name of the *intriguante*) repaired on one occasion to the office of the minister, and in the name of the regent queen reviled him for some supposed omission. Umra, losing all temper at this intrusion, applied to the fair abigail the coarsest epithets used to her sex, bidding her begone as a *Kootee ca Rand* (a phrase we shall not translate), which was reported with exaggeration to the queen, who threw herself into a litter and set off to the Saloombra chief. Umra, anticipating an explosion, met the cavalcade in the street, and enjoined her instant return to the palace. Who dared disobey? Arrived at the door of the Rawula, he made his obeisance, and told her it was a disgrace to the memory of her lord that she should quit the palace under any pretext; that even the potter's wife did not go abroad for six months after her husband's death, while she, setting decorum at defiance, had scarcely permitted the period of mourning to elapse. He concluded by saying he had a duty to perform, and that he would perform it in spite of all obstacles, in which, as it involved her own and her children's welfare, she ought to co-operate, instead of thwarting him. But Baeji Raj (the royal mother) was young, artful, and ambitious, and persevered in her hostility till the demise of this uncompromising minister shortly after, surmised to be caused by poison. His death yielded a flattering comment on his life: he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow-citizens.

The man who thus lived and thus died would have done honour to any, even the most civilised, country, where the highest incentives to public virtue exist. What, therefore, does not his memory merit, when amongst a people who, through long oppression, were likely to hold such feelings in little estimation, he pursued its dictates from principle alone, his sole reward that which the world could not bestow, the applause of the monitor within? But they greatly err who, in the application of their own overweening standard of merit, imagine there is no public opinion in these countries; for recollections of actions like this (of which but a small portion is related) they yet love to descant upon, and an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umrachunda*;² evincing that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers.

In S. 1831 (A.D. 1775) the rebellion of the Beygoo chief, head of a grand division of the Chondawuts, the *Megawut*, obliged the queen-mother to call upon Sindia for his reduction, who recovered the crown lands he had usurped, and imposed on this refractory noble a fine of twelve lakhs of rupees, or £100,000 sterling.³ But instead of confining himself to punish-

¹ 'The beloved of Rama.'

² *Umra Chund*, it will be recollected, was the name of the minister.

³ The treaty by which Sindia holds these districts yet exists, which stipulates their surrender on the liquidation of the contribution. The Rana still holds this as a responsible engagement, and pleaded his rights in the treaty with the British government in A.D. 1817-18. But half a century's possession is a strong bond, which we dare not break; though the claim now registered may hereafter prove of service to the family.

ing the guilty, and restoring the lands to the young Rana, he inducted his own son-in-law Bérji Táp into the districts of Ruttengurh Khéri and Singolli ; and at the same time made over those of Irnia, Jaut'h, Beechore, and Nuddowye to Holkar, the aggregate revenue of which amounted to six lakhs annually. Besides these alienations of territory, the Mahrattas levied no less than four grand war contributions in S. 1830-31,¹ while in S. 1836² their rapacity exacted three more. Inability to liquidate these exorbitant demands, was invariably a signal for further sequestration of land. Amidst such scenes of civil strife and external spoliation, one Mahratta following another in the same track of rapine, Hamir died before he had attained even Rajpoot majority,³ in S. 1834 (A.D. 1778).

We may here briefly recapitulate the diminution of territory and wealth in Méwar from the period of the first Mahratta visitation in A.D. 1736, to the death of Hamir. It were a waste of time to enumerate the rapacious individuals who shared in the spoils of this devoted country. We may be content to say their name was "legion." These forty years were surcharged with evil. The Mogul princes observed at least the forms of government and justice, which occasionally tempered their aggressions ; the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life-blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them. In three payments we have seen the enormous sum of one crore and eighty-one lakhs,⁴ upwards of two millions English money, exacted from Méwar, exclusive of individual contributions levied on chiefs, ministers, and the Pretender's party : and a schedule drawn up by the reigning prince of contributions levied up to his own time, amounts to £5,000,000 sterling. Yet the land would eventually have reimbursed these sums, but the penalty inflicted for deficiencies of payment renders the evil irremediable ; for the alienated territory which then produced an annual revenue of twenty-eight lakhs,⁵ or £323,000 sterling, exceeds in amount the sum-total now left, whether fiscal or feudal, in the present impoverished state of the country.

¹ 1830, Madajee Sindia's contribution (*móámla*) on account of Beygoo ; 1831, Bérji Táp's *móámla* through Govind and Gunput Rao ; 1831, Umbaji Ingliá, Bapoo Holkar, and Dadooji Pundit's joint *móámla*.

² 1. Appaji and Makaji Getea, on Holkar's account ; 2. Tukooji Holkar's, through Somji ; 3. Alli Buhadoor's, through Somji.

³ The age of eighteen.

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| ⁴ Namely, S. 1808, by Rana Juggut Sing to Holkar | . . . | Lakhs 66 |
| 1820, Pertáp and Ursi Rana to Holkar | . . . | 51 |
| 1826, Ursi Rana to Madajee Sindia . | . . . | 64 |
| Total | . . . | 181 |

| | | |
|--|-------|---------|
| ⁵ S. 1808, Rampoorá, Bhanpoora | . . . | Lakhs 9 |
| 1826, Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, Neembahaira | . . . | 4½ |
| 1831, Ruttungurh Khéri, Singolli, Irnia, Jaut'h, Nuddowye, etc. etc. | . . . | 6 |
| 1831, Godwar | . . . | 9 |
| Total | . . . | 28½ |

CHAPTER XVII

Rana Bheem—Feud of Seogurh—The Rana redeems the alienated lands—Ahelia Bae attacks the Rana's army—Which is defeated—Chondawut rebellion—Assassination of the Minister Somji—The rebels seize on Cheetore—Madhaji Sindia called in by the Rana—Invests Cheetore—The rebels surrender—Designs of Zalim Sing for power in Méwar—Counteracted by Umbaji, who assumes the title of Soobadar, contested by Lukwa—Effects of these struggles—Zalim obtains Jehajpoor—Holkar invades Méwar—Confines the priests of Nat'hdwara—Heroic conduct of the Chief of Kotario—Lukwa dies—The Rana seizes the Mahratta leaders—Liberated by Zalim Sing—Holkar returns to Oodipoor—Imposes a heavy contribution—Sindia's invasion—Reflections on their contest with the British—Umbaji projects the partition of Méwar—Frustrated—Rivalry for Kishna Komari, the Princess of Méwar, produces war throughout Rajast'han—Immolation of Kishna—Meer Khan and Ajit Sing—Their villainy—British Embassy to Sindia's Court at Oodipoor—Umbaji is disgraced, and attempts suicide—Meer Khan and Bapoo Sindia desolate Méwar—The Rana forms a treaty with the British.

RANA BHEEM SING (the reigning prince), who succeeded his brother in S. 1834 (A.D. 1778), was the fourth minor in the space of forty years who inherited Méwar; and the half-century during which he has occupied the throne has been as fruitful in disaster as any period of her history already recorded. He was but eight years of age on his accession, and remained under his mother's tutelage long after his minority had expired. This subjection fixed his character; naturally defective in energy, and impaired by long misfortune, he continued to be swayed by faction and intrigue. The cause of the Pretender, though weakened, was yet kept alive; but his insignificance eventually left him so unsupported, that his death is not even recorded.

In S. 1840 (A.D. 1784) the Chondawuts reaped the harvest of their allegiance and made the power thus acquired subservient to the indulgence of ancient animosities against the rival clan of Suktawut. Saloombra with his relatives Oorjun Sing¹ of Korabur and Pertáp Sing² of Amaít, now ruled the councils, having the Sindie mercenaries under their leaders Chundun and Sadik at their command. Mustering therefore all the strength of their kin and clans, they resolved on the prosecution of the feud, and invested Bheendir, the castle of Mokhim the chief of the Suktawuts, against which they placed their batteries.

Sangram Sing, a junior branch of the Suktawuts, destined to play a conspicuous part in the future events of Méwar, was then rising into notice, and had just completed a feud with his rival the Poorawut, whose abode, Lawah,³ he had carried by escalade; and now, determined to make a diversion in favour of his chief, he invaded the estate of Korabur, engaged against Bheendir, and was driving off the cattle, when Salim Sing the heir of Korabur intercepted his retreat, and an action ensued in which Salim⁴

¹ Brother of Ajit, the negotiator of the treaty with the British.

² Chief of the Juggawut clan, also a branch of the Chondawuts; he was killed in a battle with the Mahrattas.

³ It is yet held by the successor of Sangram, whose faithful services merited the grant he obtained from his prince, and it was in consequence left unmolested in the arrangement of 1817, from the knowledge of his merits.

⁴ The father of Rawut Jowan Sing, whom I found at Oodipoor as military minister, acting for his grand-uncle Ajit the organ of the Chondawuts, whose

was slain by the lance of Sangram. The afflicted father, on hearing the fate of his son, "threw the turban off his head," swearing never to replace it till he had tasted revenge. Feigning a misunderstanding with his own party he withdrew from the siege, taking the road to his estate, but suddenly abandoned it for Seogurh, the residence of Lalji the father of Sangram. The castle of Seogurh, placed amidst the mountains and deep forests of Chuppun, was from its difficulty of access deemed secure against surprise; and here Sangram had placed the females and children of his family. To this point Oorjun directed his revenge, and found Seogurh destitute of defenders save the aged chief; but though seventy summers had whitened his head, he bravely met the storm, and fell in opposing the foe; when the children of Sangram were dragged out and inhumanly butchered, and the widow¹ of Lalji ascended the pyre. This barbarity aggravated the hostility which separated the clans, and together with the minority of their prince and the yearly aggressions of the Mahrattas, accelerated the ruin of the country. But Bheem Sing, the Chondawut leader, was governed by insufferable vanity, and not only failed in respect to his prince, but offended the queen regent. He parcelled out the crown domain from Cheetore to Oodipoor amongst the Sindie bands, and whilst his sovereign was obliged to borrow money to defray his marriage at Edur, this ungrateful noble had the audacity to disburse upwards of £100,000 on the marriage of his own daughter. Such conduct determined the royal mother to supplant the Chondawuts, and calling in the Suktawuts to her aid, she invested with power the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah. Aware, however, that their isolated authority was insufficient to withstand their rivals, they looked abroad for support, and made an overture to Zalim Sing of Kotah, whose political and personal resentments to the Chondawuts, as well as his connection by marriage with their opponents, made him readily listen to it. With his friend the Mahratta, Lallaji Bellal, he joined the Suktawuts with a body of 10,000 men. It was determined to sacrifice the Saloombra chief, who took post in the ancient capital of Cheetore, where the garrison was composed chiefly of Sindies, thus effacing his claim to his prince's gratitude, whom he defied, while the pretender still had a party in the other principal fortress, Komulmér.

Such was the state of things, when the ascendancy of Madhaji Sindia received a signal check from the combined forces of Marwar and Jeipoor; and the battle of Lalsont, in which the Mahratta chief was completely defeated, was the signal for the Rajpoots to resume their alienated territory. Nor was the Rana backward on the occasion, when there appeared a momentary gleam of the active virtue of past days. Maldas Mehta was civil minister, with Mouzee Ram as his deputy, both men of talent and energy. They first effected the reduction of Neembahaira and the smaller garrisons of Mahrattas in its vicinity, who from a sense of common danger assembled their detachments in Jawud, which was also invested. Sevaji Nana, the governor, capitulated, and was allowed

head, Puddum Sing, was just emerging from his minority. It was absolutely necessary to get to the very root of all these feuds, when as envoy and mediator I had to settle the disputes of half a century, and make each useful to detect their joint usurpations of the crown domain.

¹ She was the grandmother of Maun Sing, a fine specimen of a Suktawut cavalier.

to march out with his effects. At the same time, the "sons of the black cloud"¹ assembling, drove the Mahrattas from Beygoo, Singolli, etc., and the districts on the plateau; while the Chondawuts redeemed their ancient fief of Rampoor, and thus for a while the whole territory was recovered. Elated by success, the united chiefs advanced to Churdoo on the banks of the Rirkia, a streamlet dividing Méwar from Malwa, preparatory to further operations. Had these been confined to the maintenance of the places they had taken, and which had been withheld in violation of treaties, complete success might have crowned their efforts; but in including Neembahaira in their capture they drew upon them the energetic Ahelia Bae, the regent-queen of the Holkar state, who unluckily for them was at hand and who coalesced with Sindia's partisans to check this reaction of the Rajpoots. Toolaji Sindia and Sri Bhae, with five thousand horse, were ordered to support the discomfited Seva Nana, who had taken refuge in Mundisore, where he rallied all the garrisons whom the Rajpoots had unwisely permitted to capitulate. On Tuesday, the 4th of Magh S. 1844,² the Rana's troops were surprised and defeated with great slaughter, the minister slain, the chiefs of Kanorh and Sadri with many others severely wounded, and the latter made prisoner.³ The newly made conquests were all rapidly lost, with the exception of Jawud, which was gallantly maintained for a month by Deep Chund, who, with his guns and rockets, effected a passage through the Mahrattas, and retired with his garrison to Mandelgurh. Thus terminated an enterprise which might have yielded far different results but for a misplaced security. All the chiefs and clans were united in this patriotic struggle except the Chondawuts, against whom the queen-mother and the new minister, Somji, had much difficulty to contend for the establishment of the minor's authority. At length overtures were made to Saloombra, when the fair Rampearie was employed to conciliate the obdurate chief, who condescended to make his appearance at Oodipoor and to pay his respects to the prince. He pretended to enter into the views of the minister and to coalesce in his plans; but this was only a web to ensnare his victim, whose talent had diminished his authority, and was a bar to the prosecution of his ambitious views. Somji was seated in his bureau when Oorjun Sing of Korabur and Sirdar Sing⁴ of Bhadaisser entered, and the latter, as he demanded how he dared to resume his fief, plunged his dagger into the minister's breast. The Rana was passing the day at one of the villas in the valley called the *Suhailea Bari*, 'the garden of nymphs,' attended by Jait Sing of Bednore, when the brothers⁵ of the minister suddenly

¹ Meg'h Sing was the chief of Beygoo, and founder of that subdivision of the Chondawuts called after him *Meghawut*, and his complexion being very dark (*kala*), he was called "kala megh," the "black cloud." His descendants were very numerous and very refractory.

² A.D. 1788.

³ He did not recover his liberty for two years, nor till he had surrendered four of the best towns in his fief.

⁴ Father of the present Hamir Sing, the only chief with whom I was compelled to use severity: but he was incorrigible. He was celebrated for his raids in the troubles, and from his red whiskers bore with us the name of the 'Red Riever' of Bhadaisser—more of him by and by.

⁵ Sheodas and Suttidas, with their cousin Jychund. They revenged their brother's death by that of his murderer, and were both in turn slain. Such were

rushed into the presence to claim protection against the murderers. They were followed by Oorjun of Korabur, who had the audacity to present himself before his sovereign with his hands yet stained with the blood of Somji. The Rana, unable to punish the insolent chief, branding him as a traitor, bade him begone; when the whole of the actors in this nefarious scene, with their leader Saloombra, returned to Cheetore. Sheodas and Suttidas, brothers to the murdered minister, were appointed to succeed him, and with the Suktawuts fought several actions against the rebels, and gained one decisive battle at Akola, in which Oorjun of Korabur commanded. This was soon balanced by the defeat of the Suktawuts at Khyroda. Every triumph was attended with ruin to the country. The agriculturist, never certain of the fruits of his labour, abandoned his fields, and at length his country; mechanical industry found no recompense, and commerce was at the mercy of unlicensed spoliation. In a very few years Méwar lost half her population, her hands lay waste, her mines were unworked, and her looms, which formerly supplied all around, forsaken. The prince partook of the general penury; instead of protecting, he required protection; the bonds which united him with his subjects were snapped, and each individual or petty community provided for itself that defence which he could not give. Hence arose a train of evils: every cultivator, whether fiscal or feudal, sought out a patron, and entered into engagements as the price of protection. Hence every Rajpoot who had a horse and lance, had his clients; and not a camel-load of merchandise could pass the abode of one of these cavaliers without paying fees. The effects of such disorder were felt long after the cause ceased to exist, and claims difficult to adjust arose out of these licentious times, for the having prescriptive right was deemed sufficient to authorise their continuance.¹ Here were displayed the effects of a feudal association, where the powers of government were enfeebled. These feuds alone were sufficient to ruin the country; but when to such internal ills shoals of Mahratta plunderers were added, no art is required to describe the consequences.

The Rana and his advisers at length determined to call in Sindia to expel the rebellious Chondawuts from the ancient capital; a step mainly prompted by Zalim Sing (now Regent of Kotah), who with the Rana's ministers was deputed to the Mahratta chieftain, then enjoying himself at the sacred lake of Poshkur.² Since the overthrow of Lalsont he had reorganised his brigades under the celebrated De Boigne, through whose conduct he had redeemed his lost influence in Rajpootana by the battles

these times! The author more than once, when resuming the Chondawut lands, and amongst them Bhadaisser, the fief of the son of Sirdar, was told to recollect the fate of Somji; the advice, however, excited only a smile; he was deemed more of a Suktawut than a Chondawut, and there was some truth in it, for he found the good actions of the former far outweigh the other, who made a boast and monopoly of their patriotism. It was a curious period in his life; the stimulus to action was too high, too constant, to think of self; and having no personal views, being influenced solely by one feeling, the prosperity of all, he despised the very idea of danger, though it was said to exist in various shapes, even in the hospitable plate put before him! But he deemed none capable of such treachery, though once he was within a few minutes' march to the other world; but the cause, if the right one, came from his own *cuisinier*, or rather *boulangier*, whom he discharged.

¹ See the Essay on a Feudal System.

² S. 1847 (A.D. 1791).

of Mairta and Patun, in which the brave Rahtores, after acts of the most devoted gallantry, were completely overthrown. Sindia's plans coincided entirely with the object of the deputation, and he readily acquiesced in the Rana's desire. This event introduced on the political stage some of the most celebrated men of that day, whose actions offer a fair picture of manners, and may justify our entering a little into details.¹

Zalim Sing had for some years become regent of Kotah, and though to maintain himself in power, and the state he controlled in an attitude to compel the respect of surrounding foes, was no slight task, yet he found the field too contracted for his ambition, and his secret views had long been directed to permanent influence in Méwar. His skill in reading character convinced him that the Rana would be no bar to his wishes, the attainment of which, by giving him the combined resources of Harouti and Méwar, would bestow the lead in Rajast'han. The Jeipoor court he disregarded, whose effeminate army he had himself defeated single-handed with the Kotah troops, and the influence he established amongst the leading chiefs of Marwar held out no fear of counteraction from that quarter. The stake was high, the game sure, and success would have opened a field to his genius which might have entirely altered the fate of Hindust'han; but one false move was irretrievable, and instead of becoming the arbitrator of India, he left only the reputation of being the Nestor of Rajpootana.

The restriction of the Rana's power was the cloak under which he disguised all his operations, and it might have been well for the country had his plans succeeded to their full extent. To re-establish the Rana's authority, and to pay the charges of the reduction of Cheetore, he determined that the rebels chiefly should furnish the means, and that from them and the fiscal lands, mostly in their hands, sixty-four lakhs should be levied, of which three-fifths should be appropriated to Sindia, and the remainder to replenish the Rana's treasury. Preliminaries being thus arranged, Zalim was furnished with a strong corps under Umbaji Ingliā; while Sindia followed, hanging on the Marwar frontier, to realise the contributions of that state. Zalim Sing and Umbaji moved towards Cheetore, levying from the estates of those obnoxious to Zalim's views. Hamirgurh, whose chief, Dheruj Sing, a man of talent and courage, was the principal adviser of Bheem Sing, the Saloombra chief, was besieged, and stood several assaults during six weeks' vigorous operations, when the destruction of the springs of the wells from the concussion of the guns compelled its surrender, and the estate was sequestered. The force continued their progress, and after a trifling altercation at Bussee, a Chondawut fief, also taken, they took up a position at Cheetore, and were soon after joined by the main body under Sindia.

Zalim, to gratify Madhaji's vanity, who was desirous of a visit from the Rana, which even the Peshwa considered an honour, proceeded to Oodipoor to effect this object; when the Rana, placing himself under his guidance, marched for this purpose, and was met at the Tiger Mount, within a few miles of his capital, by Sindia, who received the Rana, and escorted him to the besieging army. But in this short interval, Umbaji, who remained with the army at Cheetore, intrigued with the rebel

¹ Acquired from the actors in those scenes: the prince, his ministers, Zalim Sing, and the rival chiefs have all contributed.

Chondawut to supplant the predominant influence of his friend Zalim Sing, and seized the opportunity of his absence to counteract him, by communicating his plans to Saloombra ; aware that, unless he broke with Zalim, he could only hope to play a secondary part under him. Though the ulterior views of Zalim were kept to his own breast, they could not escape the penetration of the crafty Mahratta ; his very anxiety to hide them furnished Umbaji with the means of detection. Had Zalim possessed an equal share of meanness with his political antagonist, he might have extricated himself from the snare ; but once overreached, he preferred sinking to grasping at an unworthy support. Bheem Sing (Saloombra) privately negotiated with Umbaji the surrender of Cheetore, engaging to humble himself before the Rana, and to pay a contribution of twenty lakhs, levied on the clans, provided Zalim Sing was ordered to retire. This suggestion, apparently founded on the rebellious chief's antipathy to Zalim, but in reality prompted by Umbaji, ensured the approbation, as it suited the views, of all parties, but especially Sindia, who was desirous of repairing to Poonah. Zalim, the sole obstacle to this arrangement, furnished to his enemies the means of escape from the dilemma, and lost the opportunity of realising his long-cherished scheme of wielding the united resources of Méwar and Harouti. Zalim had always preserved a strict amity with Umbaji wherever their interests did not clash, and his regard had the cement of gratitude to the Mahratta, whose father Trimbukji had saved Zalim's life and procured his liberty, when left wounded and a prisoner at the battle of Oojein. On Zalim's return with the Rana, Umbaji touched on the terms of Bheem Sing's surrender, hinting that Zalim's presence was the sole obstacle to this desirable result ; who, the more to mask his views, which any expressed reluctance to the measure might expose, went beyond probability in asseverations of readiness to be no bar to such arrangement, even so far as to affirm that, besides being tired of the business from the heavy expense it entailed on him, he had his prince's wish for his return to Kotah. There is one ingredient in Zalim's character, which has never been totally merged in the vices acquired from the tortuous policy of a long life, and which in the vigour of youth had full sway—namely, pride, one of the few virtues left to the Rajpoot, defrauded of many others by long oppression. But Zalim's pride was legitimate, being allied to honour, and it has retained him an evident superiority through all the mazes of ambition. Umbaji skilfully availed himself of this defect in his friend's political character. "A pretty story, indeed !—you tell this to me : it might find credit with those who did not know you." The sarcasm only plunged him deeper into asseveration. "Is it then really your wish to retire ?" "Assuredly." "Then," retorted the crafty Umbaji, "your wish shall be gratified in a few minutes." Giving him no time to retract, he called for his horse and galloped to Sindia's tent. Zalim relied on Sindia not acceding to the proposition ; or if he did, that the Rana, over whom he imagined he had complete influence, would oppose it. His hopes of Sindia rested on a promise privately made to leave troops under his authority for the restoration of order in Méwar ; and a yet stronger claim, the knowledge that without Zalim he could not realise the stipulated sums for the expulsion of the Chondawut from Cheetore. Umbaji had foreseen and

prepared a remedy for these difficulties, and upon their being urged offered himself to advance the amount by bills on the Dekhan. This argument was irresistible; money, and the consequent prosecution of his journey to Poonah, being attained, Sindia's engagements with Zalim and the Rana ceased to be a matter of importance. He nominated Umbaji his lieutenant, with the command of a large force, by whose aid he would reimburse himself for the sums thus advanced. Having carried his object with Sindia, Umbaji proceeded direct from his tent to that of the Rana's ministers, Sheodas and Suttidas, with whom, by the promise of co-operation in their views, and perfect subserviency to the Rana's interests, he was alike successful. Umbaji, with the rapidity necessary to ensure success, having in a few hours accomplished his purpose, hastened back to Zalim, to acquaint him that his wish to retire had met with general acquiescence; and so well did he manage, that the Rana's mace-bearer arrived at the same moment to announce that the *khelat of leave* awaited his acceptance. Zalim being thus outwitted, the Saloombra chief descended from Cheetore, and *touched the Rana's feet*. Sindia pursued his march to the Dekhan, and Umbaji was left sole arbiter of Méwar. The Suktawuts maintained the lead at court, and were not backward in consigning the estates of their rivals to the incubus now settled on the country: while the mortified Zalim, on his retreat, recorded his expenses, to be produced on some fitting occasion.

Umbaji remained eight years in Méwar, reaping its revenues and amassing those hoards of wealth which subsequently gave him the lead in Hindust'han, and enabled him nearly to assert his independence. Yet, although he accumulated £2,000,000 sterling from her soil,¹ exacting one-half of the produce of agricultural industry, the suppression of feuds and exterior aggressions gave to Méwar a degree of tranquillity and happiness to which she had long been a stranger. The instructions delivered to Umbaji were—

1. The entire restoration of the Rana's authority and resumption of the crown-lands from rebellious chiefs and mercenary Sindies.
2. The expulsion of the pretender from Komulmér.
3. The recovery of Godwar from the Raja of Marwar.
4. To settle the Boondí feud for the murder of Rana Ūrsi.

A schedule (*pandri*) for the twenty lakhs stipulated was made and levied; twelve from the Chondawut estates and eight from the Suktawuts; and the sum of sixty lakhs was awarded, besides the expense of Umbaji's army, when the other specified objects should be attained. Within two years the pretender was expelled Komulmér, Jehajpoor was

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| ¹ It was levied as follows :— | Saloombra | Lakhs 3 |
| | Deogurh | „ 3 |
| | Singir Gosén, their adviser | „ 2 |
| | Kositul | „ 1 |
| | Amait | „ 2 |
| | Korabur | „ 1 |
| | Lakhs | 12 |

recovered from a rebellious Ranawut, and the crown-lands¹ were redeemed from the nobles; the personal domain of the Rana, agricultural and commercial, still realised nearly fifty lakhs of rupees. After these services, though Godwar was still unredeemed, the Boondí feud unappeased, and the lands mortgaged to the Mahrattas were not restored, Umbaji assumed the title of Soobadar of Méwar, and identified himself with the parties of the day. Yet so long as he personally upheld the interests of the Rana, his memory is done justice to, notwithstanding he never conformed to the strict letter of his engagements. The Rana's ministers, fearing lest their brother's fate should be theirs in the event of the Chondawuts again attaining power, and deeming their own and their sovereign's security dependent on Umbaji's presence, made a subsidiary engagement with him, and lands to the amount of 75,000 rupees monthly, or eight lakhs annually, were appropriated for his force; but so completely were the resources of the country diverted from their honest use, that when, in S. 1851, a marriage was negotiated between the Rana's sister and the prince of Jeipoor, the Rana was obliged to borrow £50,000 from the Mahratta commander to purchase the nuptial presents. The following year was marked by a triple event—the death of the queen-mother, the birth of a son and heir to the Rana, and the bursting of the embankment of the lake, which swept away a third of the city and a third of its inhabitants. Superstition attributed this catastrophe to the Rana's impiety, in establishing a new festival² to Gowrie, the Isis of Rajast'han.

Umbaji, who was this year nominated by Sindia his viceroy in Hindust'han, left Gunés Punt as his lieutenant in Méwar, with whom acted the Rana's officers, Sowaie and Sheerji Mehta;³ who applied themselves to make the most of their ephemeral power with so rapacious a spirit, that Umbaji was compelled to displace Gunés Punt and appoint the celebrated Rae Chund. To him they would not yield, and each party formed a nucleus for disorder and misrule. It would be uninteresting and nauseating to the reader to carry him through all the scenes of villainy which gradually desolated this country; for whose spoil pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks were all let loose. The now humbled Chondawuts, many of whose fiefs were confiscated, took to horse, and in conjunction with lawless Sindies scoured the country. Their estates were attacked, Korabur was taken, and batteries were placed against Saloombra, whence the Sindies fled and found refuge in Deogurh. In this exigence, the Chondawuts determined to send an envoy to Umbaji, who was then engaged in the siege of Dultea; and Ajít Sing, since prominent in the intrigues of Méwar, was the organ of his clan on this occasion. For the sum of ten lakhs the avaricious Mahratta agreed to recall his deputy from Méwar,⁴ to renounce Sheodas and the Suktawuts, and lend his

¹ Raepoor Rajnuggur from the Sindies; Goorlah and Gadermala from the Poorawuts; Hamirgurh from Sirdar Sing, and Koorj Kowario from Saloombra.

² In Bhadoon, the third month of the rainy season. An account of this festival will hereafter be given.

³ The first of these is now the manager of Prince Jowan Sing's estates, a man of no talent; and the latter, his brother, was one of the ministers on my arrival at Oodipoor. He was of invincible good humour, yet full of the spirit of intrigue, and one of the bars to returning prosperity. The cholera carried off this Falstaff of the court, not much to my sorrow.

⁴ S. 1853, A.D. 1797.

support to the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief again took the lead at court, and with Aggurji Mehta¹ as minister, the Suktawuts were attacked,

¹ This person was nominated the chief civil minister on the author's arrival at Oodipoor, an office to which he was every way unequal. The affairs of Méwar had never prospered since the faithful Pancholis were deprived of power. Several productions of the descendants of Beharri-das have fallen into my hands; their quaint mode of conveying advice may authorise their insertion here.

The Pancholis who had performed so many services to the country, had been for some time deprived of the office of prime minister, which was disposed of as it suited the views of the factious nobles who held power for the time being; and who bestowed it on the Mehtas, Dépras, or D'habhaes. Amongst the papers of the Pancholis, several addressed to the Rana and to Uggurji Mehta, the minister of the day, are valuable for the patriotic sentiments they contain, as well as for the general light they throw upon the period. In S. 1853 (A.D. 1797) Imrit Rao devised a plan to remedy the evils that oppressed the country. He inculcated the necessity of dispensing with the interference of the Suktawuts and Chondawuts in the affairs of government, and strengthening the hands of the civil administration by admitting the foreign chieftains to the power he proposed to deprive the former of. He proceeds in the following quaint style:—

"Disease fastened on the country from the following causes, envy and party spirit. With the *Toorks* disease was introduced; but then the prince, his ministers, and chiefs, were of one mind, and medicine was ministered and a cure effected. During Rana Jey Sing's time the disorder returned, which his son Umra put down. He recovered the affairs of government from confusion, gave to everyone his proper rank and dignity, and rendered all prosperous. But Maharana Sangram Sing put from under his wing the Chunderawut of Rampoor, and thus a pinion of Méwar was broken. The calamity of Beharri-das, whose son committed suicide, increased the difficulties. The arrival of the Dekhanis under Baji Rao, the Jeipoor affair¹ and the defeat at Rajmahl, with the heavy expenditure thereby occasioned, augmented the disorder. Add to this in Juggut Sing's time the enmity of the D'habhaes towards the Pancholis, which lowered their dignities at home and abroad, and since which time every man has thought himself equal to the task of government. Juggut Sing was also afflicted by the rebellious conduct of his son Pertáp, when Shama Solanki and several other chiefs were treacherously cut off. Since which time the minds of the nobles have never been loyal, but black and not to be trusted. Again, on the accession of Pertáp, Maharaja Nat'hji allowed his thoughts to aspire, from which all his kin suffered. Hence animosities, doubts, and deceits, arose on all sides. Add to this the haughty proceeding of Umra Chund now in office; and besides the strife of the Pancholis with each other, their enmity to the Dépras. Hence parties were formed which completely destroyed the credit of all. Yet, notwithstanding, they abated none of their strife, which was the acme to the disease. The feud between Koman Sing and the Suktawuts for the possession of Heet'ha, aggravated the distresses. The treacherous murder of Maharaja Nat'hji, and the consequent disgust and retreat of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh; the setting up the impostor Rutna Sing, and J'hala Raghoo Deo's struggle for office, with Umra Chund's entertaining the mercenaries of Sind, brought it to a crisis. The negligence arising out of luxury, and the intrigues of the D'habhaes of Rana Ursi, made it spread so as to defeat all attempt at cure. In S. 1829, on the treacherous murder of the Rana by the Boondi prince, and the accession of the minor Hamir, everyone set up his own authority, so that there was not even the semblance of government. And now you (to the Rana), listening to the advice of Bheem Sing (Saloombra), and his brother, Urjoon, have taken foreigners² into pay, and thus riveted all the former errors. You and *Sri Baeji Raj* (the royal mother), putting confidence in foreigners and Dekhanis, have rendered the disease contagious; besides, your mind is gone. What can be done? Medicine may yet be had. Let us unite and struggle to restore the duties of the minister and we

¹ The struggle to place the Rana's nephew, Madhú Sing, on the throne of Jeipoor.

² The Pancholi must allude to the Mahratta subsidiary force under Umbaji.

the stipulated ten lakhs raised from their estates, and two fiefs of note, Heeta and Saimari, confiscated.

The death of Madhaji Sindia, and the accession of his nephew Dowlut Rao, his murder of the Sainowee Brahmins, and his quarrels with the Bacs ('princesses,' wives of the deceased Sindia), all occurred at this time, and materially influenced the events in Méwar. The power of Umbaji as Soobadar of Hindust'han was strengthened by the minority of Sindia, although contested by Lukwa and the Bacs, supported by the Kheechee prince, Doorjun Sal, and the Duttea Raja, who fought and died for the princesses. Lukwa wrote to the Rana to throw off Umbaji's yoke and expel his lieutenant; while Umbaji commanded his deputy to eject the Sainowee¹ Brahmins, supporters of Lukwa, from all the lands in Méwar. To this end Gunés Punt called on the Rana's ministers and chiefs, who, consulting thereon, determined to play a deep game; and while they apparently acquiesced in the schemes of Gunés, they wrote the Sainowees to advance from Jawud and attack him, promising them support. They met at Sawah; Nana was defeated with the loss of his guns, and retired on Cheetore. With a feint of support, the Chondawuts made him again

may conquer, or at least check its progress. If now neglected, it will hereafter be beyond human power. The Dekhanis are the great sore. Let us settle their accounts, and at all events get rid of them, or we lose the land for ever. At this time there are treaties and engagements in every corner. I have touched on every subject. Forgive whatever is improper. Let us look the future in the face, and let chiefs, ministers, and all unite. With the welfare of the country all will be well. But this is a disease which, if not now conquered, will conquer us."

A second paper as follows:—

"The disease of the country is to be considered and treated as a remittent.

"Umra Sing cured it and laid a complete system of government and justice.

"In Sangram's time it once more gained ground.

"In Juggut Sing's time the seed was thrown into the ground thus obtained.

"In Pertáp's time it sprung up.

"In Raj Sing's time it bore fruit.

"In Rana Ursa's time it was ripe.

"In Hamir's time it was distributed, and all have had a share.

"And you, Bheem Sing (the present Rana), have eaten plentifully thereof. Its virtues and flavour you are acquainted with, and so likewise is the country; and if you take no medicine you will assuredly suffer much pain, and both at home and abroad you will be lightly thought of. Be not therefore negligent, or faith and land will depart from you."

A third paper to Uggurji Mehta (then minister):

"If the milk is curdled it does not signify. Where there is sense butter may yet be extracted; and if the butter-milk (*chauch*) is thrown away it matters not. But if the milk be curdled and black it will require wisdom to restore its purity. This wisdom is now wanted. The foreigners are the black in the curdled milk of Méwar. At all hazards remove them. Trust to them and the land is lost.

"In moonlight what occasion for a blue light? (*Chundra jote*).¹

"Who looks to the false coin of the juggler?

"Do not credit him who tells you he will make a pigeon out of a feather.

"Abroad it is said there is no wisdom left in Méwar, which is a disgrace to her reputation."

¹ There are three classes of Mahratta Brahmins: Sainowee, Purbo, and Mahrat. Of the first was Lukwa, Balabha Tantia, Jewa Dada, Sewaji Nana, Lallaji Pundit, and Jeswunt Rao Bhow, men who held the mortgaged lands of Méwar.

¹ Literally, a "moonlight." The particular kind of firework which we call a "blue light."

call in his garrison and try another battle, which he also lost and fled to Hamirgurh ; then, uniting with his enemies, they invested the place with 15,000 men. Nana bravely maintained himself, making many sallies, in one of which both the sons of D'heruj Sing, the chief of Hamirgurh, were slain. Shortly after, Nana was relieved by some battalions of the new raised regulars sent by Umbaji under Golaub Rao Kudum, upon which he commenced his retreat on Ajmér. At Moosa-Moosi he was forced to action, and success had nearly crowned the efforts of the clans, when a horseman, endeavouring to secure a mare, calling out, "*Bhaga ! bhaga !*" "*She flies ! she flies !*" the word spread, while those who caught her, exclaiming "*Milgya ! milgya !*" "*She is taken !*" but equally significant with 'going over' to the enemy, caused a general panic, and the Chondawuts, on the verge of victory, disgraced themselves, broke and fled. Several were slain, among whom was the Sindia leader Chundun. Shapoorá opened its gates to the fugitives led by the Goliath of the host, the chief of Deogurh.¹ It was an occasion not to be lost by the bards of the rival clan, and many a ribald stanza records this day's disgrace. Umbaji's lieutenant, however, was so roughly handled that several chiefs redeemed their estates, and the Rana much of the fisc, from Mahratta control. Méwar now became the arena on which the rival satraps Umbaji and Lukwa contested the exalted office of Sindia's lieutenantancy in Hindust'han. Lukwa was joined by all the chiefs of Méwar, his cause being their own ; and Hamirgurh, still held by Nana's party, was reinvested. Two thousand shot had made a practicable breach, when Bala Rao Ingliá, Bapoo Sindia, Eswunt Rao Sindia, a brigade under the European 'Mutta field,' with the auxiliary battalions of Zalim Sing of Kotah, the whole under the command of Umbaji's son, arrived to relieve the lieutenant. Lukwa raised the siege, and took post with his allies under the walls of Cheetore ; whilst the besieged left the untenable Hamirgurh, and joined the relief at Gosoonda. The rival armies were separated only by the Bérís river, on whose banks they raised batteries and cannonaded each other, when a dispute arose in the victor camp regarding the pay of the troops, between Bala Rao (brother of Umbaji) and Nana, and the latter withdrew and retreated to Sangarér. Thus disunited, it might have been expected that these congregated masses would have dissolved, or fallen upon each other, when the Rajpoots might have given the *coup de grâce* to the survivors ; but they were Mahrattas, and their politics were too complicated to end in simple strife : almost all the actors in these scenes lived to contest with, and be humiliated by, the British.

The defection of Nana equalised the parties ; but Bala Rao, never partial to fighting, opportunely recollected a debt of gratitude to Lukwa, to whose clemency he owed his life when taken by storm in Googul Chupra. He also wanted money to pay his force, which a private overture to Lukwa secured. They met, and Bala Rao retired boasting of his gratitude, to which, and the defection of Nana, soon followed by that of Bapoo Sindia, the salvation of Lukwa was attributed. Sutherland with a brigade was detached by Umbaji to aid Nana : but a dispute depriving him of this

¹ I knew him well. He stood six feet six inches, and was bulky in proportion. His limbs rivalled those of the Hercules Farnese. His father was nearly seven feet, and died at the early age of twenty-two, in a vain attempt to keep down, by regimen and medicine, his enormous bulk.

reinforcement, he called in a partisan of more celebrity, the brave George Thomas. Umbaji's lieutenant and Lukwa were once more equal foes, and the Rana, his chiefs and subjects being distracted between these conflicting bands, whose leaders alternately paid their respects to him, were glad to obtain a little repose by espousing the cause of either combatant, whose armies during the monsoon encamped for six weeks within sight of each other.¹

Doorjun Sal (Kheechie), with the nobles of Méwar, hovered round Nana's camp with five thousand horse to cut off his supplies; but Thomas escorted the convoys from Shapoorá with his regulars, and defied all their efforts. Thomas at length advanced his batteries against Lukwa, on whose position a general assault was about taking place, when a tremendous storm, with torrents of rain which filled the stream, cut off his batteries from the main body, burst the gates of Shapoorá, his *point d'appui*, and laid the town in ruins.² Lukwa seized the moment, and with the Méwar chiefs stormed and carried the isolated batteries, capturing fifteen pieces of cannon; and the Shapoorá Raja, threatened at once by his brother-nobles and the vengeance of heaven, refused further provision to Nana, who was compelled to abandon his position and retreat to Sanganér. The discomfited lieutenant vowed vengeance against the estates of the Méwar chieftains, and after the rains, being reinforced by Umbaji, again took the field. Then commenced a scene of carnage, pillage, and individual defence. The whole of the Chondawut estates under the Aravulli range were laid waste, their castles assaulted, some taken and destroyed, and heavy sums levied on all. Thomas besieged Deogurh and Amait, and both fought and paid. Kossitul and Lusani were captured, and the latter razed for its gallant resistance. Thus they were proceeding in the work of destruction, when Umbaji was dispossessed of the government of Hindust'han, to which Lukwa was nominated,³ and Nana was compelled to surrender all the fortresses and towns he held in Méwar.

From this period must be dated the pretensions of Sindia to consider Méwar as tributary to him. We have traced the rise of the Mahrattas, and the progress of their baneful influence in Méwar. The abstractions of territory from S. 1826 to 1831, as pledges for contributions, satisfied their avarice till 1848, when the Saloombra rebellion brought the great Sindia to Cheetore, leaving Umbaji as his lieutenant, with a subsidiary force, to recover the Rana's lost possessions. We have related how these conditions were fulfilled; how Umbaji, inflated with the wealth of Méwar, assumed almost regal dignity in Hindust'han, assigning the devoted land to be governed by his deputies, whose contest with other aspirants made this unhappy region the stage for constant struggles for supremacy; and while the secret policy of Zalim Sing stimulated the Suktawuts to cling to

¹ Both camps were on the right bank of the Bunas: Lukwa's at Amlee, about ten miles south of Shapoorá, and Nana's at Kadaira, between these towns.

² Lukwa at this time¹ put the Shapoorá Raja in possession of the important fortress and district of Jehajpoor, which, although the Rana consented to it, covertly receiving from the Raja two lakhs of rupees, disgusted the nobles with Lukwa.

³ Balabha Tantia and Bukshu Narrain Rao were Sindia's ministers at this period, of the same tribe (the Sainowee) as Lukwa.

Umbaji, the Chondawuts gave their influence and interest to his rival Lukwa. The unhappy Rana and the peasantry paid for this rivalry; while Sindia, whose power was now in its zenith, fastened one of his desultory armies on Méwar, in contravention of former treaties, without any definite views, or even instructions to its commander. It was enough that a large body should supply itself without assailing him for prey, and whose services were available when required.

Lukwa, the new viceroy, marched to Méwar: Aggurji Mehta was appointed minister to the Rana, and the Chondawuts again came into power. For the sum of six lakhs Lukwa dispossessed the Shapoor of Jehajpoor, for the liquidation of which thirty-six of its towns were mortgaged. Zalim Sing, who had long been manœuvring to obtain Jehajpoor, administered to the necessities of the Mahratta, paid the note of hand, and took possession of the city and its villages. A contribution of twenty-four lakhs was imposed throughout the country, and levied by force of arms, after which first act of the new viceroy he quitted Méwar for Jeipoor, leaving Jeswunt Rao Bhow as his deputy. Moujee Ram, the deputy of Aggurji (the Rana's minister), determined to adopt the European mode of discipline, now become general amongst all the native powers of India. But when the chiefs were called upon to contribute to the support of mercenary regulars and a field-artillery, they evinced their patriotism by confining this zealous minister. Suttidas was once more placed in power, and his brother Sheodas recalled from Kotah, whither he had fled from the Chondawuts, who now appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the Rana's personal domain.

The battle of Indore, in A.D. 1802, where at least 150,000 men assembled to dispute the claim to predatory empire, wrested the ascendancy from Holkar, who lost his guns, equipage, and capital, from which he fled to Méwar, pursued by Sindia's victorious army led by Sudasheo and Bala Rao. In his flight he plundered Rutlam, and passing Bheendir, the castle of the Suktawut chief, he demanded a contribution, from which and his meditated visit to Oodipoor, the Rana and his vassal were saved by the activity of the pursuit. Failing in these objects, Holkar retreated on Nat'hduwarra, the celebrated shrine of the Hindu Apollo. It was here this active soldier first showed symptoms of mental derangement. He upbraided Crishna, while prostrate before his image, for the loss of his victory; and levied three lakhs of rupees on the priests and inhabitants, several of whom he carried to his camp as hostages for the payment. The portal (*dwarra*) of the god (*Nat'h*) proving no bar either to Toork or equally impious Mahratta, Damodurji, the high priest, removed the God of Vrij from his pedestal and sent him with his establishment to Oodipoor for protection. The Chohan chief of Kotario (one of the sixteen nobles), in whose estate was the sacred fane, undertook the duty, and with twenty horsemen, his vassals, escorted the shepherd god by intricate passes to the capital. On his return he was intercepted by a band of Holkar's troops, who insultingly desired the surrender of their horses. But the descendant of the illustrious Pirthi Raj preferred death to dishonour: dismounting, he ham-strung his steed, commanding his vassals to follow his example; and sword in hand courted his fate in the unequal conflict, in which he fell, with most of his gallant retainers. There are many such isolated exploits in the records of this eventful period, of which the Chohans of Kotario had

their full share. Spoil, from whatever source, being welcome to these depredators, Nat'hdwarra¹ remained long abandoned; and Apollo, after six months' residence at Oodipoor, finding insufficient protection, took another flight to the mountains of Gassyar, where the high priest threw up fortifications for his defence; and spiritual thunders being disregarded, the pontiff henceforth buckled on the armour of flesh, and at the head of four hundred cavaliers, with lance and shield, visited the minor shrines in his extensive diocese.

To return to Holkar. He pursued his route by Bunéra and Shapoora, levying from both, to Ajmér, where he distributed a portion of the offerings of the followers of Crishna amongst the priests of Mahomed at the mosque of Khwaja Peer. Thence he proceeded towards Jeipoor. Sindia's leaders on reaching Méwar renounced the pursuit, and Oodipoor was cursed with their presence, when three lakhs of rupees were extorted from the unfortunate Rana, raised by the sale of household effects and the jewels of the females of his family. Jeswunt Rao Bhow, the Soobadar of Méwar, had prepared another schedule (*pandri*), which he left with Tantia, his deputy, to realise. Then followed the usual scene of conflict—the attack of the chieftain's estates, distraining of the husbandman, seizure of his cattle, and his captivity for ransom, or his exile.

The celebrated Lukwa, disgraced by his prince, died at this time² in sanctuary at Saloombra; and Bala Rao, brother to Umbaji, returned, and was joined by the Suktawuts and the minister Suttidas, who expelled the Chondawuts for their control over the prince. Zalim Sing, in furtherance of his schemes and through hatred of the Chondawuts, united himself to this faction, and Devi Chund, minister to the Rana, set up by the Chondawuts, was made prisoner. Bala Rao levied and destroyed their estates with unexampled ferocity, which produced a bold attempt at deliverance. The Chondawut leaders assembled at the Chougan (the *Champ de Mars*) to consult on their safety. The insolent Mahratta had preceded them to the palace, demanding the surrender of the minister's deputy, Moujee Ram. The Rana indignantly refused them—the Mahratta importuned, threatened, and at length commanded his troops to advance to the palace, when the intrepid minister pinioned the audacious plunderers, and secured his adherents (including their old enemy, Nana Gunés), Jumalkur, and Ooda Kooer. The latter, a notorious villain, had an elephant's chain put round his neck, while Bala Rao was confined in a bath. The leaders thus arrested, the Chondawuts sallied forth and attacked their camp in the valley, which surrendered; though the regulars under Hearsay retreated in a hollow square, and reached Gadermala in safety. Zalim Sing determined to liberate his friend Bala Rao from peril; and aided by the Suktawuts under the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah, advanced to the Chaija pass, one of the defiles leading to the capital. Had the Rana put these chiefs to instant death, he would have been justified, although he would have incurred the resentment of the whole Mahratta nation. Instead of this, he put himself at the head of a motley levy of six thousand Sindies, Arabs, and Goseins, with the brave Jey Sing and a band of his gallant Kheechies, ever ready to poise the lance against a

¹ Five-and-twenty miles north of Oodipoor. On this subject we shall have much to say hereafter.

² S. 1859 (A.D. 1803).

Mahratta. They defended the pass for five days against a powerful artillery. At length the Rana was compelled to liberate Bala Rao, and Zalim Sing obtained by this interference possession of the fortress and entire district of Jehajpoor. A schedule of war contribution, the usual finale to these events, followed Bala's liberation, and no means were left untried to realise the exaction, before Holkar, then approaching, could contest the spoil.

This chief recruited his shattered forces, again left the south.¹ Bheendir felt his resentment for non-compliance with his demands on his retreat after the battle of Indore; the town was nearly destroyed, but spared for two lakhs of rupees, for the payment of which villages were assigned. Thence he repaired to Oodipoor, being met by Ajít Sing, the Rana's ambassador, when the enormous sum of forty lakhs, or £500,000, was demanded from the country, of which one-third was commanded to be instantly forthcoming. The palace was denuded of everything which could be converted into gold; the females were deprived of every article of luxury and comfort: by which, with contributions levied on the city, twelve lakhs were obtained; while hostages from the household of the Rana and chief citizens were delivered as security for the remainder, and immured in the Mahratta camp. Holkar then visited the Rana. Lawah and Bednore were attacked, taken, and restored on large payments. Deogurh alone was mulcted four and a half lakhs. Having devastated Méwar during eight months, Holkar marched to Hindust'han,² Ajít Sing accompanying him as the Rana's representative; while Bala Ram Set'h was left to levy the balance of the forty lakhs. Holkar had reached Shapoorá when Sindia entered Méwar, and their camps formed a junction to allow the leaders to organise their mutual plans of hostility to the British government. These chieftains, in their efforts to cope with the British power, had been completely humiliated, and their resources broken. But Rajast'han was made to pay the penalty of British success, which riveted her chains, and it would be but honest, now we have the power, to diminish that penalty.

The rainy season of A.D. 1805 found Sindia and Holkar encamped in the plains of Bednore, desirous, but afraid, to seek revenge in the renewal of war. Deprived of all power in Hindust'han, and of the choicest territory north and south of the Nerbudda, with numerous discontented armies now let loose on these devoted countries, their passions inflamed by defeat, and blind to every sentiment of humanity, they had no alternative to pacify the soldiery and replenish their own ruined resources but indiscriminate pillage. It would require a pen powerful as the pencil of Salvator Rosa to paint the horrors which filled up the succeeding ten years, to which the author was an eye-witness, destined to follow in the train of rapine, and to view in the traces of Mahratta camps the desola-

¹ In S. 1860 (A.D. 1804).

² At this juncture an officer of Holkar's, Hurnát Chéla, on passing through Bansein, had some camels carried off by the Bhils of the Satola estate. Hurnát summoned Golab Sing Chondawut, who came with eight of his relatives, when he was told he should be detained till the cattle were restored; and in the morning, as the Mahratta mounted his elephant, he commanded the Raghaut chieftain to be seized. Golab drew his sword and made at Hurnát, but his sword broke in the howda, when he plunged his dagger into the elephant; but at length he and all his relations, who nobly plied their swords on the Mahrattas, were cut to pieces.

tion and political annihilation of all the central states of India,¹ several of which aided the British in their early struggles for dominion, but were now allowed to fall without a helping hand, the scape-goats of our successes. Peace between the Mahrattas and British was, however, doubtful, as Sindia made the restoration of the rich provinces of Gohud and Gwalior a *sine qua non* : and unhappily for their legitimate ruler, who had been inducted into the seat of his forefathers, a Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis) of ancient renown, but in the decline of life, with views totally unsuited to the times, abandoned our allies, and renounced all for peace, sending an ambassador² to Sindia to reunite the bonds of "perpetual friendship."

The Mahratta leaders were anxious, if the war should be renewed, to shelter their families and valuables in the strongholds of Méwar, and their respective camps became the rendezvous of the rival factions. Sirdar Sing, the organ of the Chondawuts, represented the Rana at Sindia's court, at the head of whose councils Umbaji had just been placed.³ His rancour to the Rana was implacable, from the support given in self-defence to his political antagonist, Lukwa, and he agitated the partition of Méwar amongst the great Mahratta leaders. But whilst his baneful influence was preparing this result, the credit of Sangram Suktawut with Holkar counteracted it. It would be unfair and ungallant not to record that a fair suitor, the Baéza Bae, Sindia's wife, powerfully contributed to the Rana's preservation on this occasion. This lady, the daughter of the notorious Surji Rao, had unbounded power over Sindia. Her sympathies were awakened on behalf of the supreme head of the Rajpoot nation, of which blood she had to boast, though she was now connected with the Mahrattas. Even the hostile clans stifled their animosities on this occasion, and Sirdar Sing Chondawut left Sindia's camp to join his rival Sangram with Holkar, and aided by the upright Kishen-das Pancholi, united in their remonstrances, asking Holkar if he had given his consent to sell Méwar to Umbaji. Touched by the picture of the Rana's and their country's distresses, Holkar swore it should not be ; advised unity amongst themselves, and caused the representatives of the rival clans "to eat opium together." Nor did he stop here, but with the envoys repaired to Sindia's tents, descended on the Rana's high descent, "the master of their master's master,"⁴ urging that it did not become them to overwhelm him, and that they should even renounce the mortgaged lands which their

¹ The Rana of Gohud and Gwalior, the Kheechie chiefs of Ragoogurh and Buhadoorgurh, and the Nabob of Bhopal, made common cause with us in Warren Hastings' time. The three first possess not a shadow of independence ; the latter fortunately formed a link in our own policy, and Lord Hastings, in 1818, repaid with liberal interest the services rendered to the government of Warren Hastings in 1782. It was in his power, with equal facility, to have rescued all the other states, and to have claimed the same measure of gratitude which Bhopal is proud to avow. But there was a fatality in the desire to maintain terms with Sindia, whose treachery to our power was overlooked.

² The author, then a subaltern, was attached to the suite of the ambassador, Mr. Græme Mercer. He left the subsidiary force at Gwalior in December 1805, and the embassy reached Sindia's court in the spring of 1806, then encamped amidst the ruins of Méwar.

³ The ministers of Sindia were Umbaji, Bapoo Chitnavees, Madhuba Huzooria, and Anaji Bhasker.

⁴ That is, chief of the race from which issued the Sitarra sovereigns, whose minister, the Peshwa, accounted Sindia and Holkar his feudatories.

fathers had too long unjustly held, himself setting the example by the restitution of Neembahaira. To strengthen his argument, he expatiated with Sindia on the policy of conciliating the Rana, whose strongholds might be available in the event of a renewal of hostilities with the British. Sindia appeared a convert to his views, and retained the envoys in his camp. The Mahratta camps were twenty miles apart, and incessant torrents of rain had for some days prevented all intercourse. In this interim, Holkar received intelligence that Bhiroo Bux, as envoy from the Rana, was in Lord Lake's camp negotiating for the aid of British troops, then at Tonk, to drive the Mahrattas from Méwar. The incensed Holkar sent for the Rana's ambassadors, and assailed them with a torrent of reproach ; accusing them of treachery, he threw the newspaper containing the information at Kishen-das, asking if that were the way in which the Méwarries kept faith with him ? " I cared not to break with Sindia in support of your master, and while combating the Fringies (Franks), when all the Hindus should be as brothers, your sovereign the Rana, who boasts of not acknowledging the supremacy of Dehli, is the first to enter into arms with them. Was it for this I prevented Umbaji being fastened on you ? " Kishen-das here interrupted and attempted to pacify him, when Alikur Tantia, Holkar's minister, stopped him short, observing to his prince, " You see the faith of these *Rangras* ;¹ they would disunite you and Sindia, and ruin both. Shake them off : be reconciled to Sindia, dismiss Surji Rao, and let Umbaji be Soobadar of Méwar, or I will leave you and take Sindia into Malwa." The other councillors, with the exception of Bhow Bhasker, seconded this advice : Surji Rao was dismissed ; and Holkar proceeded northward, where he was encountered and pursued to the Punjâb by the British under the intrepid and enterprising Lake, who dictated terms to the Mahratta at the altars of Alexander.

Holkar had the generosity to stipulate, before his departure from Méwar, for the security of the Rana and his country, telling Sindia he should hold him personally amenable to him if Umbaji were permitted to violate his guarantee. But in his misfortunes this threat was disregarded, and a contribution of sixteen lakhs was levied immediately on Méwar ; Sudasheo Rao, with Baptiste's brigade, was detached from the camp in June 1806, for the double purpose of levying it, and driving from Oodipoor a detachment of the Jeipoor prince's troops, bringing proposals and preliminary presents for this prince's marriage with the Rana's daughter.

It would be imagined that the miseries of Rana Bheem were not susceptible of aggravation, and that fortune had done her worst to humble him ; but his pride as a sovereign and his feelings as a parent were destined to be yet more deeply wounded. The Jeipoor cortège had encamped near the capital, to the number of three thousand men, while the Rana's acknowledgments of acceptance were despatched, and had reached Shâpoora. But Raja Maun of Marwar also advanced pretensions, founded on the princes having been actually betrothed to his predecessor ; and urging that the throne of Marwar, and not the individual occupant, was the object, he vowed resentment and opposition if his claims were disregarded. These were suggested, it is said, by his nobles to cloak their own views ; and promoted by the Chondawuts (then in favour with the

¹ Rangra is an epithet applied to the Rajpoots, implying turbulent, from '*ring*,' strife.

Rana), whose organ, Ajít, was bribed to further them, contrary to the decided wishes of their prince.

Kishna Komari (the *Virgin Kishna*) was the name of the lovely object, the rivalry for whose hand assembled under the banners of her suitors (Juggut Sing of Jeipoor and Raja Maun of Marwar), not only their native chivalry, but all the predatory powers of India; and who like Helen of old, involved in destruction her own and the rival houses. Sindia having been denied a pecuniary demand by Jeipoor, not only opposed the nuptials, but aided the claims of Raja Maun, by demanding of the Rana the dismissal of the Jeipoor embassy: which being refused, he advanced his brigades and batteries, and after a fruitless resistance, in which the Jeipoor troops joined, forced the pass, threw a corps of eight thousand men into the valley, and following in person, encamped within cannon-range of the city. The Rana had now no alternative but to dismiss the nuptial cortège, and agree to whatever was demanded. Sindia remained a month in the valley, during which an interview took place between him and the Rana at the shrine of Eklinga.¹

The heralds of Hymen being thus rudely repulsed and its symbols intercepted, the Jeipoor prince prepared to avenge his insulted pride and disappointed hopes, and accordingly arrayed a force such as had not assembled since the empire was in its glory. Raja Maun eagerly took up the gauntlet of his rival, and headed "the swords of Maroo." But dissension prevailed in Marwar, where rival claimants for the throne had divided the loyalty of the clans, introducing there also the influence of the Mahrattas. Raja Maun, who had acquired the sceptre by party aid, was obliged to maintain himself by it, and to pursue the demoralising policy of the period by ranging his vassals against each other. These nuptials gave the malcontents an opportunity to display their long-curbed resentments, and following the example of Méwar, they set up a pretender, whose interests were eagerly espoused, and whose standard was erected in the array of Jeipoor; the prince at the head of 120,000 men advancing against his rival, who with less than half the number met him at Purbutsir, on their mutual frontier. The action was short, for while a heavy cannonade opened on either side, the majority of the Marwar nobles went over

¹ To increase his importance, Sindia invited the British envoy and suite to be present on the occasion, when the princely demeanour of the Rana and his sons was advantageously contrasted with that of the Mahratta and his suite. It was in this visit that the regal abode of this ancient race, its isles and palaces, acted with irresistible force on the cupidity of this *scion of the plough*, who aspired to, yet dared not seat himself in, "the halls of the Cæsars." It was even surmised that his hostility to Jeipoor was not so much from the refused war-contribution, as from a mortifying negative to an audacious desire to obtain the hand of this princess himself.

The impression made on the author upon this occasion by the miseries and noble appearance of "this descendant of a hundred kings," was never allowed to weaken, but kindled an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of his fallen condition, which stimulated his perseverance to obtain that knowledge by which alone he might be enabled to benefit him. Then a young *Sub.*, his hopes of success were more sanguine than wise; but he trusted to the rapid march of events, and the discordant elements by which he was surrounded, to effect the redemption of the prince from thralldom. It was a long dream—but after ten years of anxious hope, at length realised—and he had the gratification of being instrumental in snatching the family from destruction, and subsequently of raising the country to comparative prosperity.

to the pretender. Raja Maun turned his poniard against himself : but some chiefs yet faithful to him wrested the weapon from his hand, and conveyed him from the field. He was pursued to his capital, which was invested, besieged, and gallantly defended during six months. The town was at length taken and plundered, but the castle of Joda "laughed a siege to scorn" ; in time with the aid of finesse, the mighty host of Jeipoor, which had consumed the forage of these arid plains for twenty miles around, began to crumble away ; intrigue spread through every rank, and the siege ended in pusillanimity and flight. The Xerxes of Rajwarra, the effeminate Cutchwaha, alarmed at length for his personal safety, sent on the spoils of Purbutsir and Jodpoor to his capital : but the brave nobles of Marwar, drawing the line between loyalty and patriotism, and determined that no trophy of Rahtore degradation should be conveyed by the Cutchwahas from Marwar, attacked the cortège and redeemed the symbols of their disgrace. The colossal array of the invader was soon dismembered, and the "lion of the world" (Juggut Sing) humbled and crestfallen, skulked from the desert retreat of his rival, indebted to a partisan corps for safety and convoy to his capital, around whose walls the wretched remnants of this ill-starred confederacy long lagged in expectation of their pay, while the bones of their horses and the ashes of their riders whitened the plain, and rendered it a Golgotha.¹

By the aid of one of the most notorious villains India ever produced, the Nawab Ameer Khan, the pretender's party was treacherously annihilated. This man with his brigade of artillery and horse was amongst the most efficient of the foes of Raja Maun ; but the *auri sacra fames* not only made him desert the side on which he came for that of the Raja, but for a specific sum offer to rid him of the pretender and all his associates. Like Judas, he kissed whom he betrayed, took service with the pretender, and at the shrine of a saint of his own faith exchanged turbans with their leaders ; and while the too credulous Rajpoot chieftains celebrated this acquisition to their party in the very sanctuary of hospitality, crowned by the dance and the song, the tents were cut down, and the victims thus enveloped, slaughtered in the midst of festivity by showers of grape.

Thus finished the under-plot ; but another and more noble victim was demanded before discomfited ambition could repose, or the curtain drop on this eventful drama. Neither party would relinquish his claim to the fair object of the war ; and the torch of discord could be extinguished only in her blood. To the same ferocious Khan is attributed the unhallowed suggestion, as well as its compulsory execution. The scene was now changed from the desert castle of Joda to the smiling valley of Oodipoor, soon to be filled with funereal lamentation.

Kishna Komari Baé, the "Virgin Princess Kishna," was in her sixteenth year : her mother was of the Chawura race, the ancient kings of Anhulwara. Sprung from the noblest blood of Hind, she added beauty of face and person to an engaging demeanour, and was justly proclaimed the "flower of

¹ I witnessed the commencement and the end of this drama, and have conversed with actors in all the intermediate scenes. In June 1806 the passes of Oodipoor were forced ; and in January 1808, when I passed through Jeipoor in a solitary ramble, the fragments of this contest were scattered over its sandy plains.

Rajast'han." When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial altar, the salvation of her country yielded a noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of a father's fame to sustain her resignation, and in the meekness of her sufferings we have the best parallel to the sacrifice of the lovely Kishna : though years have passed since the barbarous immolation, it is never related but with a faltering tongue and moistened eyes, "albeit unused to the melting mood."

The rapacious and blood-thirsty Pat'han, covered with infamy, repaired to Oodipoor, where he was joined by the pliant and subtle Ajit. Meek in his demeanour, unostentatious in his habits ; despising honours, yet covetous of power,—religion, which he followed with the zeal of an ascetic, if it did not serve as a cloak, was at least no hindrance to an immeasurable ambition, in the attainment of which he would have sacrificed all but himself. When the Pat'han revealed his design, that either the princess should wed Raja Maun, or by her death seal the peace of Rajwarra, whatever arguments were used to point the alternative, the Rana was made to see no choice between consigning his beloved child to the Rahtore prince, or witnessing the effects of a more extended dishonour from the vengeance of the Pat'han, and the storm of his palace by his licentious adherents—the fiat passed that Kishna Komari should die.

But the deed was left for women to accomplish—the hand of man refused it. The Rawula¹ of an eastern prince is a world within itself ; it is the labyrinth containing the strings that move the puppets which alarm mankind. Here intrigue sits enthroned, and hence its influence radiates to the world, always at a loss to trace effects to their causes. Maharaja Dowlut Sing,² descended four generations ago from one common ancestor with the Rana, was first sounded "to save the honour of Oodipoor" ; but, horror-struck, he exclaimed, "Accursed the tongue that commands it ! Dust on my allegiance, if thus to be preserved !" The Maharaja Jowandás, a natural brother, was then called upon ; the dire necessity was explained, and it was urged that no common hand could be armed for the purpose. He accepted the poniard, but when in youthful loveliness Kishna appeared before him, the dagger fell from his hand, and he returned more wretched than the victim. The fatal purpose thus revealed, the shrieks of the frantic mother reverberated through the palace, as she implored mercy, or execrated the murderers of her child, who alone was resigned to her fate. But death was arrested, not averted. To use the phrase of the narrator, "she was excused the steel—the cup was prepared,"—and prepared by female hands ! As the messenger presented it in the name of her father, she bowed and drank it, sending up a prayer for his life and prosperity. The raving mother poured imprecations on his head, while the lovely victim, who shed not a tear, thus endeavoured to console her : "Why afflict yourself, my mother, at this shortening of the sorrows of life ? I fear not to die ! Am I not your daughter ? Why should I fear death ? We are marked out for sacrifice³ from our birth ; we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again ;

¹ Harem.

² I know him well—a plain honest man.

³ Alluding to the custom of infanticide—here, very rare ; indeed, almost unknown.

let me thank my father that I have lived so long ! ”¹ Thus she conversed till the nauseating draught refused to assimilate with her blood. Again the bitter potion was prepared. She drained it off, and again it was rejected ; but, as if to try the extreme of human fortitude, a third was administered ; and, for the third time, Nature refused to aid the horrid purpose. It seemed as if the fabled charm, which guarded the life of the founder of her race,² was inherited by the Virgin Kishna. But the bloodhounds, the Pat’han and Ajít, were impatient till their victim was at rest ; and cruelty, as if gathering strength from defeat, made another and a fatal attempt. A powerful opiate was presented—the *kasoomba draught*.³ She received it with a smile, wished the scene over, and drank it. The desires of barbarity were accomplished. “ She slept ! ”⁴ a sleep from which she never awoke.

The wretched mother did not long survive her child ; nature was exhausted in the ravings of despair ; she refused food ; and her remains in a few days followed those of her daughter to the funeral pyre.

Even the ferocious Khan, when the instrument of his infamy, Ajít, reported the issue, received him with contempt, and spurned him from his presence, tauntingly asking “ if this were the boasted Rajpoot valour ? ” But the wily traitor had to encounter language far more bitter from his political adversary, whom he detested. Sangram Suktawut reached the capital only four days after the catastrophe—a man in every respect the reverse of Ajít ; audaciously brave, he neither feared the frown of his sovereign nor the sword of his enemy. Without introduction he rushed into the presence, where he found seated the traitor Ajít. “ Oh dastard ! who hast thrown dust on the Seesodia race, whose blood which has flowed in purity through a hundred ages has now been defiled ! this sin will check its course for ever ; a blot so foul in our annals that

¹ With my mind engrossed with the scenes in which I had passed the better part of my life, I went two months after my return from Rajpootana, in 1823, to York Cathedral, to attend the memorable festival of that year. The sublime recitations of Handel in “ Jephtha’s Vow,” the sonorous woe of Sapia’s “ Deeper and deeper still,” powerfully recalled the sad exit of the Rajpootni ; and the representation shortly after of Racine’s tragedy of “ Iphigénie,” with Talma as Achille, Duchesnois as Clytemnestre, and a very interesting personation of the victim daughter of Agamemnon, again served to waken the remembrance of this sacrifice. The following passage, embodying not only the sentiments, but couched in the precise language in which the “ Virgin Kishna ” addressed her father—proving that human nature was but one mode of expression for the same feelings—I am tempted to transcribe :

... “ Mon père,
 “ Cessez de vous troubler, vous n’êtes point trahi.
 Quand vous commanderez, vous serez obéi :
 Ma vie est votre bien. Vous voulez le reprendre,
 Vos ordres, sans détour, pouvaient se faire entendre ;
 D’un œil aussi content, d’un cœur aussi soumis,
 Que j’acceptais l’époux que vous m’aviez promis,
 Je saurai, s’il le faut, victime obéissante
 Tendre au fer de Calchas une tête innocente ;
 Et respectant le coup par vous-même ordonné,
 Vous rendre tout le sang que vous m’avez donné.”

² Bappa Rawul.

³ The *kasoomba draught* is made of flowers and herbs of a cooling quality ; into this an opiate was introduced.

⁴ The simple but powerful expression of the narrator.

no Seesodia¹ will ever again hold up his head! A sin to which no punishment were equal. But the end of our race is approaching! The line of Bappa Rawul is at an end! Heaven has ordained this, a signal of our destruction." The Rana hid his face with his hands, when turning to Ajit, he exclaimed, "Thou stain on the Seesodia race, thou impure of Rajpoot blood, dust be on thy head as thou hast covered us all with shame. May you die childless, and your name die with you!"² Why this indecent haste? Had the Pat'han stormed the city? Had he attempted to violate the sanctity of the Rawula? And though he had, could you not die as Rajpoots, like your ancestors? Was it thus they gained a name? Was it thus our race became renowned—thus they opposed the might of kings? Have you forgotten the Sakas of Cheetore? But whom do I address—not Rajpoots? Had the honour of your females been endangered, had you sacrificed them all and rushed sword in hand on the enemy, your name would have lived, and the Almighty would have secured the seed of Bappa Rawul. But to owe preservation to this unhallowed deed! You did not even await the threatened danger. Fear seems to have deprived you of every faculty, or you might have spared the blood of Sreejee,³ and if you did not scorn to owe your safety to deception, might have substituted some less noble victim! But the end of our race approaches!"

The traitor to manhood, his sovereign, and humanity, durst not reply. The brave Sangram is now dead, but the prophetic anathema has been fulfilled. Of *ninety-five* children, sons and daughters, but one son (the brother of Kishna)⁴ is left to the Rana; and though his two remaining daughters have been recently married to the princes of Jessulmér and Bikanér, the Salic law, which is in full force in these states, precludes all honour through female descent. His hopes rest solely on the prince, Juvana Sing,⁵ and though in the flower of youth and health, the marriage bed (albeit boasting no less than four young princesses) has been blessed with no progeny.⁶

The elder brother of Juvana⁷ died two years ago. Had he lived he would have been Umra the Third. With regard to Ajit, the curse has been fully accomplished. Scarcely a month after, his wife and two sons were numbered with the dead; and the hoary traitor has since been wandering from shrine to shrine, performing penance and alms in

¹ The tribe of the Rana.

² That is, without adoption even to perpetuate it.

³ A respectful epithet to the prince—*sire*.

⁴ By the same mother.

⁵ He was nearly carried off by that awful scourge, the cholera, and, singular to remark, was the first person attacked at Oodipoor. I remained by his bedside during the progress of this terrible visitation, and never shall I forget his grateful exclamation of surprise, when after a salutary sleep he opened his eyes to health. Sheerjee Mehta, his chief adviser and manager of his estates, merry as ever, though the heir of Méwar was given over, was seized with the complaint as his master recovered—was dead and his ashes blanching on the sands of the streamlet of Ar within twelve hours! Jovial and good-humoured as he was, "we could have better spared a better man." He was an adept in intrigue; of Umbaji's school; and till death shall extinguish the whole of this, and better morals are born, the country will but slowly improve.

⁶ Since this work has gone to press, the author has been rejoiced to find that an heir has been born from the last marriage by a princess of Réwah of the Bhagéla tribe.

⁷ See genealogical descendants of Rana Juggut Sing. Appendix, No. VIII.

expiation of his sins, yet unable to fling from him ambition ; and with his beads in one hand, *Rama ! Rama !* ever on his tongue, and subdued passion in his looks, his heart is deceitful as ever. Enough of him : let us exclaim with Sangram, "Dust on his head,"¹ which all the waters of the Ganges could not purify from the blood of the virgin Kishna, but

"rather would the multitudinous sea incarnadine."

His coadjutor, Ameer Khan, is now linked by treaties "in amity and unity of interests" with the sovereigns of India ; and though he has carried mourning into every house of Rajast'han, yet charity might hope forgiveness would be extended to him, could he cleanse himself from this deed of horror—"throwing this pearl away, richer than all his tribe !" His career of rapine has terminated with the caresses of the blind goddess, and placed him on a pinnacle to which his sword would never have traced the path. Enjoying the most distinguished post amongst the foreign chieftains of Holkar's state, having the regulars and park under his control, with large estates for their support, he added the epithet of traitor to his other titles, when the British government, adopting the leading maxim of Asiatic policy, *divide et impera*, guaranteed to him the sovereignty of these districts on his abandoning the Mahrattas, disbanding his legions, and surrendering the park. But though he personally fulfilled not, nor could fulfil, one single stipulation, this man, whose services were not worth the pay of a single sepoy,—who fled from his camp² unattended, and sought personal protection in that of the British commander,—claimed and obtained the full price of our pledge, the sovereignty of about one-third of his master's dominions ; and the districts of Seronge, Tonk, Rampoor, and Neembahaira, form the domain of the *Nawab Ameer Khan*, etc., etc., etc.!! This was in the fitful fever of success, when our arms were everywhere triumphant. But were the viceroy of Hind to summon the forty tributaries³ now covered by the ægis of British protection to a meeting, the murderer of Kishna would still occupy a place (though low) in this illustrious divan. Let us hope that his character being known, he would feel himself ill at ease ; and let us dismiss him likewise in the words of Sangram, "Dust on his head !"

The mind sickens at the contemplation of these unvarying scenes of atrocity ; but this unhappy state had yet to pass through two more lustres of aggravated sufferings (to which the author of these annals was an eye-witness) before their termination, upon the alliance of Méwar with Britain. From the period of the forcing of the passes, the dismissal of the Jeipoor embassy by Sindia, and the murder of Kishna Komari,

¹ This was written at Oodipoor in 1820. This old intriguer then attempted to renew the past, as the organ of the Chondawuts, but his scheme ended in exile to the sacred city of Benares ; and there he may now be seen with his rosary on the consecrated *ghat* of the Ganges.

² Brigadier-General Alexander Knox had the honour of dissolving these bands in the only way worthy of us. He marched his troops to take their guns and disperse their legions ; and, when in order of battle, the gallant General taking out his watch, gave them half an hour to reflect, their commander Jamshid, second only in villainy to his master, deeming "discretion the better part of valour," surrendered.

³ There are full this number of princes holding under the British.

the embassy of Britain was in the train of the Mahratta leader, a witness of the evils described—a most painful predicament—when the hand was stretched out for succour in vain, and the British flag waved in the centre of desolation, unable to afford protection. But this day of humiliation is past, thanks to the predatory hordes who goaded us on to their destruction; although the work was incomplete, a nucleus being imprudently left in Sindia for the scattered particles again to form.

In the spring of 1806, when the embassy entered the once-fertile Méwar, from whose native wealth the monuments the pencil will portray were elected, nothing but ruin met the eye—deserted towns, roofless houses, and uncultured plains. Wherever the Mahratta encamped, annihilation was ensured; it was a habit; and twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the aspect of a desert. The march of destruction was always to be traced for days afterwards by burning villages and destroyed cultivation. Some satisfaction may result from the fact, that there was scarcely an actor in these unhallowed scenes whose end was not fitted to his career. Umbaji was compelled to disgorge the spoils of Méwar, and his personal sufferings made some atonement for the ills he had inflicted upon her. This satrap, who had almost established his independence in the fortress and territory of Gwalior, suffered every indignity from Sindia, whose authority he had almost thrown off. He was confined in a mean tent, manacled, suffered the torture of small lighted torches applied to his fingers, and even attempted suicide to avoid the surrender of his riches; but the instrument (an English penknife) was inefficient: the surgeon to the British embassy sewed up the wounds, and his coffers were eased of fifty-five lakhs of rupees! Méwar was, however, once more delivered over to him; he died shortly after. If report be correct, the residue of his treasures was possessed by his ancient ally, Zalim Sing. In this case, the old politician derived the chief advantage of the intrigues of S. 1848, without the crimes attendant on the acquisition.

Sindia's father-in-law, when expelled that chief's camp, according to the treaty, enjoyed the ephemeral dignity of minister to the Rana, when he abstracted the most valuable records, especially those of the revenue.

Komulmér was obtained by the minister Suttidas from Jeswunt Rao Bhow for seventy thousand rupees, for which assignments were given on this district, of which he retained possession. Meer Khan in A.D. 1809 led his myrmidons to the capital, threatening the demolition of the temple of Eklinga if refused a contribution of eleven lakhs of rupees. Nine were agreed to, but which by no effort could be raised, upon which the Rana's envoys were treated with indignity, and Kishen-das¹ wounded. The passes were forced, Meer Khan entering by Dobbari, and his coadjutor and son-in-law, the notorious Jamshid, by the Cheerwa, which made but a feeble resistance. The ruffian Pat'hans were billeted on the city,

¹ This veteran attended me during all these troubles, as the medium of communication with the Rana. Though leagued with the Chondawuts, he was a loyal subject and good servant. I saw him expire, and was of opinion, as well as the doctor who accompanied me, that his death was caused by poison. The general burst of sorrow from hundreds collected around his house, when the event was announced, is the best encomium on his public character.

subjecting the Rana to personal humiliation, and Jamshid¹ left with his licentious Rohillas in the capital. The traces of their barbarity are to be seen in its ruins. No woman could safely venture abroad, and a decent garment or turban was sufficient to attract their cupidity.

In S. 1867 (A.D. 1811) Bapoo Sindia arrived with the title of Soobadar, and encamped in the valley, and from this to 1814 these vampires, representing Sindia and Meer Khan, possessed themselves of the entire fiscal domain, with many of the fiefs, occasionally disputing for the spoils; to prevent which they came to a conference at the *Dhola Muga* (the white hill), attended by a deputation² from the Rana, when the line of demarcation was drawn between the spoilers. A schedule was formed of the towns and villages yet inhabited, the amount to be levied from each specified, and three and a half lakhs adjudged to Jamshid, with the same sum to Sindia; but this treaty was not better kept than the former ones. Méwar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilisation fast disappearing; fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralised, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts. Yet had Sindia the audacity to demand compensation for the loss of his tribute stipulated to Bapoo Sindia,³ who rendered Méwar a desert, carrying her chiefs, her merchants, her farmers, into captivity and fetters in the dungeons of Ajmér, where many died for want of ransom, and others languished till the treaty with the British, in A.D. 1817, set them free.

CHAPTER XVIII

Overthrow of the predatory system—Alliances with the Rajpoot states—Envoy appointed to Méwar—Arrives at Oodipoor—Reception—Description of the Court—Political geography of Méwar—The Rana—His character—His ministers—Plans—Exiles recalled—Merchants invited—Bhilwara established—Assembly of the nobles—Charter ratified—Resumptions of land—Anecdotes of the Chiefs of Arjah—Bednore, Bhadaiser, and Amait—Landed tenures in Méwar—Village rule—Freehold (*bāpōta*) of Méwar—Bhomia, or allodial vassals: Character and privileges—Great Register of Patents—Traditions exemplifying right in the soil—The Patél; his origin; character—Assessment of land-rents—General results.

THE history of the Rana's family has now been traced through all the vicissitudes of its fortunes, from the second to the nineteenth century, whilst contending for existence, alternately with Parthians, Bhils, Tartars, and Mahrattas, till at length it has become tributary to Britain.

¹ This monstrous villain (for he was a Goliath) died soon after Méwar was rescued, from a cancer in his back.

² Suttidas, Kishen-das, and Roop Ram.

³ Bapoo Sindia shortly outlived his expulsion from Ajmér, and as he had to pass through Méwar in his passage to his future residence, he was hooted by the population he had plundered. While I was attending the Rana's court, some one reporting Bapoo Sindia's arrival at his destination, mentioned that some pieces of ordnance formerly taken from Oodipoor had, after saluting him, *exuded a quantity of water*, which was received with the utmost gravity by the court, until I remarked they were crying because they should never again be employed in plunder: an idea which caused a little mirth.

The last chapter portrays the degraded condition of their princes, and the utter desolation of their country, in a picture which embodied the entire Rajpoot race. An era of repose at length dawned upon them. The destruction of that vast predatory system, under the weight of which the prosperity of these regions had so long been repressed, was effected by one short campaign in 1817 ; which if less brilliant than that of 1803, is inferior to none in political results. The tardy policy of the last-named period, at length accomplished, placed the power of Britain in the East on an expugnable position, and rescued the Rajpoots from a progressing destruction.

To prevent the recurrence of this predatory system it was deemed politic to unite all these settled states, alike interested with ourselves in its overthrow, in one grand confederation. Accordingly the Rajpoot states were invited to shelter under our protecting alliance ; and with one exception (*Jeipoor*), they eagerly embraced the invitation. The ambassadors of the various governments followed each other in quick succession to Dehli, where the treaties were to be negotiated, and in a few weeks all Rajpootana was united to Britain by compacts of one uniform character ;¹ insuring to them external protection with internal independence, as the price of acknowledged supremacy, and a portion of revenue to the protecting government. By this comprehensive arrangement, we placed a most powerful barrier between our territories and the strong natural frontier of India ; and so long as we shall respect their established usages, and by contributing to the prosperity of the (and) preserve our motives from distrust, it will be a barrier impenetrable to invasion.

Of all the princes who obtained succour at this momentous crisis in the political history of India, none stood more in need of it than the Rana of Oodipoor. On the 16th January 1818 the treaty was signed, and on the 24th February an envoy was nominated ; who immediately proceeded to attend the Rana's court, to superintend and maintain the newly-formed

Sinhs.² The right wing of the grand army³ had already preceded to the Rana's court to compel the surrender of such territory as was unjustly held by the lawless partisans of Sindia, and to reduce to obedience the refractory nobles, to whom anarchy was endeared from long familiarity. The strongholds in the plains as Raepoor, Rajnuggur, etc., soon surrendered ; and the payment of the arrears of the garrison of Komulmér put this important fortress in our possession.

In his passage from Jehajpoor, which guards the range on the east to Komulmér on the Aravulli west, a space of 140 miles, the limits of Méwar, only two thinly-peopled towns were seen which acknowledged the Rana's authority. All was desolate ; even the traces of the footsteps

¹ See Appendix, No. VI., for treaty with the Rana.

² Commanded by Major-General Sir R. Donkin, K.C.B.

³ The author had the honour to be selected by the Marquis of Hastings to represent him at the Rana's court, with the title of " Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States." During the campaign of 1817-18, he was placed as the point of communication to the various divisions of the northern army ; at the same time being intrusted with the negotiations with Holkar (previous to the rupture), and with those of Kotah and Boondl. He concluded the treaty with the latter state *en route* to Oodipoor, where, as at the latter, there were only the benefits of moral and political existence to confer.

of man were effaced. The babool (*mimosa Arabica*), and gigantic reed, which harboured the boar and the tiger, grew upon the highways; and every rising ground displayed a mass of ruin. Bhilwara, the commercial *entrepôt* of Rajpootana, which ten years before contained six thousand families, showed not a vestige of existence. All was silent in her streets—no living thing was seen except a solitary dog, that fled in dismay from his lurking-place in the temple, scared at the unaccustomed sight of man.¹

An envoy was despatched by the Rana to congratulate the Agent, who joined him in the British camp at Nat'hdwara; and while he returned to arrange the formalities of reception, the Agent obtained the cession of Komulmér; which, with the acquisitions before mentioned, paved the way for a joyful reception. The prince, Juvan Sing, with all the state insignia, and a numerous cortège, advanced to receive the mission, and conduct it to the capital. A spot was fixed on in a grove of palmyras, about two miles from the city, where carpets were spread, and where the prince received the Agent and suite in a manner at once courteous and dignified.² Of him it might have been said, in the language applied by Jehangîr to the son of Rana Umra—"His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."

We entered the city³ by the gate of the sun; and through a vista of ruin the mission was inducted into its future residence, once the abode of the fair Rampearie.⁴ Like all the mansions of Rajpootana, it was a quadrangular pile, with an open paved area, the suites of apartments carried round the sides, with latticed or open corridors extending parallel to each suite. Another deputation with the *méjmani*, consisting of a hundred trays of sweetmeats, dried fruits, and a purse of one thousand rupees for distribution amongst the domestics, brought the Rana's welcome upon our arrival in his capital, and fixed the next day for our introduction at court.

At four in the afternoon, a deputation, consisting of the officiating prime minister, the representative of the Chondawuts, with mace-bearers and a numerous escort, came to announce the Rana's readiness to receive the mission; which, with all the "pomp and circumstance" peculiar to these countries, was marshalled in front of the residency, thronged by crowds of well-dressed inhabitants, silently gazing at the unusual sight.⁵ The grand Nakarras having announced the Rana in court, the mission proceeded through streets which everywhere presented marks of rapine, hailed by the most enthusiastic greetings. "Jy! jy! Frengi ca Raj!" *Victory, victory to the English government!* resounded from every tongue.

¹ The author had passed through Bhilwara in May 1806, when it was comparatively flourishing. On this occasion (Feb. 1818) it was entirely deserted. It excited a smile, in the midst of regrets, to observe the practical wit of some of the soldiers, who had supplied the naked representative of *Ad-nath* with an apron—not of leaves, but scarlet cloth.

² The Agent had seen him when a boy, at a meeting already described; but he could scarcely have hoped to find in one, to the formation of whose character the times had been so unfavourable, such a specimen as this descendant of Pertáp.

³ A description of the city and valley will be more appropriate elsewhere.

⁴ See p. 346.

⁵ The escort consisted of two companies of foot, each of one hundred men, with half a troop of cavalry. The gentlemen attached to the mission were Captain Waugh (who was secretary and commandant of the escort), with Lieutenant Carey as his subaltern. Dr. Duncan was the medical officer.

The bards were not idle ; and the unpoetic name of the Agent was hitched into rhyme. Groups of musicians were posted here and there, who gave a passing specimen of the *tuppas* of Méwar ; and not a few of the fair, with brazen ewers of water on their heads, welcomed us with the *suhailea*, or song of joy. Into each of these vessels the purse-bearer dropped a piece of silver ; for neither the songs of the *suhailea*, the *tuppas* of the minstrel, nor encomiastic stave of the bard, are to be received without some acknowledgment that you appreciate their merit and talents, however you may doubt the value they put upon your own. As we ascended the main street leading to the *TRIPOLIA*, or triple portal, which guards the sacred enclosure, dense masses of people obstructed our progress, and even the walls of the temple of Juggernat'h were crowded. According to etiquette, we dismounted at the *Porte*, and proceeded on foot across the ample terrace ; on which were drawn up a few elephants and horse, exercising for the Rana's amusement.

The palace is a most imposing pile, of a regular form, built of granite and marble, rising at least a hundred feet from the ground, and flanked with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. Although built at various periods, uniformity of design has been very well preserved ; nor is there in the East a more striking or majestic structure. It stands upon the very crest of a ridge running parallel to, but considerably elevated above, the margin of the lake. The terrace, which is at the east and chief front of the palace, extends throughout its length, and is supported by a triple row of arches from the declivity of the ridge. The height of this arcaded wall is fully fifty feet ; and although all is hollow beneath, yet so admirably is it constructed, that an entire range of stables is built on the extreme verge of the terrace, on which the whole personal force of the Rana, elephants, horse, and foot, are often assembled. From this terrace the city and the valley lay before the spectator, whose vision is bounded only by the hills shutting out the plains ; while from the summit of the palace nothing obstructs its range over lake and mountain.

A band of Sindies guarded the first entrance to the palace ; and being Saturday, the Suktawuts were on duty in the great hall of assembly. Through lines of Rajpoots we proceeded till we came to the marble staircase, the steps of which had taken the form of the segment of an ellipse, from the constant friction of the foot ; an image of *Ganésa* guarded the ascent to the interior of the palace, and the apartment, or landing, is called *Ganésa deori*, from the Rajpoot *Janus*. After proceeding through a suite of saloons, each filled with spectators, the herald's voice announced to " the lord of the world " that the English envoy was in his presence ; on which he arose and advanced a few paces in front of the throne, the chieftains standing to receive the mission. Everything being ruled by precedent, the seat allotted for the envoy was immediately in front and touching the *royal cushion* (*gadi*) : being that assigned to the Peshwa in the height of Mahratta prosperity, the arrangement, which was a subject of regular negotiation, could not be objected to. The apartment chosen for the initiatory visit was the *Surya mahl*, or " hall of the sun," so called from a medallion of the orb in basso-relievo which decorates the wall. Close thereto is placed the Rana's throne, above which, supported by slender silver columns, rises a velvet canopy. The *Gadi*, or throne, in the East is but a huge cushion, over which is thrown an embroidered velvet

mantle. The chiefs of the higher grade, or "*the sixteen*," were seated, according to their rank, on the right and left of the Rana; next and below these were the princes Umra and Juvan Sing; and at right angles (by which the court formed three sides of a square), the chiefs of the second rank. The civil officers of the state were near the Rana in front, and the seneschal, butler, keeper of the wardrobe, and other confidential officers and inferior chieftains, formed a group standing on the extreme edge of the carpet.

The Rana's congratulations were hearty and sincere: in a few powerful expressions he depicted the miseries he had experienced, the fallen condition of his state, and the gratitude he felt to the British Government which had interposed between him and destruction; and which for the first moment of his existence allowed him to sleep in peace. There was an intense earnestness in every word he uttered, which, delivered with great fluency of speech and dignity of manner, inspired deep respect and sympathy. The Agent said that the Governor-General was no stranger to the history of his illustrious family, or to his own immediate sufferings; and that it was his earnest desire to promote, by every means in his power, the Rana's personal dignity and the prosperity of his dominions. After conversing a few minutes, the interview was closed with presents to the Agent and suite: to the former a caparisoned elephant and horse, jewelled aigrette, and pearl necklace, with shawls and brocades; and with the customary presentation of essence of rose and the pan leaf the Rana and court rising, the envoy made his *salaam* and retired. In a short time the Rana, attended by his second son, ministers, and a select number of the chiefs, honoured the envoy with a visit. The latter advanced beyond his residence to meet the prince, who was received with presented arms by the guard, the officers saluting, and conducted to his throne, which had been previously arranged. Conversation was now unrestrained, and questions were demanded regarding everything which appeared unusual. After sitting half an hour, the Agent presented the Rana with an elephant and two horses, caparisoned with silver and gilt ornaments and velvet embroidered housings, with *twenty-one shields*¹ of shawls, brocades, muslins, and jewels; to prince Umra, unable from sickness to attend his father, a horse and *eleven shields*; and to his brother, the second prince, Juvan Sing, a horse and *nine shields*; to the ministers and chiefs according to rank: the whole entertainment costing about 20,000 rupees, or £2000. Amidst these ceremonials, receiving and returning visits of the Rana, his chiefs, his ministers, and men of influence and information commercial and agricultural, some weeks passed in silent observation, and in the acquisition of materials for action.²

¹ The buckler is the tray in which gifts are presented by the Rajpoots.

² If we dare compare the moral economy of an entire people to the physical economy of the individual, we should liken this period in the history of Méwar to intermittent pulsation of the heart—a pause in moral as in physical existence; a consciousness thereof, inertly awaiting the propelling power to restore healthful action to a state of languid repose; or what the Rajpoot would better comprehend, his own condition when the opiate stimulant begins to dissipate, and mind and body are alike abandoned to helpless imbecility. Who has lived out of the circle of mere vegetation, and not experienced this temporary deprivation of moral vitality? for no other simile would suit the painful pause in the sympathies of the inhabitants of this once fertile region, where experience could point out but one page in their annals, one period in their history, when the clangour of the war trumpet was suspended, or the sword shut up in its scabbard. The

For the better comprehension of the internal relations, past and present, of Méwar, a sketch is presented, showing the political divisions of the tribes and the fiscal domain, from which a better idea may be formed of Rajpoot feudal economy than from a chapter of dissertation. The princes of Méwar skilfully availed themselves of their natural advantages in the partition of the country. The mountain-barriers east and west were allotted to the chiefs to keep the mountaineers and foresters in subjection, whose leading passes were held by a *lord-marcher*, and the quotas of his quarter; and while strong forts guarded the exposed northern and southern entrances, the crown-land lay in the centre, the safest and the richest. The exterior, thus guarded by a cordon of feudal levies composed of the quotas of the greater fiefs; the minor and most numerous class of vassals, termed *gole*, literally "the mass," and consisting of ten thousand horse, each holding directly of the crown independent of the greater chiefs, formed its best security against both external aggression and internal commotions.

Such is a picture of the feudal economy of Méwar in the days of her renown; but so much had it been defaced through time and accident, that with difficulty could the lineaments be traced with a view to their restoration: her institutions a dead letter, the prince's authority despised, the nobles demoralised and rebellious, internal commerce abandoned, and the peasantry destroyed by the combined operation of war, pestilence, and exile. Expression might be racked for phrases which could adequately delineate the miseries all classes had endured. It is impossible to give more than a sketch of the state of the *dos sches Méwar*, 'the ten thousand townships' which once acknowledged her princes, and of which above three thousand still exist. All that remained to them was the valley of the capital; and though Cheetore and Mandelgurh were maintained by the fidelity of the Rana's servants, their precarious revenues scarcely sufficed to maintain their garrisons. The Rana was mainly indebted to Zalim Sing of Kotah for the means of subsistence; for in the struggle for existence his chiefs thought only of themselves, of defending their own estates, or buying off their foes; while those who had succumbed took to horse, scoured the country, and plundered without distinction. Inferior clanships declared themselves independent of their superiors, who in their turn usurped the crown domain, or by bribing the necessities of their prince, obtained his patent for lands, to which, as they yielded him nothing, he became indifferent. The crown-tenants purchased of these chiefs the protection (*rekhwalee*) which the Rana could not grant, and made alienations of the *crown taxes*, besides private rights of the community, which were often extorted at the point of the lance. Feuds multiplied, and the name

portals of Janus at Rome were closed but twice in a period of seven hundred years; and in exactly the same time from the conquest by Shahudin to the great pacification, but twice can we record peace in Méwar—the reign of Numa has its type in Shah Jehan, while the more appropriate reign of Augustus belongs to Britain. Are we to wonder then that a chilling void now occupied (if the solecism is admissible) the place of interminable action? when the mind was released from the anxiety of daily, hourly, devising schemes of preservation, to one of perfect security,—that enervating calm, in which, to use their own homely phrase, *Bhēr aur bakri ikī thālī sa pia*, 'the wolf and the goat drank from the same vessel.' But this unruffled torpidity had its limit: the Agrarian laws of Méwar were but mentioned, and the national pulse instantly rose.

of each clan became the watchword of alarm or defiance to its neighbour : castles were assaulted, and their inmates, as at Seogurh and Lawah, put to the sword ; the Méras and Bhils descended from their hills, or emerged from their forests, and planted ambuscades for the traveller or merchant, whom they robbed or carried to their retreats, where they languished in duration till ransomed. Marriage processions were thus intercepted, and the honeymoon was passed on a cliff of the Aravulli, or in the forests on the Myhie. The Rajpoot, whose moral energies were blunted, scrupled not to associate and to divide the spoil with these lawless tribes, of whom it might be said, as of the children of Ishmael, " Their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them." Yet notwithstanding such entire disorganisation of society, external commerce was not stagnant ; and in the midst of this rapine, the produce of Europe and Cashmere would pass each other in transit through Méwar, loaded it is true by a multiplicity of exactions, but guarded by those who scorned all law but the *point of honour*, which they were paid for preserving.

The capital will serve as a specimen of the country. Oodipoor, which formerly reckoned fifty thousand houses within the walls, had not now three thousand occupied, the rest were in ruin, the rafters being taken for fire-wood. The realisation of the spring harvest of 1818, from the entire fiscal land, was about £4000 ! Grain sold for seven seers the rupee, though thrice the quantity was procurable within the distance of eighty miles. Insurance from the capital to Nat'hdwara (twenty-five miles) was eight per cent. The Kotario chief, whose ancestors are immortalised for fidelity, had not a horse to conduct him to his prince's presence, though his estates were of fifty thousand rupees annual value. All were in ruins ; and the Rana, the descendant of those patriot Rajpoots who opposed Baber, Akber, and Arungzèb, in the days of Mogul splendour, had not fifty horse to attend him, and was indebted for all the comforts he possessed to the liberality of Kotah.

Such was the chaos from which order was to be evoked. But the elements of prosperity, though scattered, were not extinct ; and recollections of the past deeply engraved in the national mind, became available to reanimate their moral and physical existence. To call these forth demanded only the exertion of moral interference, and every other was rejected. The lawless freebooter, and even the savage Bhil, felt awed at the agency of a power never seen. To him moral opinion (compared with which the strength of armies is nought) was inexplicable, and he substituted in its stead another invisible power—that of magic : and the belief was current throughout the intricate region of the West, that a single individual could carry an army in his pocket, and that our power could animate slips of paper cut into the figures of armed men, from which no precaution could guard their retreats. Accordingly, at the mere name of the British power, rapine ceased, and the inhabitants of the wilds of the West, the " forest lords," who had hitherto laughed at subjection, to the number of seven hundred villages, put each the sign of the dagger to a treaty, promising abstinence from plunder and a return to industrious life—a single individual of no rank the negotiator. Moreover, the treaty was religiously kept for twelve months ; when the peace was broken, not by them, but against them.

To the Rajpoot, the moral spectacle of a Pëshwa marched into exile

with all the quietude of a pilgrimage, effected more than twenty thousand bayonets, and no other auxiliary was required than the judicious use of the impressions from this and other passing events, to relay the foundations of order and prosperity—by never doubting the issue, success was insured. The British force, therefore, after the reduction of the plans enumerated, was marched to cantonments ; the rest was left for time and reason to accomplish.

Before proceeding further, it may be convenient to sketch the form of civil government in Méwar, and the characters of its most conspicuous members : the former we shall describe as it was when the machine was in regular action ; it will be found simple, and perfectly suited to its object.

There are four grand officers of the government :—

1. The Purdhan, or prime minister.
2. Bukshee, commander of the forces.
3. Soorutnama, keeper of the records.
4. Suhaie, keeper of the signet.¹

The first, the Purdhan, or civil premier, must be of the non-militant tribe. The whole of the territorial and financial arrangements are vested in him. He nominates the civil governors of districts, and the collectors of the revenue and custom ; and has fourteen *thoás*, or departments, under him, which embrace all that relates to expenditure.

2. The Bukshee must also be of a non-militant tribe, and one different from the Purdhan. His duties are mixed civil and military. He takes the musters, and pays mercenaries, or rations, to the feudal tenants when on extra service, and he appoints a deputy to accompany all expeditions, or to head frontier-posts, with the title of *joujdar*, or commander. The royal insignia, the standard, and kettle-drums accompany him, and the highest nobles assemble under the general control of this civil officer, never under one of their own body. From the Bukshee's bureau all patents are issued, as also all letters of sequestration of feudal land.

The Bukshee has four secretaries :—

1. Draws out deeds.
2. Accountant.
3. Recorder of all patents or grants.
4. Keeps duplicates.

3. The Soorutnama is the auditor and recorder of all the household expenditure and establishments, which are paid by his cheques. He has four assistants also, who make a daily report, and give a daily balance of accounts.

4. The Suhaie. He is secretary both for home and foreign correspondence. He draws out the royal grants or patents of estates, and superintends the deeds of grant on copper-plate to religious establishments. Since the privilege appertaining to Saloombra, of confirming all royal grants with his signet *the lance*, has fallen into desuetude, the *Suhaie* executes this military autograph.²

¹ Or rather, who makes the monogrammatic signet "*Suhaie*," to all deeds, grants, etc.

² The Saloombra chief had his deputy, who resided at court for this sole duty, for which he held a village. See p. 164.

To all decrees, from the daily stipend to the *putta*, or patent of an estate, each minister must append his seal, so that there is a complete system of check. Besides these, the higher officers of government, there are thirty-six *karkhanas*, or inferior officers, appointed directly by the Rana, the most conspicuous of which are the justiciary,¹ the keepers of the register-office, of the mint, of the armoury, of the regalia, of the jewels, of the wardrobe, of the statutes, of the kitchen, of the band, of the seneschalsy, and of the seraglio.

There was no want of aspirants to office, here hereditary ; but it was vain to look amongst the descendants of the virtuous Pancholi, or the severe Umrachund, and the prediction of the former, "Dust will cover the head of Méwar when virtue wanders in rags," was strictly fulfilled. There appeared no talent, no influence, no honesty ; yet the deficiency was calculated to excite sorrow rather than surprise ; to stimulate exertion on their behalf, rather than damp the hope of improvement ; though all scope for action, save in the field of intrigue, was lost, and talent was dormant for want of exercise.

The Rana's character was little calculated to supply his minister's deficiencies. Though perfectly versed in the past history of his country, its resources, and their management ; though able, wise, and amiable, his talents were nullified by numerous weak points. Vain shows, frivolous amusements, and an ill-regulated liberality alone occupied him ; and so long as he could gratify these propensities, he trusted complacently to the exertions of others for the restoration of order and his proper authority. He had little steadiness of purpose, and was particularly obnoxious to female influence. It is scarcely to be wondered that he coveted repose, and was little desirous to disturb the only moment his existence had presented of enjoying it, by inviting the turmoils of business. No man, however, was more capable of advising : his judgment was good, but he seldom followed its dictates ; in short, he was an adept in theory, and a novice in practice. The only man about the court at once of integrity and efficiency was Kishen-das, who had long acted as ambassador, and to whose assiduity the sovereign and the country owed much ; but his services were soon cut off by death.

Such were the materials with which the work of reform commenced. The aim was to bring back matters to a correspondence with an era of their history, when the rights of the prince, the vassal, and the cultivator, were alike well defined—that of Umra Sing.

The first point to effect was the recognition of the prince's authority by his nobles ; the surest sign of which was their presence at the capital, where some had never been, and others only when it suited their convenience or their views. In a few weeks the Rana saw himself surrounded by a court such as had not been known for half a century. It created no small curiosity to learn by what secret power they were brought into each other's presence. Even the lawless Hamira, who but a short while before had plundered the marriage dower of the Hari queen coming from Kotah, and the chief of the Sungawut clan, who had sworn "he might bend his head to woman, but never to his sovereign," left their castles of Bhadaiser and Deogurh, and "placing the royal rescript on their heads," hastened to

¹ Neeyao, Duftur, Taksala, Silleh, Gadi, Gyna, Kapra-bindár, Ghora, Rusora, Nákár-khaneh, Julaib, Rawula.

his presence ; and in a few weeks the whole feudal association of Méwar was embodied in the capital.

To recall the exiled population was a measure simultaneous with the assembling of the nobles ; but this was a work requiring time : they had formed ties, and incurred obligations to the societies which had sheltered them, which could not at once be disengaged or annulled. But wherever a subject of Méwar existed, proclamations penetrated, and satisfactory assurances were obtained, and realised to an extent which belied in the strongest manner the assertion that patriotism is unknown to the natives of Hindust'han. The most enthusiastic and cheering proofs were afforded that neither oppression from without, nor tyranny within, could expel the feeling for the '*bápóta*,' the land of their fathers. Even now, though time has chastened the impressions, we should fear to pen but a tithe of the proofs of devotion of the husbandman of Méwar to the *solum natale* : it would be deemed romance by those who never contemplated humanity in its reflux from misery and despair to the 'sweet influences' of hope ; he alone who had witnessed the day of trouble, and beheld the progress of desolation—the standing corn grazed by Mahratta horse—the rifled towns devoted to the flames—the cattle driven to the camp, and the chief men seized as hostages for money never to be realised—could appreciate their deliverance. To be permitted to see these evils banished, to behold the survivors of oppression congregated from the most distant provinces, many of them strangers to each other, and the aged and the helpless awaiting the *lucky day* to take possession of their ruined abodes, was a sight which memory will not part with. Thus on the 3rd of Sawun (*July*), a favourite day with the husbandman, three hundred of all conditions, with their waggons and implements of labour, and preceded by banners and music, marched into Kupasun ; and *Ganésa* was once again invoked as they reconsecrated their dwellings, and placed his portrait as the Janus of the portals. On the same day, and within eight months subsequent to the signature of the treaty, above three hundred towns and villages were *simultaneously* reinhabited ; and the land, which for many years had been a stranger to the plough-share, was broken up. Well might the superstitious fancy that miracles were abroad ; for even to those who beheld the work in progression it had a magical result, to see the waste covered with habitations, and the verdant corn growing in the fields where lately they had roused the boar from his retreat ! It was a day of pride for Britain ! By such exertions of her power in these distant lands her sway is hallowed. By Britain alone can this fair picture be defaced ; the tranquillity and independence she has conferred, by her alone may be disturbed !

To these important preliminary measures, the assembly of the nobles and recall of the population, was added a third, without which the former would have been nugatory. There was no wealth, no capital, to aid their patriotism and industry. Foreign merchants and bankers had abandoned the devoted land ; and those who belonged to it partook of her poverty and her shame. Money was scarce, and want of faith and credit had increased the usury on loans to a ruinous extent. The Rana borrowed at thirty-six per cent. ; besides twenty-five to forty per cent. discount for his *báráts*, or patents empowering collection on the land ; a system pursued for some time even after his restoration to authority. His

profusion exceeded even the rapidity of renovation ; and the husbandman had scarcely broken up his long-waste fields, when a call was made by the harpies of the state for an advance on their produce, while he himself had been compelled to borrow at a like ruinous rate for seed and the means of support, to be paid by expectations. To have hoped for the revival of prosperity amidst such destitution, moral and pecuniary, would have been visionary. It was as necessary to improve the one as to find the other ; for poverty and virtue do not long associate, and certainly not in Méwar. Proclamations were therefore prepared by the Rana, inviting foreign merchants and bankers to establish connections in the chief towns throughout the country ; but as in the days of demoralisation little faith was placed in the words of princes, similar ones were prepared by the Agent, guaranteeing the stipulations, and both were distributed to every commercial city in India. The result was as had been foreseen : branch banks were everywhere formed, and mercantile agents fixed in every town in the country, whose operations were only limited by the slow growth of moral improvement. The shackles which bound external commerce were at once removed, and the multifarious posts for the collections of transit duties abolished ; in lieu of which chain of stations, all levies on goods in transit were confined to the frontiers. The scale of duties was revised ; and by the abolition of intermediate posts, they underwent a reduction of from thirty to fifty per cent. By this system, which could not for some time be comprehended, the transit and custom duties of Méwar made the most certain part of the revenue, and in a few years exceeded in amount what had ever been known.

The chief commercial mart, Bhilwara, which showed not a vestige of humanity, rapidly rose from ruin, and in a few months contained twelve hundred houses, half of which were occupied by foreign merchants. Bales of goods, the produce of the most distant lands, were piled up in the streets lately overgrown with grass, and a weekly fair was established for the home manufactures. A charter of privileges and immunities was issued, exempting them from all taxation for the first year, and graduating the scale for the future ; calculated with the same regard to improvement, by giving the mind the full range of enjoying the reward of its exertions. The right of electing their own chief magistrates and the assessors of justice, was above all things indispensable, so as to render them as independent as possible of the needy servants of the court. A guard was provided by the government for their protection, and a competent authority nominated to see that the full extent of their privileges, and the utmost freedom of action, were religiously maintained. The entire success of this plan may at once be recorded to prevent repetition. In 1822, Bhilwara contained nearly three thousand dwellings, which were chiefly inhabited by merchants, bankers, or artisans. An entire new street had been constructed in the centre of the town, from the duties levied, and the shops and houses were rented at a moderate rate ; while many were given up to the proprietors of their sites, returning from exile, on their paying the price of construction. But as there is no happiness without alloy, so even this pleasing picture had its dark shades to chasten the too sanguine expectation of imparting happiness to all. Instead of a generous emulation, a jealous competition checked the prosperity of Bhilwara : the base spirit of exclusive monopoly desired a distinction between the

native and the stranger-merchant, for which they had a precedent in the latter paying an addition to the town-duty of metage (*māpā*). The unreasonableness of this was discussed, and it was shown to be more consonant to justice that he who came from Jessulmér, Surát, Benares, or Dehli, should pay less than the merchant whose domicile was on the spot. When at length the parties acquiesced in this opinion, and were intreated and promised to know none other distinction than that of "inhabitant of Bhilwara," sectarian differences, which there was less hope of reconciling, became the cause of disunion. All the Hindu merchants belong either to the Vishnu or Jain sects; consequently each had a representative head, and "*the five*" for the adjudication of their internal arrangements; and these, the wise men of both parties, formed the general council for the affairs of Bhilwara. But they carried their religious differences to the judgment-seat, where each desired pre-eminence. Whether the point in dispute hinged on the interpretation of law, which with all these sects is of divine origin, or whether the mammon of unrighteousness was the lurking cause of their bickerings, they assuredly did much harm, for their appeals brought into play what of all things was least desired, the intrigues of the profligate dependents of the court. It will be seen hereafter,¹ in visits to Bhilwara, how these disputes were in some degree calmed. The leaders on both sides were distinctly given to understand they would be made to leave the place. Self-interest prevented this extremity; but from the withdrawing of that active interference (which the state of the alliance did not indeed warrant, but which humanity interposed for their benefit) together with the effect of appeals to the court, it is to be apprehended that Bhilwara may fail to become what it was intended to be, the chief commercial mart of Central India.²

Of the three measures simultaneously projected and pursued for the restoration of prosperity, the industrious portion has been described. The feudal interest remains, which was found the most difficult to arrange. The agricultural and commercial classes required only protection and stimulus, and we could repay the benefits their industry conferred by the lowest scale of taxation, which, though in fact equally beneficial to the government, was constructed as a boon. But with the feudal lords there was no such equivalent to offer in return for the sacrifices many had to make for the re-establishment of society. Those who were well inclined, like Kotario, had everything to gain, and nothing left to surrender; while those who, like Deogurh, Saloombra, or Bednore, had preserved their power by foreign aid, intrigue, or prowess, dreaded the high price they might be called upon to pay for the benefit of security which the new alliance conferred. All dreaded the word 'restitution,' and the audit of half a century's political accounts; yet the adjustment of these was the corner-stone of the edifice,

¹ In the Personal Narrative.

² Although Bhilwara has not attained that high prosperity my enthusiasm anticipated, yet the philanthropic Heber records that in 1825 (three years after I had left the country) it exhibited "a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had witnessed since he left Dehli." The record of the sentiments of the inhabitants towards me, as conveyed by the bishop, was gratifying, though their expression could excite no surprise in any one acquainted with the characters and sensibilities of these people.

grounds for gratulation, that they were finally accomplished without a shot being fired, or the exhibition of a single British soldier in the country, nor, indeed, within one hundred miles of Oodipoor. "Opinion" was the sole and all-sufficient ally effecting this political reform. The Rajpoots, in fact, did not require the demonstration of our physical strength; its influence had reached far beyond Méwar. When the few firelocks defeated hundreds of the foes of public tranquillity, they attributed it to "*the strength of the Company's salt*,"¹ the moral agency of which was proclaimed the true basis of our power. "*Sach'ha Raj*" was the proud epithet applied by our new allies to the British government in the East; a title which distinguished the immortal Alfred, "the upright."

It will readily be imagined that a reform, which went to touch the entire feudal association, could not be accomplished without harassing and painful discussions, when the object was the renunciation of lands, to which in some cases the right of inheritance could be pleaded, in others, the cognisance of successful revenge, while to many prescriptive possession could be asserted. It was the more painful, because although the shades which marked the acquisition of such lands were varied, no distinction could be made in the mode of settlement, namely, unconditional surrender. In some cases, the Rana had to revoke his own grants, wrung either from his necessities or his weakness; but in neither predicament could arguments be adduced to soften renunciation, or to meet the powerful and pathetic, and often angry appeals to justice or to prejudice. Counter-appeals to their loyalty, and the necessity for the re-establishment of their sovereign's just weight and influence in the social body, without which their own welfare could not be secured, were adduced; but individual views and passions were too absorbing to bend to the general interest. Weeks thus passed in interchange of visits, in soothing pride, and in flattering vanity by the revival of past recollections, which gradually familiarised the subject to the mind of the chiefs, and brought them to compliance. Time, conciliation, and impartial justice, confirmed the victory thus obtained; and when they were made to see that no interest was overlooked, that party views were unknown, and that the system included every class of society in its beneficial operation, cordiality followed concession. Some of these cessions were alienations from the crown of half a century's duration. Individual cases of hardship were unavoidable without incurring the imputation of favouritism, and the

¹ "*Compani Saheb ca nimuk ca zoor sa*" is a common phrase of our native soldiery; and "*Dowahi! Compani ca!*" is an invocation or appeal against injustice; but I never heard this watch-word so powerfully applied as when a Sub. with the Resident's escort in 1812. One of our men, a noble young Rajpoot about nineteen years of age, and six feet high, had been sent with an elephant to forage in the wilds of Nirwur. A band of at least fifty predatory horsemen assailed him, and demanded the surrender of the elephant, which he met by pointing his musket and giving them defiance. Beset on all sides, he fired, was cut down, and left for dead, in which state he was found, and brought to camp upon a litter. One sabre-cut had opened the back entirely across, exposing the action of the viscera, and his arms and wrists were barbarously hacked: yet he was firm, collected, and even cheerful; and to a kind reproach for his rashness, he said, "What would you have said, Captain Sahib, had I surrendered the Company's musket (*compani ca bandooq*) without fighting?" From their temperate habits, the wound in the back did well; but the severed nerves of the wrists brought on a lockjaw of which he died. The Company have thousands of these alike die for their *bandooq*. It were wise to cherish such feelings.

abide by the decision of the Agent. The forms of the Rana's court, from time immemorial, prohibit all personal communication between the sovereign and his chiefs in matters of individual interest, by which indecorous altercation is avoided. But the ministers, whose office it was to obtain every information, did not make a rigid scrutiny into the title-deeds of the various estates previous to advancing the claims of the crown. This brave man had enemies, and he was too proud to have recourse to the common arts either of adulation or bribery to aid his cause. It was a satisfaction to find that the two principal towns demanded of him were embodied in a grant of Singram Sing's reign; and the absolute rights of the fisc, of which he had become possessed, were cut down to about fifteen thousand rupees of annual revenue. But there were other points on which he was even more tenacious than the surrender of these. Being the chief noble of the fine district of Bednore, which consisted of three hundred and sixty towns and villages, chiefly of feudal allotments (many of them of his own clan), he had taken advantage of the times to establish his influence over them, to assume the right of wardship of minors, and secure those services which were due to the prince, but which he wanted the power to enforce. The holders of these estates were of the third class of vassals or *gole* (the mass), whose services it was important to reclaim, and who constituted in past times the most efficient force of the Ranas, and were the preponderating balance of their authority when mercenaries were unknown in these patriarchal states. Abundant means towards a just investigation had been previously procured; and after some discussion, in which all admissible claims were recognised, and argument was silenced by incontrovertible facts, this chieftain relinquished all that was demanded, and sent in, as from himself, his written renunciation to his sovereign. However convincing the data by which his proper rights and those of his prince were defined, it was to feeling and prejudice that we were mainly indebted for so satisfactory an adjustment. An appeal to the name of Jeimul, who fell defending Cheetore against Akber,¹ and the contrast of his ancestor's loyalty and devotion with his own contumacy, acted as a talisman, and wrung tears from his eyes and the deed from his hand. It will afford some idea of the difficulties encountered, as well as the invidiousness of the task of arbitrating such matters, to give his own comment verbatim: "I remained faithful when his own kin deserted him, and was one of four chiefs who alone of all Méwar fought for him in the rebellion; but the son of Jeimul is forgotten, while the 'plunderer' is his boon companion, and though of inferior rank, receives an estate which elevates him above me;" alluding to the chief of Bhadaiser, who plundered the queen's dower. But while the brave descendant of Jeimul returned to Bednore with the marks of his sovereign's favour, and the applause of those he esteemed, the 'runner' went back to Bhadaiser in disgrace, to which his prince's injudicious favour further contributed.

Hamira of Bhadaiser was of the second class of nobles, a Chondawut by birth. He succeeded to his father Sirdar Sing, the assassin of the prime minister even in the palace of his sovereign;² into whose presence he had the audacity to pursue the surviving brother, destined to avenge

¹ See p. 262.

² See p. 351 and note.

him.¹ Hamira inherited all the turbulence and disaffection, with the estates, of his father; and this most conspicuous of the many lawless chieftains of the times was known throughout Rajast'han as Hamira 'the runner' (*dourael*). Though not entitled to hold lands beyond thirty thousand annually, he had become possessed to the amount of eighty thousand, chiefly of the fisc or *khalisa*, and nearly all obtained by violence, though since confirmed by the prince's patent. With the chieftain of Lawah (precisely in the same predicament), who held the fortress of Khyroda and other valuable lands, Hamira resided entirely at the palace, and obtaining the Rana's ear by professions of obedience, kept possession, while chiefs in every respect his superiors had been compelled to surrender; and when at length the Suktawut of Lawah was forbid the court until Khyroda and all his usurpations were yielded up, the son of Sirdar displayed his usual turbulence, "curled his moustache" at the minister, and hinted at the fate of his predecessor. Although none dared to imitate him, his stubbornness was not without admirers, especially among his own clan; and as it was too evident that fear or favour swayed the Rana, it was a case for the Agent's interference, the opportunity for which was soon afforded. When forced to give letters of surrender, the Rana's functionaries, who went to take possession, were insulted, refused admittance, and compelled to return. Not a moment could be lost in punishing this contempt of authority; and as the Rana was holding a court when the report arrived, the Agent requested an audience. He found the Rana and his chiefs assembled in "the balcony of the sun," and amongst them the notorious Hamira. After the usual compliments, the Agent asked the minister if his master had been put in possession of Sianoh. It was evident from the general constraint, that all were acquainted with the result of the deputation; but to remove responsibility from the minister, the Agent, addressing the Rana as if he were in ignorance of the insult, related the transaction, and observed that his government would hold him culpable if he remained at Oodipoor while his highness's commands were disregarded. Thus supported, the Rana resumed his dignity, and in forcible language signified to all present his anxious desire to do nothing which was harsh or ungracious; but that, thus compelled, he would not recede from what became him as their sovereign. Calling for a *beera*, he looked sternly at Hamira, and commanded him to quit his presence instantly, and the capital in an hour; and, but for the Agent's interposition, he would have been banished the country. Confiscation of his whole estate was commanded, until renunciation was completed. He departed that

¹ It will fill up the picture of the times to relate the revenge. When Jamshid, the infamous lieutenant of the infamous Meer Khan, established his headquarters at Oodipoor, which he daily devastated, Sirdar Sing, then in power, was seized and confined as a hostage for the payment of thirty thousand rupees demanded of the Rana. The surviving brothers of the murdered minister Somji "*purchased their foe*" with the sum demanded, and anticipated his clansmen, who were on the point of effecting his liberation. The same sun shone on the head of Sirdar, which was placed as a signal of revenge over the gateway of Rampearie's palace. I had the anecdotes from the minister Scaloll, one of the actors in these tragedies, and a relative of the brothers, who were all swept away by the dagger. A similar fate often seemed to him, though a brave man, inevitable during these resurrections; which impression, added to the Rana's known inconstancy of favour, robbed him of half his energies.

night; and, contrary to expectation, not only were all the usurpations surrendered, but, what was scarcely contemplated by the Agent, the Rana's flag of sequestration was quietly admitted into the fortress of Bhadaiser.¹

One more anecdote may suffice. The lands and fortress of Amlee had been in the family of Amait since the year 27, only five years posterior to the date to which these arrangements extended; their possession verged on half a century. The lords of Amait were of the sixteen, and were chiefs of the clan Jugawat. The present representative enjoyed a fair character: he could, with the chief of Bednore, claim the succession of the loyal; for Pertáp and Jeimul, their respective ancestors, were rivals and martyrs on that memorable day when the genius of Cheetore abandoned the Seesodias. But the heir of Amait had not this alone to support his claims; for his predecessor Pertáp had lost his life in defending his country against the Mahrattas, and Amlee had been his acquisition. Futteh Sing (such was his name) was put forward by the more artful of his immediate kin, the Chondawut interest; but his disposition, blunt and impetuous, was little calculated to promote their views: he was an honest Rajpoot, who neither could nor cared to conceal his anger, and at a ceremonious visit paid him by the Agent, he had hardly sufficient control over himself to be courteous, and though he said nothing, his eyes, inflamed with opium and disdain, spoke his feelings. He maintained a dogged indifference, and was inaccessible to argument, till at length, following the example of Bednore, he was induced to abide by the Agent's mediation. He came attended by his vassals, who anxiously awaited the result, which an unpremeditated incident facilitated. After a long and fruitless expostulation, he had taken refuge in an obstinate silence; and seated in a chair opposite to the envoy, with his shield in front, placed perpendicularly on his knees, and his arms and head reclined thereon, he continued vacantly looking on the ground. To interrupt this uncourteous silence in his own house, the envoy took a picture, which with several others was at hand, and placing it before him, remarked, "*That* chief did not gain his reputation for *swamdherma* ² (loyalty) by conduct such as yours." His eyes suddenly recovered their animation and his countenance was lighted with a smile, as he rapidly uttered, "How did you come by this—why does this interest you?" A tear started in his eye as he added, "This is my father!"—"Yes," said the Agent, "it is the loyal Pertáp on the day he went forth to meet his death; but his name yet lives, and a stranger does homage to his fame."—"Take Amlee, take Amlee," he hurriedly repeated, with a suppressed tone of exultation and sorrow, "but forget not the extent of the sacrifice." To prolong the visit would have been painful to both, but as it might have been trusting too much

¹ Nearly twelve months after this, my public duty called me to Neembahaira *en route* to Kotah. The castle of Hamira was within an hour's ride, and at night he was reported as having arrived to visit me, when I appointed the next day to receive him. Early next morning, according to custom, I took my ride, with four of Skinner's horse, and galloped past him, stretched with his followers on the ground not far from my camp, towards his fort. He came to me after breakfast, called me his greatest friend, "swore by his dagger he was my Rajpoot," and that he would be in future obedient and loyal; but this, I fear, can never be.

² Literally faith (*dherma*) to his lord (*swama*).

to humanity to delay the resumption, the Agent availed himself of the moment to indite the *choorchitti*¹ of surrender for the lands.

With these instances, characteristic of individuals and the times, this sketch of the introductory measures for improving the condition of Méwar may be closed. To enter more largely in detail is foreign to the purpose of the work; nor is it requisite for the comprehension of the unity of the object, that a more minute dissection of the parts should be afforded. Before, however, we exhibit the general results of these arrangements, we shall revert to the condition of the more humble, but a most important part of the community, the peasantry of Méwar; and embody, in a few remarks, the fruits of observation or inquiry, as to their past and present state, their rights, the establishment of them, their infringement, and restitution. On this subject much has been necessarily introduced in the sketch of the feudal system, where landed tenures were discussed; but it is one on which such a contrariety of opinion exists, that it may be desirable to show the exact state of landed tenures in a country, where Hindu manners should exist in greater purity than in any other part of the vast continent of India.

The ryot (*cultivator*) is the proprietor of the soil in Méwar. He compares his right therein to the *a'khye d'hooba*,² which no vicissitudes can destroy. He calls the land his *bápóta*, the most emphatic, the most ancient, the most cherished, and the most significant phrase his language commands for *patrimonial*³ inheritance. He has nature and Menu in support of his claim, and can quote the text, alike compulsory on prince and peasant, "*cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it.*"⁴ an ordinance binding on the whole Hindu race, and which no international wars, or conquest, could overturn. In accordance with this principle is the ancient adage, not of Méwar only but all Rajpootana, *Bhóg ra dhanni Raj ho : bhom rá dhanni ma cho* : 'the government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land.' With the toleration and benevolence of the race the conqueror is commanded "to respect the deities adored by the conquered, also their virtuous priests, and to establish the laws of the conquered nation as declared in their books."⁵ If it were deemed desirable to recede to the system of pure Hindu agrarian law, there is no deficiency of materials. The customary laws contained in the various reports of able men, super-added to the general ordinances of Menu, would form a code at once simple and efficient: for though innovation from foreign conquest has placed many principles in abeyance, and modified others, yet he has observed to little purpose who does not trace a uniformity of design,

¹ Paper of relinquishment.

² The *d'hooba* grass flourishes in all seasons, and most in the intense heats; it is not only *amara* or 'immortal,' but *a'khye*, 'not to be eradicated'; and its tenacity to the soil deserves the distinction.

³ From *bap* 'father,' and the termination of, or *belonging to*, and by which clans are distinguished; as *Kurrunote*, 'descended of Kurrun'; *Mansingote*, 'descended of Mansing'. It is curious enough that the mountain clans of Albania, and other Greeks, have the same distinguishing termination, and the Mainote of Greece and the Mairote of Rajpootana alike signify *mountaineer*, or 'of the mountain,' *maina* in Albanian; *maira* or *méra* in Sanscrit.

⁴ Text 44. On the *Servile Classes*, Menu; Haughton's edition.

⁵ On Government, text 201-3.

which at one time had ramified wherever the name of Hindu prevailed : language has been modified, and terms have been corrupted or changed, but the primary pervading principle is yet perceptible ; and whether we examine the systems of Candeish, the Carnatic, or Rajast'han, we shall discover the elements to be the same.

If we consider the system from the period described by Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorus, we shall see in the government of townships each commune an '*imperium in imperio*' ; a little republic, maintaining its municipal legislation independent of the monarchy, on which it relies for general support, and to which it pays the *bhóg*, or *tax in kind*, as the price of this protection ; for though the prescribed duties of kings are as well defined by Menu¹ as by any jurisconsult in Europe, nothing can be more lax than the mutual relations of the governed and governing in Hindu monarchies, which are resolved into unbounded liberty of action. To the artificial regulation of society, which leaves all who depend on manual exertion to an immutable degradation, must be ascribed these multitudinous governments, unknown to the rest of mankind, which, in spite of such dislocation, maintain the bonds of mutual sympathies. Strictly speaking, every state presents the picture of so many hundred or thousand minute republics, without any connection with each other, giving allegiance (*án*) and rent (*bhóg*) to a prince, who neither legislates for them, nor even forms a police for their internal protection. It is consequent on this want of paramount interference that, in matters of police, of justice, and of law, the communes act for themselves ; and from this want of paternal interference only have arisen those courts of equity, or arbitration, the '*punchacts*.'

But to return to the *freehold* ryot of Méwar, whose *bápóta* is the *wuttun* and the *meerás* of the peninsula,—words of foreign growth, introduced by the Mahomedan conquerors ; the first (Persian) is of more general use in Candeish ; the other (Arabic) in the Carnatic. Thus the great Persian moralist Sadi exemplifies its application : "If you desire to succeed to your father's inheritance (*meerás*), first obtain his wisdom."

While the term *bápóta* thus implies the inheritance or patrimony, its holder, if a military vassal, is called '*Bhomia*,' a term equally powerful, meaning one actually identified with the soil (*bhom*), and for which the Mahomedan has no equivalent but in the possessive compound *wuttun-dár*, or *meerás-dár*. The *Caniatchi*² of Malabar is the *Bhomia* of Rajast'han.

The emperors of Dehli, in the zenith of their power, bestowed the epithet '*zemindar*' upon the Hindu tributary sovereigns : not out of disrespect, but in the true application of their own term '*Bhomia Raj*,'

¹ "Let the king receive his annual revenue through his collectors ; but let him observe the divine ordinances, and act as a father to his people." Text 80.—"To protect the people, and to honour the priests, are the highest duties of kings, and ensures them felicity." 88.—"From the people he must learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and practical arts." 43.—To those who imagine that these ancient monarchies are simply despotic, instead of patriarchal, their divine legislator expressly declares, that "a king addicted to vices (which tend to misrule) may lose even his life from the public resentment." 46.—"The Duties of Kings."

² *Cani* 'land,' and *atchi* 'heritage' : Report, p. 289.—I should be inclined to imagine the *atchi*, like the *ote* and *awut*, Rajpoot terminations, implying clanship.

expressive of their tenacity to the soil ; and this fact affords additional evidence of the proprietary right being in the cultivator (*ryot*), namely, that he alone can confer the freehold *land*, which gives the title of *Bhomia*, and of which both past history and present usage will furnish us with examples. When the tenure of land obtained from the cultivator is held more valid than the grant of the sovereign, it will be deemed a conclusive argument of the proprietary right being vested in the ryot. What should induce a chieftain, when inducted into a perpetual fief, to establish through the ryot a right to a few acres in *bhom*, but the knowledge that although the vicissitudes of fortune or of favour may deprive him of his aggregate signiorial rights, his claims, derived from the spontaneous favour of the commune, can never be set aside ; and when he ceases to be the lord, he becomes a member of the commonwealth, merging his title of Thacoor, or Signior, into the more humble one of *Bhomia*, the allodial tenant of the Rajpoot feudal system, elsewhere discussed.¹ Thus we have touched on the method by which he acquires this distinction, for protecting the community from violence ; and if left destitute by the negligence or inability of the government, he is vested with the rights of the crown, in its share of the *bhóg* or rent. But when their own land is in the predicament called '*gull'has*,' or reversions from lapses to the commune, he is '*seised*' in all the rights of the former proprietor ; or, by internal arrangements, they can convey such right by cession of the commune.

The privilege attached to the *bhom*,¹ and acquired from the community by the protection afforded to it, is the most powerful argument for the recognition of its original rights. The *bhomia*, thus vested, may at pleasure drive his own plough, the right to the soil. His *bhom* is exempt from the *jureeb* (measuring rod) ; it is never assessed, and his only sign of allegiance is a quit-rent, in most cases triennial, and the tax of *khur-lakur*,² a war imposition, now commuted for money. The state, however, indirectly receives the services of these allodial tenants, the yeomen of Rajast'han, who constitute, as in the districts of Komulmér and Mandelgurrh, the *landwehr*, or local militia. In fact, since the days of universal repose set in, and the townships required no protection, an arrangement was made with the *Bhomias* of Méwar, in which the crown, foregoing its claim of quit-rent, has obtained their services in the garrisons and frontier stations of police at a very slight pecuniary sacrifice.

Such are the rights and privileges derived from the ryot cultivator alone. The Rana may dispossess the chiefs of Bednore, or Saloombra, of their estates, the grant of the crown—he could not touch the rights emanating from the community ; and thus the descendants of a chieftain, who a few years before might have followed his sovereign at the head of one hundred cavaliers, would descend into the humble foot militia of a district. Thousands are in this predicament : the Kanawuts, Loonawuts, Koombhawuts, and other clans, who, like the Celt, forget not their claims of birth in the distinctions of fortune, but assert their propinquity as "brothers in the nineteenth or thirtieth degree to the prince" on the throne. So sacred was the tenure derived from the ryot, that even monarchs held lands in *bhom* from their subjects, for an instance of which we are indebted to the great poetic historian of the last Hindu king. Chund relates, that

¹ See p. 170.

² See Sketch of Feudal System.

when his sovereign, the Chohan, had subjugated the kingdom of Anhulwarra¹ from the Solanki, he returned to the nephew of the conquered prince several districts and seaports, and *all the bhom held by the family*. In short, the Rajpoot vaunts his aristocratic distinction derived from the land ; and opposes the title of '*Bhomia Raj*,' or government of the soil, to the '*Bania Raj*,' or commercial government, which he affixes as an epithet of contempt to Jeipoor : where "wealth accumulates and men decay."

In the great "register of patents" (*putta buhye*) of Méwar, we find a species of *bhom* held by the greater vassals on particular crown lands ; whether this originated from inability of ceding entire townships to complete the estate to the rank of the incumbent, or whether it was merely in confirmation of the grant of the commune, could not be ascertained. The benefit from this *bhom* is only pecuniary, and the title is '*bhom rekwalee*'² or *land* [in return for] '*preservation*.' Strange to say, the crown itself holds '*bhom rekwalee*' on its own fiscal demesnes consisting of small portions in each village, to the amount of ten thousand rupees in a district of thirty or forty townships. This species, however, is so incongruous that we can only state it does exist : we should vainly seek the cause for such apparent absurdity, for since society has been unhinged, the oracles are mute to much of antiquated custom.

We shall close these remarks with some illustrative traditions and yet existing customs, to substantiate the ryot's right in the soil of Méwar. After one of those convulsions described in the annals, the prince had gone to espouse the daughter of the Raja of Mundore, the (then) capital of Marwar. It is customary at the moment of "*hálkva*," or the junction of hands, that any request preferred by the bridegroom to the father of the bride should meet compliance, a usage which has yielded many fatal results ; and the Rana had been prompted on this occasion to demand a body of ten thousand Jat cultivators to repopulate the deserted fisc of Méwar. An assent was given to the unprecedented demand, but when the inhabitants were thus despotically called on to migrate, they denied the power and refused. "Shall we," said they, "abandon the lands of our inheritance (*báphota*), the property of our children, to accompany a stranger into a foreign land, there to labour for him ? Kill us you may, but never shall we relinquish our inalienable rights." The Mundoré prince, who had trusted to this reply, deemed himself exonerated from his promise, and secured from the loss of so many subjects : but he was deceived. The Rana held out to them the enjoyment of the proprietary rights escheated to the crown in his country, with the lands left without occupants by the sword, and to all, increase of property. When equal and absolute power was thus conferred, they no longer hesitated to exchange the arid soil of Marwar for the garden of Rajwarra ; and the descendants of these Jats still occupy the flats watered by the Bérís and Bunas.

In those districts which afforded protection from innovation, the proprietary right of the ryot will be found in full force ; of this the populous and extensive district of Jehajpoor, consisting of one hundred and six

¹ Nehrwalla of D'Anville ; the Balhara sovereignty of the Arabian travellers of the eighth and ninth centuries. I visited the remains of this city on my last journey, and from original authorities shall give an account of this ancient emporium of commerce and literature.

² *Salvamenta* of the European system.

townships, affords a good specimen. There are but two pieces of land throughout the whole of this tract the property of the crown, and these were obtained by force during the occupancy of Zalim Sing of Kotah. The right thus unjustly acquired was, from the conscientiousness of the Rana's civil governor, on the point of being annulled by sale and reversion, when the court interfered to maintain its proprietary right to the tanks of Lohario and Etounda, and the lands which they irrigate, now the *bhom* of the Rana.¹ This will serve as an illustration how *bhom* may be acquired, and the annals of Kotah will exhibit, unhappily for the Ryots of that country, the almost total annihilation of their rights, by the same summary process which originally attached Lohario to the fisc.

The power of alienation being thus proved, it would be superfluous to insist further on the proprietary right of the cultivator of the soil.

Besides the ability to alienate as demonstrated, all the overt symbols which mark the proprietary right in other countries are to be found in Méwar; that of entire conveyance by sale, or temporary by mortgage; and numerous instances could be adduced, especially of the latter. The fertile lands of Horlah, along the banks of the Khary, are almost all mortgaged, and the registers of these transactions form two considerable volumes, in which great variety of deeds may be discovered: one extended for one hundred and one years;² when redemption was to follow, without regard to interest on the one hand, or the benefits from the land on the other, but merely by repayment of the sum borrowed. To maintain the interest during abeyance, it is generally stipulated that a certain portion of the harvest shall be reserved for the mortgagee—a fourth, a fifth, or '*googri*,'—a share so small as to be valued only as a mark of proprietary recognition.³ The mortgagees were chiefly of the commercial classes of the large frontier towns; in many cases the proprietor continues to cultivate for another the lands his ancestor mortgaged four or five generations ago, nor does he deem his right at all impaired. A plan had been sketched to raise money to redeem these mortgages, from whose complex operation the revenue was sure to suffer. No length of time or absence can affect the claim to the *bâpôta*, and so sacred is the right of absentees, that land will lay sterile and unproductive from the penalty which Menu denounces on all who interfere with their neighbour's rights: "for unless there be an especial agreement between the owner of the land and the seed, the fruits belongs clearly to the land-owner"; even "if seed conveyed by water or by wind should germinate, the plant belongs to the land-owner, *the mere sower* takes not the fruit."⁴ Even crime and the extreme sentence of the law will not alter succession to property, either to the military or cultivat-

¹ The author has to acknowledge with regret, that he was the cause of the Meena proprietors not re-obtaining their *bâpôta*: this arose, partly from ignorance at the time, partly from the individual claimants being dead, and more than all, from the representation that the intended sale originated in a bribe to Sudda-Ram the governor, which, however, was not the case.

² Claims to the *bâpôta* appear to be maintainable if not alienated longer than one hundred and one years; and undisturbed possession (no matter how obtained) for the same period appears to confer this right. The *meeras* of Candeish appears to have been on the same footing. See Mr. Elphinstone's *Report*.

³ The *sawmy begum* of the peninsula in *Fifth Report*, pp. 356-57; correctly *swami bhoga*, 'lord's rent,' in Sanscrit.

⁴ Menu, 52-54, on the *Servile Classes*.

ing vassal ; and the old Kentish adage, probably introduced by the Jats from Scandinavia, who under Hengist established that kingdom of the heptarchy, namely—

“ The father to the bough,
And the son to the plough.”

is practically understood by the Jats and Bhomias¹ of Méwar, whose treason is not deemed hereditary, nor a chain of noble acts destroyed because a false link was thrown out. We speak of the military vassals—the cultivator cannot aspire to so dignified a crime as treason.

The officers of the townships are the same as have been so often described, and are already too familiar to those interested in the subject to require illustration. From the Patél, the Cromwell of each township, to the village gossip, the ascetic Sanyasi, each deems his office, and the land he holds in virtue thereof in perpetuity, free of rent to the state, except a small triennial quit-rent,² and the liability, like every other branch of the state, to two war taxes.³

Opinions are various as to the origin and attributes of the Patél, the most important personage in village sway, whose office is by many deemed foreign to the pure Hindu system, and to which language even his title is deemed alien. But there is no doubt that both office and title are of ancient growth, and even etymological rule proves the Patél to be head (*páti*) of the community.⁴ The office of Patél of Méwar was originally elective ; he was “ *primus inter pares*,” the constituted attorney or representative of the commune, and as the medium between the cultivator and the government, enjoyed benefits from both. Besides his *bápóta*, and the *seerano*, or one-fortieth of all produce from the ryot, he had a remission of a third or fourth of the rent from such extra lands as he might cultivate in addition to his patrimony. Such was the Patél, the link connecting the peasant with the government, ere predatory war subverted all order : but as rapine increased, so did his authority. He became the plenipotentiary of the community, the security for the contribution imposed, and often the hostage for its payment, remaining in the camp of the predatory hordes till they were paid off. He gladly undertook the liquidation of such contributions as these perpetual invaders imposed. To indemnify himself, a schedule was formed of the share of each ryot, and mortgage of land, and sequestration of personal effects followed till his avarice was satisfied. Who dared complain against a Patél, the intimate of Pat’han and Mahratta commanders, his adopted patrons ? He thus became the master of his fellow-citizens ; and, as power corrupts all men, their tyrant instead of their mediator. It was a system necessarily involving its own decay ; for a while glutted with plenty, but failing with the supply, and

¹ Patél.

² Patél *burrar*.

³ The Ghur-geenti *burrar*, and Khur-lakur, or *wood and forage*, explained in the Feudal System.

⁴ In copper-plate grants dug from the ruins of the ancient Oojein (presented to the Royal Asiatic Society), the prince’s patents (*putta*) conferring gifts are addressed to the *Patta-cilas* and Ryots. I never heard an etymology of this word, but imagine it to be from *patta* ‘grant,’ or ‘*patent*,’ and *cila*, which means a nail, or sharp instrument ; metaphorically, that which binds or unites these patents ; all, however, having *páti*, or chief, as the basis.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 237.

ending in desolation, exile, and death. Nothing was left to prey on but the despoiled carcase ; yet when peace returned, and in its train the exile ryot to reclaim the *bápóta*, the vampire Patél was resuscitated, and evinced the same ardour for supremacy, and the same cupidity which had so materially aided to convert the fertile Méwar to a desert. The Patél accordingly proved one of the chief obstacles to returning prosperity ; and the attempt to reduce this corrupted *middle-man* to his original station in society was both difficult and hazardous, from the support they met in the corrupt officers at court, and other influences " behind the curtain." A system of renting the crown lands being deemed the most expedient to advance prosperity, it was incumbent to find a remedy for this evil. The mere name of some of these petty tyrants inspired such terror, as to check all desire of return to the country ; but the origin of the institution of the office and its abuses being ascertained, it was imperative, though difficult, to restore the one and banish the other. The original elective right in many townships was therefore returned to the ryot, who nominated new Patéls, his choice being confirmed by the Rana, in whose presence investiture was performed by binding a turban on the elected, for which he presented his *nuzzur*. Traces of the sale of these offices in past times were observable ; and it was deemed of primary importance to avoid all such channels for corruption, in order that the ryot's election should meet with no obstacle. That the plan was beneficial there could be no doubt ; that the benefit would be permanent, depended, unfortunately, on circumstances which those most anxious had not the means to control : for it must be recollected, that although " personal aid and advice might be given when asked," all internal interference was by treaty strictly, and most justly, prohibited.

After a few remarks on the mode of levying the crown-rents, we shall conclude the subject of village economy in Méwar, and proceed to close this too extended chapter with the results of four years of peace and the consequent improved prosperity.

There are two methods of levying the revenues of the crown on every description of corn—*kunkoot* and *bhuttaie*, for on sugar-cane, poppy, oil, hemp, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and garden stuffs, a money payment is fixed, varying from two to six rupees per beegah. The *kunkoot* is a conjectural assessment of the standing crop, by the united judgment of the officers of government, the Patél, the Patwarri, or registrar, and the owner of the field. The accuracy with which an accustomed eye will determine the quantity of grain on a given surface is surprising : but should the owner deem the estimate overrated, he can insist on *bhuttaie*, or division of the corn after it is threshed ; the most ancient and only infallible mode by which the dues either of the government or the husbandman can be ascertained. In the *bhuttaie* system, the share of the government varies from one-third to two-fifths of the spring harvest, as wheat and barley ; and sometimes even half, which is the invariable proportion of the autumnal crops. In either case, *kunkoot* or *bhuttaie*, when the shares are appropriated, those of the crown may be commuted to a money payment at the average rate of the market. The *koot* is the most liable to corruption. The ryot bribes the collector, who will underrate the crop ; and when he betrays his duty, the *shanah*, or watchman, is not likely to be honest : and as the *mukhee*, or Indian corn, the grand autumnal crop of Méwar, is eaten

green, the crown may be defrauded of half its dues. The system is one of uncertainty, from which eventually the ryot derives no advantage, though it fosters the cupidity of patéls and collectors ; but there was a *burrar*, or tax, introduced to make up for this deficiency, which was in proportion to the quantity cultivated, and its amount at the mercy of the officers. Thus the ryot went to work with a mill-stone round his neck ; instead of the exhilarating reflection that every hour's additional labour was his own, he saw merely the advantage of these harpies, and contented himself with raising a scanty subsistence in a slovenly and indolent manner, by which he forfeited the ancient reputation of the Jat cultivator of Méwar.

Notwithstanding these and various other drawbacks to the prosperity of the country, in an impoverished court, avaricious and corrupt officers, discontented patéls, and bad seasons, yet the final report in May 1822 could not but be gratifying when contrasted with that of February 1818. In order to ascertain the progressive improvement, a census had been made at the end of 1821, of the three central fiscal districts ¹ watered by the Bérís and Bunas. As a specimen of the whole, we may take the *tuppa* or subdivision of Sahara. Of its twenty-seven villages, six were inhabited in 1818, the number of families being *three hundred* and sixty-nine, three-fourths of whom belonged to the resumed town of Amlee. In 1821 *nine hundred* and twenty-six families were reported, and every village of the twenty-seven was occupied, so that population had almost trebled. The number of ploughs was more than trebled, and cultivation quadrupled ; and though this, from the causes described, was not above one-third of what real industry might have effected, the contrast was abundantly cheering. The same ratio of prosperity applied to the entire crown demesne of Méwar. By the recovery of Komulmér, Raepoor, Rajnuggur, and Sadi-Kunéro from the Mahrattas ; of Jehajpoor from Kotah ; of the usurpations of the nobles ; together with the resumption of all the estates of the females of his family, a task at once difficult and delicate ; ² and by the subjugation of the mountain districts of Mairwarra, a thousand towns and villages were united to form the fiscal demesne of the Rana, composing twenty-four districts of various magnitudes, divided, as in ancient times, and with the primitive appellations, into portions tantamount to the tithings and hundreds of England, the division from time immemorial amongst the Hindus.³ From these and the commercial duties ⁴ a revenue was derived sufficient for the comforts, and even the dignities of the prince and his court, and promising an annual increase in the ratio of good government : but profusion scattered all that industry and ingenuity could collect ; the artificial wants of the prince perpetuated the real necessities of the

¹ Mooc, Burruk, and Kupassun.

² To effect this, indispensable alike for unity of government and the establishment of a police, the individual statements of their holders were taken for the revenues they had derived from them, and money payments three times the amount were adjudged to them. They were gainers by this arrangement, and were soon loaded with jewels and ornaments, but the numerous train of harpies who cheated them and abused the poor ryot, were eternally at work to defeat all such beneficial schemes ; and the counteraction of the intrigues was painful and disgusting.

³ Menu ordains the division into tens, hundreds, and thousands.

⁴ Farmed for the ensuing three years from 1822, for seven lakhs of rupees.

peasant, and this, it is to be feared, will continue till the present generation shall sleep with their forefathers.

Abstract of the Fiscal Revenues of Méwar in the years 1818-19-20-21-22.

| | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|------------|--|
| Spring harvest of 1818 | . | . | Rs. 40,000 | |
| " 1819 | . | . | 451,281 | |
| " 1820 | . | . | 659,100 | |
| " 1821 | . | . | 1,018,478 | |
| " 1822 | . | . | 936,640 | { The active superintendence of the British Agent being almost entirely withdrawn. |

Abstract of Commercial Duties included in the above.

| | | | | |
|---------|---|---|------------|---|
| In 1818 | . | . | Nominal | |
| 1819 | . | . | Rs. 96,683 | |
| 1820 | . | . | 165,108 | |
| 1821 | . | . | 220,000 | |
| 1822 | . | . | 217,000 | { Farmed for three years from 1822, for 750,000 rupees, which was assigned by the Rana for the liquidation of tribute fallen in arrear. |

There are sources of wealth in Méwar yet untouched, and to which her princes owe much of their power. The tin mines of Jawura and Dureeba alone, little more than half a century ago, yielded above three lakhs annually; ¹ besides rich copper mines in various parts. From such, beyond a doubt, much of the wealth of Méwar was extracted, but the miners are now dead, and the mines filled with water. An attempt was made to work them, but it was so unprofitable that the design was soon abandoned.

Nothing will better exemplify the progress of prosperity, than the comparative population of some of the chief towns before, and after, four years of peace:—

| | No. of houses in 1818. | No. of houses in 1822. |
|----------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Oodipoor | 3,500 | 10,000 |
| Bhilwara | not one | 2,700 |
| Poorh | 200 | 1,200 |
| Mandel | 80 | 400 |
| Gosoonda | 60 | 350 |

The feudal lands, which were then double the fiscal, did not exhibit the like improvement, the merchant and cultivator residing thereon not having the same certainty of reaping the fruits of their industry; still great amelioration took place, and few were so blind as not to see their account in it.² The earnestness with which many requested the Agent to back their expressed intentions with his guarantee to their communities of the same measure of justice and protection as the fiscal tenants enjoyed, was proof that they well understood the benefits of reciprocal confidence; but this could not be tendered without danger. Before the Agent left

¹ In S. 1816, Jawara yielded Rs. 222,000 and Dureeba Rs. 80,000. The tin of these mines contains a portion of silver.

² There are between two and three thousand towns, villages, and hamlets, besides the fiscal land of Méwar; but the tribute of the British government is derived only from the fiscal; it would have been impossible to collect from the feudal lands, which are burthened with service, and form the army of the state.

the country he greatly withdrew from active interference, it being his constant, as it was his last impressive lesson, that they should rely upon themselves if they desired to retain a shadow of independence. To give an idea of the improved police, insurance which has been described as amounting to eight per cent. in a space of twenty-five miles, became almost nominal, or one-fourth of a rupee per cent. from one frontier to the other. It would, however, have been quite Utopian to have expected that the lawless tribes would remain in that stupid subordination which the unexampled state of society imposed for a time (as described in the opening of these transactions), when they found that real restraints did not follow imaginary terrors. Had the wild tribes been under the sole influence of British power, nothing would have been so simple as effectually, not only to control, but to conciliate and improve them; for it is a mortifying truth, that the more remote from civilisation, the more tractable and easy was the object to manage, more especially the Bhil.¹ But these children of nature were incorporated in the demesnes of the feudal chiefs, who when they found our system did not extend to perpetual control, returned to their old habits of oppression: this provoked retaliation, which to subdue requires more power than the Rana yet possesses, and, in the anomalous state of our alliances, will always be an embarrassing task to whosoever may exercise political control.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that the years of oppression that have swept the land will be held in remembrance by the protecting power, and that neither petulance nor indolence will lessen the benevolence which restored life to Méwar, or mar the picture of comparative happiness it created.

¹ Sir John Malcolm's wise and philanthropic measures for the reclamation of this race in Malwa will support my assertions.

The Sixteen chief Nobles of Méwar, their Titles, Names, Clans, Tribes, Estates, number of Villages in each, and their Value.

| Title. | Names. | Clan. | Tribe. | Estate. | Number of Villages. | Value, A.D. 1760. | REMARKS. |
|--|--------------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|---|
| Raj | Chundun Sing | Jhala | Jhala | Sadri | 127 | 100,000 | { These estates are all diminished one-half in nominal amount; and their revenues still more. |
| Rao | Pertáp Sing | Chohan | Chohan | Baidla | 80 | 100,000 | |
| Rao | Mokim Sing | Chohan | Chohan | Kotario | 65 | 80,000 | |
| Rawut | Pudma Sing | Chondawut | Seesodia | Saloombra | 85 | 84,000 | Would realise this if cultivated. |
| Thacoor | Zorawur Sing | Mairtea | Rahtore | Ganora | 100 | 100,000 | This chief ceases to be one of the 16 since the Rana lost the province of Godwar. |
| Rao | Késudás | — | Pramar | Bijolli | 40 | 45,000 | Would realise this if cultivated. |
| Rawut | Gokuldás | Sangawut | Seesodia | Deogurh | 125 | 80,000 | Would realise more if cultivated. |
| Rawut | Maha Sing | Mégawut | Seesodia | Beygoo | 150 | 200,00 | This includes usurpations—now seized by Sindia. The estate would realise 70,000 if cultivated. |
| Raj | Kalian Sing | Jhala | Jahla | Dailwarra | 125 | 100,000 | Would realise two-thirds if cultivated. |
| Rawut | Salim Sing | Jugawut | Seesodia | Amait | 60 | 60,000 | Do., do. |
| Raj | Chutter Sál | Jhala | Jhala | Gogoonda | 50 | 50,000 | Would realise this if cultivated. |
| Rawut | Futteh Sing | Sarangdéote | Seesodia | Kanorh | 50 | 95,000 | Would realise half if cultivated. |
| Mahraja | Zorawur Sing | Suktawut | Seesodia | Bheendir | 64 | 64,000 | Would realise this if cultivated. |
| Thacoor | Jeyt Sing | Mairtea | Rahtore | Bednore | 80 | 80,000 | Do., do. |
| Rawut | Salim Sing | Suktawut | Seesodia | Ransi | 40 | 40,000 | { These chiefs have lost all their influence and half their estates. |
| Rao | Soorajmul | Chohan | Chohan | Parsoli | 40 | 40,000 | |
| Rawut | Kesuri Sing | Kishenawut | Seesodia | Bhynsrer | 60 | 60,000 | { These chiefs have taken rank on the depression of the above—they never appear at court on the same day. |
| Rawut | Jowan Sing | Kishenawut | Seesodia | Korabur | 35 | 35,000 | |
| Total number and estimated value of their estates sixty years ago, omitting Bhynsrer and Korabur, then enrolled in the second grade of chieftains. | | | | | 1,181 | 1,310,000 | |

Note.—The inferior grades possessed estates to a still larger amount, conjointly yielding a revenue of thirty lakhs of rupees; and as each thousand rupees of estate furnished on emergency three horses completely equipped, the feudal interest could supply nine thousand horse besides foot, of which they make little account.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, FESTIVALS, AND CUSTOMS OF MÉWAR

CHAPTER XIX

Influence of the hierarchy in Rajpootana—Emulation of its princes in grants to the priesthood—Analogy between the customs of the Hindus, in this respect, and those of the ancient people—Superstition of the lower orders—Secret influence of the Brahmins on the higher classes—Their frauds—Ecclesiastical dues from the land, etc.—The Saivas of Rajast'han—The worship and shrine of Eklinga—The Jains—Their numbers and extensive power—The temple of Nat'hdwara, and worship of Kaniya—The privilege of Sanctuary—Predominance of the doctrines of Kaniya beneficial to Rajpoot society.

IN all ages the ascendancy of the hierarchy is observable ; it is a tribute paid to religion through her organs. Could the lavish endowments and extensive immunities of the various religious establishments in Rajast'han be assumed as criteria of the morality of the inhabitants, we should be authorised to assign them a high station in the scale of excellence. But they more frequently prove the reverse of their position ; especially the territorial endowments, often the fruits of a death-bed repentance,¹ which, prompted by superstition or fear, compounds for past crimes by posthumous profusion, although vanity not rarely lends her powerful aid. There is scarcely a state in Rajpootana in which one-fifth of the soil is not assigned for the support of the temples, their ministers, the secular Brahmins, bards, and genealogists. But the evil was not always so extensive ; the abuse is of modern growth.

An anecdote related of the Rajas of Marwar and Ambér, always rivals in war, love, and folly, will illustrate the motives of these dismemberments. During the annual pilgrimage to the sacred lake of Poshkur, it is the custom for these lords of the earth to weigh their persons against all that is rare, in gold, gems, and precious cloths ; which are afterwards distributed to the priests. The Ambér chief had the advantage of a full treasury and a fertile soil, to which his rival could oppose a more extended sway over a braver race ; but his country was proverbially poor, and at Poshkur, the weight of the purse ranks above the deeds of the sword. As these princes were suspended in the scale, the Ambér Raja, who was balanced against the more costly material,

¹ Menu commands, " Should the king be near his end through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priests all his riches accumulated from legal fines : and having duly committed his kingdom to his son, let him seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food."—Chap. ix. p. 337, Haughton's edition. The annals of all the Rajpoot States afford instances of obedience to this text of their divine legislator.

indirectly taunted his brother-in-law on the poverty of his offerings, who would gladly, like the Roman, have made up the deficiency with his sword. But the Marwar prince had a minister of tact, at whose suggestion he challenged his rival (of Ambér) to equal him in the magnitude of his gift to the Brahmins. On the gage being accepted, the Rahtore exclaimed, "Perpetual charity (*sahsuna*) of all the lands held by the Brahmins in Marwar!" His unreflecting rival had commenced the redemption of his pledge, when his minister stopped the half-uttered vow, which would have impoverished the family for ever; for there were ten Brahmins in Ambér who followed secular employments, cultivating or holding lands in usufruct, to one in Marwar. Had these lords of the earth been left to their misguided vanity, the fisc of each state would have been seriously curtailed.

The Brahmins, Sanyasis, and Gosaéns are not behind those professional flatterers, the Bards; and many a princely name would have been forgotten but for the record of the gift of land. In Méwar, the lands in *sahsun*, or religious grants, amount in value to *one-fifth* of the revenue of the state, and the greater proportion of these has arisen out of the prodigal mismanagement of the last century. The dilapidated state of the country, on the general pacification in A.D. 1818, afforded a noble opportunity to redeem in part these alienations, without the penalty of denunciation attached to the resumer of sacred charities. But death, famine, and exile, which had left but few of the grantees in a capacity to return and re-occupy the lands, in vain coalesced to restore the fisc of Méwar. The Rana dreaded a "*sixty thousand years' residence in hell*," and some of the finest land of his country is doomed to remain unproductive. In this predicament is the township of Mynâr, with 50,000 *higahs* (16,000 acres), which with the exception of a nook where some few have established themselves, claiming to be descendants of the original holders, are condemned to sterility, owing to the agricultural proprietors and the rent-receiving Brahmins being dead; and apathy united to superstition admits their claims without inquiry.

The antiquary, who has dipped into the records of the dark period in European church history, can have ocular illustration in Rajast'hân of traditions which may in Europe appear questionable. The vision of the Bishop of Orleans,¹ who saw Charles Martel in the depths of hell, undergoing the tortures of the damned, for having stripped the churches of their possessions, "thereby rendering himself guilty of the sins of all those who had endowed them," would receive implicit credence from every Hindu, whose ecclesiastical economy might both yield and derive illustration from a comparison, not only with that of Europe, but with

¹ Saint Eucher, évêque d'Orléans, eut une vision qui étonna les princes. Il faut que je rapporte à ce sujet la lettre que les évêques, assemblés à Reims, écrivent à Louis-le-Germanique, qui étoit entré dans les terres de Charles-le-Chauve, parcequ'elle est très-propre à nous faire voir quel étoit, dans ces temps-là, l'état des choses, et la situation des esprits. Ils disent que "Saint Eucher ayant été ravi dans le ciel, il vit Charles Martel tourmenté dans l'enfer inférieur par l'ordre des saints qui doivent assister avec Jésus-Christ au jugement dernier; qu'il avoit été condamné à cette peine avant le temps pour avoir dépossédé les églises de leurs biens, et s'être par là rendu coupable des péchés de tous ceux qui les avoient dotées."—Montesquieu, *l'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi. chap. xi. p. 460.

the more ancient Egyptian and Jewish systems, whose endowments, as explained by Moses and Ezekiel, bear a strong analogy to his own. The disposition of landed property in Egypt, as amongst the ancient Hindus, was immemorially vested in the cultivator; and it was only through Joseph's ministry in the famine, that "the land became Pharaoh's, as the Egyptians sold every man his field."¹ And the coincidence is manifest even in the tax imposed on them as occupants of their *inheritance*, being *one-fifth* of the crops to the king, while the maximum rate among the Hindus is a *sixth*.² The Hindus also, in visitations such as that which occasioned the dispossession of the *ryots* of Egypt, can mortgage or sell their patrimony (*bápóta*). Joseph did not attempt to infringe the privileges of the sacred order when the whole of Egypt became crown-land, "except the lands of the priests, which became not Pharaoh's;" and these priests, according to Diodorus, held for themselves and the sacrifices no less than *one-third* of the lands of Egypt. But we learn from Herodotus, that Sesostris, who ruled after Joseph's ministry, restored the lands to the people, reserving the customary tax or tribute.³

The prelates of the middle ages of Europe were often completely feudal nobles, swearing fealty and paying homage as did the lay lords.⁴ In Rajast'han, the sacerdotal caste not bound to the altar may hold lands and perform the duties of vassalage:⁵ but of late years, when land has been assigned to religious establishments, no reservation has been made of fiscal rights, territorial or commercial. This is, however, an innovation; since, formerly, princes never granted, along with territorial assignments, the prerogative of dispensing justice, of levying transit duties, or exemption from personal service of the feudal tenant who held on the land thus assigned. Well may Rajpoot heirs exclaim with the grandson of Clovis, "our exchequer is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the clergy."⁶ But Chilperic had the courage to recall the grants of his predecessors, which, however, the pious Gontram re-established. Many Gontrams could be found, though but few Chilperics, in Rajast'han: we have, indeed, one in Jogra, the Rana's ancestor, almost a contemporary of the Merovingian king, who not only resumed all the lands of the Brahmins, but put many of them to death, and expelled the rest his dominions.⁷

It may be doubted whether vanity and shame are not sufficient in themselves to prevent a resumption of the lands of the *Mangtas* or mendicants, as they style all those "who extend the palm," without the dreaded penalty, which operates very slightly on the sub-vassal or cultivator, who, having no superfluity, defies their anathemas when they attempt to wrest from him, by virtue of the crown-grant, any of his long-established rights. By these, the threat of impure transmigration

¹ Genesis, chap. xlvii. 20.

² Menu, chap. vii.

³ *Origin of Laws and Government*, vol. i. p. 54, and vol. ii. p. 13.

⁴ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 212.

⁵ "A Brahmin unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned (sacerdotal), may live by the duty of a soldier."—Menu, chap. x.

⁶ Montesquieu.

⁷ "Le clergé recevoit tant, qu'il faut que, dans les trois races, on lui ait donné plusieurs fois tous les biens du royaume. Mais si les rois, la noblesse, et le peuple, trouvèrent le moyen de leur donner tous leurs biens, ils ne trouvèrent pas moins celui de les leur ôter."—Montesquieu, *l'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi. chap. x.

is despised ; and the Brahmin may spill his blood on the threshold of his dwelling or in the field in dispute, which will be relinquished by the owner but with his life. The *Pat Rani*, or chief queen, on the death of prince Umra, the heir-apparent, in 1818, bestowed a grant of fifteen bigahs of land, in one of the central districts, on a Brahmin who had assisted in the funeral rites of her son. With grant in hand, he hastened to the Jat proprietor, and desired him to make over to him the patch of land. The latter coolly replied that he would give him all the prince had a right to, namely the tax. The Brahmin threatened to spill his own blood if he did not obey the command, and gave himself a gash in a limb ; but the Jat was inflexible, and declared that he would not surrender his patrimony (*bápóta*) even if he slew himself.¹ In short, the *ryot* of Méwar would reply, even to his sovereign, if he demanded his field, in the very words of Naboth to Ahab, king of Israel, when he demanded the vineyard contiguous to the palace : "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the *inheritance of my fathers* unto thee."

But the tithes, and other small and legally established rights of the hierarchy, are still religiously maintained. The village temple and the village priest are always objects of veneration to the industrious husbandman, on whom superstition acts more powerfully than on the bold marauding Rajpoot, who does not hesitate to demand *salvamenta* (*rekwalee*) from the lands of Kaniya or Eklinga. But the poor *ryot* of the nineteenth century of Vicrama has the same fears as the peasants of Charlemagne, who were made to believe that the ears of corn found empty had been devoured by infernal spirits, reported to have said they owed their feast to the non-payment of tithes.²

The political influence of the Brahmins is frequently exemplified in cases alike prejudicial to the interests of society and the personal welfare of the sovereign. The latter is often surrounded by lay-Brahmins as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal,³ besides the *Gurú* or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of

¹ These worshippers of God and Mammon, when threats fail, have recourse to maiming, and even destroying themselves, to gain their object. In 1820, one of the confidential servants of the Rana demanded payment of the petty tax called *gúgrí*, of one rupee on each house, from some Brahmins who dwelt in the village, and which had always been received from them. They refused payment, and on being pressed, four of them stabbed themselves mortally. Their bodies were placed upon biers, and funeral rites withheld till punishment should be inflicted on the priest-killer. But for once superstition was disregarded, and the rights of the Brahmins in this community were resumed. See Appendix to this Part, No. I.

² Mais le bas peuple n'est guère capable d'abandonner ses intérêts par des exemples. Le synode de Francfort lui présenta un motif plus pressant pour payer les dîmes. On y fit un capitulaire dans lequel il est dit que, dans la dernière famine, on avoit trouvé les épis de blé vides, qu'ils avoient été dévorés par les démons, et qu'on avoit entendu leurs voix qui reprochoient de n'avoir pas payé la dîme : et, en conséquence, il fut ordonné à tous ceux qui tenoient les biens ecclésiastiques de payer la dîme, et, en conséquence encore, on l'ordonna à tous. *L'Esprit des Lois*, livre xxxi. chap. xii.

³ These lay Brahmins are not wanting in energy or courage ; the sword is as familiar to them as the *mala* (chaplet). The grandfather of Ramnat'h, the present worthy seneschal of the Rana, was governor of the turbulent district of Jehaj-poor, which has never been so well ruled since. He left a curious piece of advice to his successors, inculcating vigorous measures. "With two thousand men you may eat *khitchri* ; with one thousand *dalb'hat* ; with five hundred *júti*

ghostly comforter sometimes joins that of astrologer and physician, in which case God help the prince!¹ These *Gúrús* and *Purohīts*, having the education of the children, acquire immense influence, and are not backward in improving "the greatness thrust upon them." They are all continually importuning their prince for grants of land for themselves and the shrines they are attached to; and every chief, as well as every influential domestic, takes advantage of ephemeral favour to increase the endowments of his tutelary divinity. The Peshwas of Satarra are the most striking out of numerous examples.

In the dark ages of Europe the monks are said to have prostituted their knowledge of writing to the forging of charters in their own favour: a practice not easily detected in the days of ignorance.² The Brahmins, in like manner, do not scruple to employ this method of augmenting the wealth of their shrines; and superstition and indolence combine to support the deception. There is not a doubt that the grand charter of Nat'hdwara was a forgery, in which the prince's butler was bribed to aid; and report alleges that the Rana secretly favoured an artifice which regard to opinion prevented him from overtly promulgating. Although the copper-plate had been buried under ground, and came out disguised with a coating of verdigris, there were marks which proved the date of its execution to be false. I have seen charters which, it has been gravely asserted, were granted by Rama upwards of three thousand years ago! Such is the origin assigned to one found in a well at the ancient Brimpoori, in the valley of the capital. If there be sceptics as to its validity, they are silent ones; and this copper-plate of the brazen age is worth gold

(the shoe)." *Khitchri* is a savoury mess of pulse, rice, butter, and spices; *dalb'hat* is simple rice and pulse; *the shoe* is indelible disgrace.

¹ Menu, in his rules on government, commands the king to impart his momentous counsel and entrust all transactions to a learned and distinguished Brahmin. Chap. vii. p. 195.

There is no being more aristocratic in his ideas than the secular Brahmin or priest, who deems the bare name a passport to respect. The *Koolun* Brahmin of Bengal piques himself upon *this* title of nobility granted by the last Hindu king of Canouj (whence they migrated to Bengal), and in virtue of which his alliance in matrimony is courted. But although Menu has imposed obligations towards the Brahmin little short of adoration, these are limited to the "learned in the *Védas*": he classes the unlearned Brahmin with "an elephant made of wood, or an antelope of leather"; nullities, save in name. And he adds further, that "as liberality to a fool is useless, so is a Brahmin useless if he read not the holy texts": comparing the person who gives to such an one, to a husbandman "who, sowing seed in a barren soil, reaps no gain;" so the Brahmin "obtains no reward in heaven." These sentiments are repeated in numerous texts, holding out the most powerful inducements to the sacerdotal class to cultivate their minds, since their power consists solely in their wisdom. For such, there are no privileges too extensive, no homage too great. "A king, even though dying *with want*, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the *Védas*." His person is sacred. "Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes," is a premium at least to unbounded insolence, and unfits them for members of society, more especially for soldiers: banishment, with person and property untouched, is the declared punishment for even the most heinous crimes. "A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his *Sūdra* slave." But the following text is the climax: "What prince could gain wealth by oppressing these [Brahmins], who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and regents of worlds, and could give birth to new gods and mortals?"—Menu, chaps. ii. iii. vii. viii. ix.

² Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 204.

to the proprietor.¹ A census ² of the three central districts of Méwar, discovered that more than twenty thousand acres of these fertile lands, irrigated by the Bérís and Bunas rivers, were distributed in isolated portions, of which the mendicant castes had the chief share, and which proved fertile sources of dispute to the husbandman and the officers of the revenue. From the mass of title-deeds of every description by which these lands were held, one deserves to be selected, on account of its being pretended to have been written and bestowed on the incumbent's ancestor by the deity upwards of three centuries ago, and which has been maintained as a *bona-fide* grant of Crishna³ ever since. By such credulity and apathy are the Rajpoot states influenced: yet let the reader check any rising feeling of contempt for Hindu legislation, and cast a retrospective glance at the page of European church history, where he will observe in the time of the most potent of our monarchs that the clergy possessed *one-half* of the soil:⁴ and the chronicles of France will show him Charlemagne on his death-bed, bequeathing *two-thirds* of his domains to the church, deeming the remaining third sufficient for the ambition of four sons. The same dread of futurity, and the hope to expiate the sins of a life, at its close, by gifts to the organs of religion, is the motive for these unwise alienations, whether in Europe or in Asia. Some of these establishments, and particularly that at Nat'hdwara, made a proper use of their revenues in keeping up the *Sudda Birt*, or perpetual charity, though it is chiefly distributed to religious pilgrims: but among the many complaints made of the misapplication of the funds, the diminution of this hospitable right is one; while, at other shrines, the avarice of the priests is observable in the coarseness of the food dressed for sacrifice and offering.

Besides the crown-grants to the greater establishments, the Brahmins received petty tithes from the agriculturist, and a small duty from the trader, as *mappa* or metage, throughout every township, corresponding with the scale of the village-chapel. An inscription found by the author at the town of Palode,⁵ and dated nearly seven centuries back, affords a good specimen of the claims of the village priesthood. The following are among the items. The *seerano*, or a *seer*, in every *maund*, being the fortieth part of the grain of the *oonálú*, or summer-harvest; the *kirpa*, or a bundle from every sheaf of the autumnal crops, whether *mukhi* (Indian corn), *bajra* or *joár* (maize), or the other grains peculiar to that season.⁶

They also derive a tithe from the oil-mill and sugar-mill, and receive a *khansa* or platter of food on all rejoicings, as births, marriages, etc., with *churaie*, or the right of pasturage on the village common; and where they have become possessed of landed property they have *hulmoh*, or

¹ These forgeries of charters cannot be considered as invalidating the arguments drawn from them, as we may rest assured nothing is introduced foreign to custom, in the items of the deeds.

² Suggested by the author, and executed under his superintendence, who waded through all these documents, and translated upwards of a hundred of the most curious.

³ See the Appendix to this Part, No. II.

⁴ Hallam.

⁵ See Appendix to this Part, No. III.

⁶ Each bundle consists of a specified number of ears, which are roasted and eaten in the unripe state with a little salt.

unpaid labour in man and beasts, and implements, for its culture : an exaction well known in Europe as one of the detested *corvées* of the feudal system of France,¹ the abolition of which was the sole boon the English husbandman obtained by the charter of Runymede. Both the chieftain and the priest exact *hulmoh* in Rajast'han ; but in that country it is mitigated, and abuse is prevented, by a sentiment unknown to the feudal despot of the middle ages of Europe, and which, though difficult to define, acts imperceptibly, having its source in accordance of belief, patriarchal manners, and clannish attachments.

I shall now briefly consider the privileges of the Saivás and Jains—the orthodox and heterodox sects of Méwar ;* and then proceed to those of Vishnu, whose worship is the most prevalent in these countries, and which I am inclined to regard as of more recent origin.

Mahadeva, or Iswara, is the tutelary divinity of the Rajpoots in Méwar, and from the early annals of the dynasty appears to have been, with his consort Isani, the sole object of *Gehlote* adoration. Iswara is adored under the epithet of Eklinga,² and is either worshipped in his monolithic symbol, or as Iswara Chaomúkhi, the quadriform divinity, represented by a bust with four faces. The sacred bull, Nanda, has his altar attached to all the shrines of Iswara, as was that of Mneves or Apis to those of the Egyptian Osiris. Nanda has occasionally his separate shrines, and there is one in the valley of Oodipoor which has the reputation of being oracular as regards the seasons. The bull was the steed of Iswara, and carried him in battle ; he is often represented upon it, with his consort Isa, at full speed. I will not stop to inquire whether the Grecian fable of the rape of Europa³ by the tauriform Jupiter, may not be derived, with much more of their mythology, from the Hindu pantheon ; whether that pantheon was originally erected on the Indus, or the Ganges, or the more central scene of early civilisation, the banks of the Oxus. The bull was offered to Mithras by the Persian, and opposed as it now appears to Hindu faith, he formerly bled on the altars of the Sun-god, on which not only the *Buld-dan*,⁴ '*offering of the bull*,' was made, but human sacrifices.⁵

¹ *Dict. de l'Ancien Régime*, p. 131, art. "Corvée."

² That is, with one (*ek*) *lingam* or *phallus*—the symbol of worship being a single cylindrical or conical stone. There are others, termed *Seheslinga* and *Kot-iswara*, with a thousand or a million of phallic representatives, all minutely carved on the monolithic emblem, having then much resemblance to the symbol of Bacchus, whose orgies, both in Egypt and Greece, are the counterpart of those of the Hindu *Bagh-es*, thus called from being clad in a tiger's or leopard's hide : Bacchus had the panther's for his covering. There is a very ancient temple to Kotiswara at the *embouchure* of the eastern arm of the Indus ; and here are many to *Seheslinga* in the peninsula of Saurashtra.

³ It might have appeared fanciful, some time ago, to have given a Sanscrit derivation to a Greek proper name : but *Europa* might be derived from *Súruṇpa*, 'of the beautiful face'—the initial syllable *su* and *eu* having the same signification in both languages, namely, *good*—*Rupa* is 'countenance.'

⁴ "In this sacrifice four altars are erected, for offering the flesh to the four gods, Lacshmi-Narayana, U'mia-Mechésvar, Brimha, and Anunta. The nine planets, and Prit'hu, or the earth, with her ten guardian-deities, are worshipped. Five *Vilwá*, five *Khudiru*, five *Pulashu*, and five *Udumburu* posts are to be erected, and a bull tied to each post. Clarified butter is burnt on the altar, and pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered animals placed thereon. This sacrifice was very common."—Ward, *On the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 263.

⁵ "First a covered altar is to be prepared ; sixteen posts are then to be erected of various woods ; a golden image of a man, and an iron one of a goat,

We do not learn that the Egyptian priesthood presented the kindred of Apis to Osiris, but as they were not prohibited from eating beef, they may have done so.

The shrine of Eklinga is situated in a defile about six miles north of Oodipoor. The hills towering around it on all sides are of the primitive formation, and their scarped summits are clustered with honeycombs.¹ There are abundant small springs of water, which keep verdant numerous shrubs, the flowers of which are acceptable to the deity; especially the *kinér* or oleander, which grows in great luxuriance on the Aravulli. Groves of bamboo and mango were formerly common, according to tradition; but although it is deemed sacrilege to thin the groves of Bál,² the bamboo has been nearly destroyed: there are, however, still many trees sacred to the deity scattered around. It would be difficult to convey a just idea of a temple so complicated in its details. It is of the form commonly styled pagoda, and, like all the ancient temples of Síva, its *sikra*, or pinnacle, is pyramidal. The various orders of Hindu sacred architecture are distinguished by the form of the *sikra*, which is the portion springing from and surmounting the perpendicular walls of the body of the temple. The *sikra* of those of Síva is invariably pyramidal, and its sides vary with the base, whether square or oblong. The apex is crowned with an ornamental figure, as a sphynx, an urn, a ball, or a lion, which is called the *kullus*. When the *sikra* is but the frustrum of a pyramid, it is often surmounted by a row of lions, as at Bijollí. The fane of Eklinga is of white marble and of ample dimensions. Under an open-vaulted temple supported by columns, and fronting the four-faced divinity, is the brazen bull Nanda, of the natural size; it is cast, and of excellent proportions. The figure is perfect, except where the shot or hammer of an infidel invader has penetrated its hollow flank in search of treasure. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor divinities.³

with golden images of Vishnu and Lacshmi, a silver one of Síva, with a golden bull, and a silver one of Garuda 'the eagle,' are placed upon the altar. Animals, as goats, sheep, etc., are tied to the posts, and to one of them, of the wood of the *mimosa*, is to be tied the human victim. Fire is to be kindled by means of a burning glass. The sacrificing priest, '*hota*,' strews the grass called *d'hub* or immortal, round the sacred fire. Then follows the burnt sacrifice to the ten guardian deities of the earth—to the nine planets, and to the Hindu Triad, to each of whom clarified butter is poured on the sacred fire one thousand times. Another burnt-sacrifice, to the sixty-four inferior gods, follows, which is succeeded by the sacrifice and offering of all the other animals tied to the posts. The human sacrifice concludes, the sacrificing priest offering pieces of the flesh of the victim to each god as he circumambulates the altar."—*Ibid.* 260.

¹ This is to be taken in its literal sense; the economy of the bee being displayed in the formation of extensive colonies which inhabit large masses of black comb adhering to the summits of the rocks. According to the legends of these tracts, they were called in as auxiliaries on Mahomedan invasions, and are said to have thrown the enemy more than once into confusion.

² See Appendix to this Part, No. IV.

³ In June 1806 I was present at a meeting between the Rana and Sindia at the shrine of Eklinga. The rapacious Mahratta had just forced the passes to the Rana's capital, which was the commencement of a series of aggressions involving one of the most tragical events in the history of Méwar—the immolation of the Princess Kishna and the subsequent ruin of the country. I was then an *attaché* of the British embassy to the Mahratta prince, who carried the ambassador to the meeting to increase his consequence. In March 1818 I again visited the shrine, on my way to Oodipoor, but under very different circumstances—to

The high-priest of Eklinga, like all his order, is doomed to celibacy, and the office is continued by adopted disciples. Of such spiritual descents they calculate sixty-four since the Sage Harita, whose benediction obtained for the Gehlote Rajpoot the sovereignty of Cheetore, when driven from Saurashtra by the Parthians.

The priests of Eklinga are termed Gosaén or Goswámi, which signifies "control over the senses!" The distinguishing mark of the faith of Síva is the crescent on the forehead:¹ the hair is braided and forms a tiara round the head, and with its folds a chaplet of the lotus-seed is often entwined. They smear the body with ashes, and use garments dyed of an orange hue. They bury their dead in a sitting posture, and erect tumuli over them, which are generally conical in form.² It is not uncommon for priestesses to officiate in the temple of Síva. There is a numerous class of Gosaéns who have adopted celibacy, and who yet follow secular employments both in commerce and arms. The mercantile Gosaéns³ are amongst the richest individuals in India, and there are several at Oodipoor who enjoy high favour, and who were found very useful when the Mahrattas demanded a war-contribution, as their privileged character did not prevent their being offered and taken as hostages for its payment. The Gosaéns who profess arms, partake of the character of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. They live in monasteries scattered over the country, possess lands, and beg, or serve for pay when called upon. As defensive soldiers, they are good. Síva, their patron, is the god of war, and like him they make great use of intoxicating herbs, and even of spirituous liquors. In Méwar they can always muster many hundreds of the Kanfera Jogi, or 'split-ear ascetics,' so called from the habit of piercing the ear and placing therein a ring of the conch-shell, which is their battle-trumpet. Both Brahmins and Rajpoots, and even Goojers, can belong to this order, a particular account of whose internal discipline and economy could not fail to be interesting. The poet Chund gives an animated description of the body-guard of the King of Canouj, which was composed of these monastic warriors.

The Ranas of Méwar, as the *dewans*, or vicegerents of Síva, when they

announce the deliverance of the family from oppression, and to labour for its prosperity. While standing without the sanctuary, looking at the quadriform divinity, and musing on the changes of the intervening twelve years, my meditations were broken by an old Rajpoot chieftain, who, saluting me, invited me to enter and adore Baba Adam, 'Father Adam,' as he termed the phallic emblem. I excused myself on account of my boots, which I said I could not remove, and that with them I would not cross the threshold: a reply which pleased them, and preceded me to the Rana's court.

¹ Síva is represented with three eyes: hence his title of Trinitra and Tri-lochun, the Tri-ophthalmic Jupiter of the Greeks. From the fire of the central eye of Síva is to proceed Pralaya, or the final destruction of the universe: this eye placed vertically, resembling the flame of a taper, is a distinguishing mark on the foreheads of his votaries.

² I have seen a cemetery of these, each of very small dimensions, which may be described as so many concentric rings of earth, diminishing to the apex, crowned with a cylindrical stone pillar. One of the disciples of Síva was performing rites to the manes, strewing leaves of an evergreen and sprinkling water over the graves.

³ For a description of this, vide *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 217.

visit the temple supersede the high priest in his duties, and perform the ceremonies, which the reigning prince does with peculiar correctness and grace.¹

The shrine of Eklinga is endowed with twenty-four large villages from the fisc, besides parcels of land from the chieftains ; but the privileges of the tutelary divinity have been waning since Kaniya fixed his residence amongst them : and as the priests of Apollo complained that the god was driven from the sacred mount Girdhana, in Vrij, by the influence of those of Jupiter² with Shah Jehan, the latter may now lament that the day of retribution has arrived, when propitiation to the Preserver is deemed more important than to the Destroyer. This may arise from the personal character of the high priests, who, from their vicinity to the court, can scarcely avoid mingling in its intrigues, and thence lose in character : even the Ranees do not hesitate to take mortgages on the estates of B'hola Nat'h.³ We shall not further enlarge on the immunities to Eklinga, or the forms in which they are conveyed, as these will be fully discussed in the account of the shrine of Crishna ; but proceed to notice the privileges of the heterodox Jains—the Védíaván⁴ or Magi of Rajast'han. The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the Khartra-gatcha,⁵ one of the many branches of this

¹ The copy of the *Síva Púrana* which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, was obtained for me by the Rana from the temple of Eklinga.

² Jíva-pitri, the 'Father of Life,' would be a very proper epithet for Mahadéva, the creative 'power,' whose Olympus is Kailás.

³ B'hola Nat'h, or the 'Simple God,' is one of the epithets of Síva, whose want of reflection is so great, that he would give away his own divinity if asked.

⁴ Védíaván, the 'Man of Secrets or Knowledge,' is the term used by way of reproach to the Jains, having the import of *magician*. Their opponents believe them to be possessed of supernatural skill ; and it is recorded of the celebrated Umara, author of the *Cos'a* or dictionary called after him, that he miraculously "made the full moon appear on Amavus"—the ides of the month, when the planet is invisible.

⁵ Khartra signifies 'true,' an epithet of distinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the Buddhists or Jains, Sidraj, king of Anhulwarra Putun, on one of the branches (*gatcha*), in a grand religious disputation (*badha*) at that capital in the eleventh century. The celebrated Hemachandra Acharya was head of the *Khartra-gatchas* ; and his spiritual descendant honoured Oodipoor with his presence in his visit to his dioceses in the desert in 1821. My own *Yati* tutor was a disciple of Hemachandra, and his *patravali*, or pedigree, registered his descent by spiritual successions from him.

This pontiff was a man of extensive learning and of estimable character. He was versed in all the ancient inscriptions, to which no key now exists, and deciphered one for me which had been long unintelligible. His travelling library was of considerable extent, though chiefly composed of works relating to the ceremonies of his religion : it was in the charge of two of his disciples remarkable for talent, and who, like himself, were perfectly acquainted with all these ancient characters. The pontiff kindly permitted my *Yati* to bring for my inspection some of the letters of invitation written by his flocks in the desert. These were rolls, some of them several feet in length, containing pictured delineations of their wishes. One from Bikanér represented that city, in one division of which was the school or college of the Jains, where the *Yatis* were all portrayed at their various studies. In another part, a procession of them was quitting the southern gate of the city, the head of which was in the act of delivering a scroll to a messenger, while the pontiff was seen with his cortège advancing in the distance. To

faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India ; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal,¹ numbers 100,000 families ; and that more than half of the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Rajast'han and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Buddhist or Jain faith, and three out of their five sacred mounts, namely, Abu, Pali-t'hana,² and Girna, are in these countries. The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice, in Oodipoor and most of the towns of Rajast'han, are of this sect ; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. To this leading feature in their religion they owe their political debasement : for Komarpal, the last king of Anhulwara of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction.

The period of sectarian intolerance is now past ; and as far as my observation goes, the ministers of Vishnu, Síva, and Budha, view each other without malignity ; which feeling never appears to have influenced the laity of either sect, who are indiscriminately respectful to the ministers of all religions, whatever be their tenets. It is sufficient that their office is one of sanctity, and that they are ministers of the Divinity, who, they say, excludes the homage of none, in whatever tongue, or whatever manner he is sought ; and with this spirit of entire toleration, the devout missionary, or Moolla, would in no country meet more security or hospitable courtesy than among the Rajpoots. They must, however, adopt the toleration they would find practised towards themselves, and not exclude, as some of them do, the races of Súrya and Chundra from divine mercy, who, with less arrogance, and more reliance on the compassionate nature of the Creator, say, he has established a variety of paths by which the good may attain beatitude.

Méwar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to the followers of the Jain faith, which was the religion of Balabhi, the first capital of the Rana's ancestors, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its professors in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full seventy feet in height, dedicated

show the respect in which these high priests of the Jains are held, the princes of Rajpootana invariably advance outside the walls of their capital to receive and conduct them to it—a mark of respect paid only to princes. On the occasion of the high priest of the *Khartras* passing through Oodipoor, as above alluded to, the Rana received him with every distinction.

¹ So called from the town of Ossa, in Marwar.

² Pali-t'hana, or 'the abode of the Pali,' is the name of the town at the foot of the sacred mount Satrunjya (signifying 'victorious over the foe'), on which the Jain temples are sacred to Budhiswara, or the 'Lord of the Budhists.' I have little doubt that the name of Pali-t'hana is derived from the pastoral (*pali*) Scythic invaders bringing the Buddhist faith in their train—a faith which appears to me not indigenous to India. Palestine, which, with the whole of Syria and Egypt, was ruled by the Yksos or Shepherd kings, who for a season expelled the old Coptic race, may have had a similar import to the *Pali-t'hana* founded by the Indo-Scythic Pali. The author visited all these sacred mounts.

to Parswa-na'th, in Cheetore. The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Méwar only, but throughout Western India, are Buddhist or Jain: and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered, have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries, with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jains bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajpoot society; and the privileges they still enjoy, prove that they are not overlooked. It is not my intention to say more on the past or present history of these sectarians, than may be necessary to show the footing on which their establishments are placed; to which end little is required beyond copies of a few simple warrants and ordinances in their favour.¹ Hereafter I may endeavour to add something to the knowledge already possessed of these deists of Rajast'han, whose singular communities contain mines of knowledge hitherto inaccessible to Europeans. The libraries of Jessulmér in the desert, of Anhulwara, the cradle of their faith, of Cambay, and other places of minor importance, consist of thousands of volumes. These are under the control, not of the priests alone, but of communities of the most wealthy and respectable amongst the laity, and are preserved in the crypts of their temples, which precaution ensured their preservation, as well as that of the statues of their deified teachers, when the temples themselves were destroyed by the Mahomedan invaders, who paid more deference to the images of Budha than those of Síva or Vishnu. The preservation of the former may be owing to the natural formation of their statues; for while many of Adnath, of Nemi, and of Parswa, have escaped the hammer, there is scarcely an Apollo or a Venus, of any antiquity, entire, from Lahore to Ram-iswara. The two arms of these theists sufficed for their protection; while the statues of the polytheists have met with no mercy.

No. V.² is the translation of a grant by the celebrated Rana Raj Sing, the gallant and successful opponent of Arungzéb in many a battle. It is at once of a general and special nature, containing a confirmation of the old privileges of the sect, and a mark of favour to a priest of some distinction, called Manoh. It is well known that the first law of the Jains, like that of the ancient Athenian lawgiver Triptolemus, is, "Thou shalt not kill," a precept applicable to every sentient thing. The first clause of this edict, in conformity thereto, prohibits all innovation upon this cherished principle; while the second declares that even the life which is forfeited to the laws is immortal (*amra*) if the victim but passes near their abodes. The third article defines the extent of *sirna*, or sanctuary, the dearest privilege of the races of these regions. The fourth article sanctions the tithes, both on agricultural and commercial produce; and makes no distinction between the Jain priests and those of Síva and Vishnu in this source of income, which will be more fully detailed in the account of Nat'hdwara. The fifth article is the particular gift to the priest; and the whole closes with the usual anathema against such as may infringe the ordinance.

The edicts Nos. VI. and VII.,³ engraved on pillars of stone in the towns of Rasmi and Bakrole, further illustrate the scrupulous observances of the Rana's house towards the Jains; where, in compliance with their peculiar

¹ See Appendix to this Part.

² See Appendix to this article.

³ *Ibid.*

doctrine, the oil-mill and the potter's wheel suspend their revolutions for the four months in the year when insects most abound. Many others of a similar character could be furnished, but these remarks may be concluded with an instance of the influence of the Jains on Rajpoot society, which passed immediately under the author's eye. In the midst of a sacrifice to the god of war, when the victims were rapidly falling by the scymitar, a request preferred by one of them for the life of a goat or a buffalo on the point of immolation, met instant compliance, and the animal, become *amra* or immortal, with a garland thrown round his neck, was led off in triumph from the blood-stained spot.

NAT'HDWARA.—This is the most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindu Apollo. Its etymology is 'the portal (*dwāra*) of the god' (*nat'h*), of the same import as his more ancient shrine of Dwarica¹ at the 'world's end.' Nat'hdwara is twenty-two miles N.N.E. of Oodipoor, on the right bank of the Bunas. Although the principal resort of the followers of Vishnu, it has nothing very remarkable in its structure or situation. It owes its celebrity entirely to the image of Crishna, said to be the same that has been worshipped at Mat'hura ever since his deification, between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ.² As containing the representative of the mildest of the gods of Hind, Nat'hdwara is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage, though it must want that attraction to the classical Hindu which the caves of Gaya, the shores of the distant Dwarica, or the pastoral Vrij,³ the place of the nativity of Crishna, present to his imagination; for though the groves of Vindra,⁴ in which Kaniya disported with the Gopis, no longer resound to the echoes of his flute; though the waters of the Yamuna⁵ are daily polluted with the blood of the sacred kine, still it is the holy land of the pilgrim, the sacred Jordan of his fancy, on whose banks he may sit and weep, as did the banished Israelite of old, the glories of Mat'hura, his Jerusalem!

It was in the reign of Arungzéb that the pastoral divinity was exiled from Vrij, that classic soil which, during a period of two thousand eight hundred years, had been the sanctuary of his worshippers. He had been compelled to occasional flights during the visitations of Mahmood and the first dynasties of Afghan invaders; though the more tolerant of the

¹ Dwarica is at the point called Juggut Koont, of the Saurashtra peninsula. *Ca* is the mark of the genitive case: *Dwarca-nat'h* would be the 'gate of the god.'

² Fifty-seven descents are given, both in their sacred and profane genealogies, from Crishna to the princes supposed to have been contemporary with Vicramaditya. The *Yadu Bhatti* or *Shamah Bhatti* (the *Asham Betti* of Abul Fusil), draw their pedigree from Crishna or Yadunat'h, as do the *Jharéjas* of Kutch.

³ With Mat'hura, as a centre and a radius of eighty miles, describe a circle: all within it is Vrij, which was the seat of whatever was refined in Hinduism, and whose language, the Vrij-basha, was the purest dialect of India. *Vrij* is tantamount to the land of the Suraseni, derived from Súrén, the ancestor of Crishna, whose capital, Súrání, is about fifty miles south of Mat'hura on the Yamuna (Jumna). The remains of this city (Súrání) the author had the pleasure of discovering. The province of the Surseni, or Suraseni, is defined by Menu, and particularly mentioned by the historians of Alexander.

⁴ *Vindra-vana*, or the 'forests of Vindra,' in which were placed many temples sacred to Kaniya, is on the Yamuna, a few miles above Mat'hura. A pilgrimage to this temple is indispensable to the true votary of Crishna.

⁵ This river is called the *Kal* Yamuna, or *black* Yamuna, and *Kali-dé* or the 'black pool,' from Kaniya having destroyed the hydra Kaliya which infested it. Jydeva calls the Yamuna 'the blue daughter of the sun.'

Mogul kings not only reinstated him, but were suspected of dividing their faith between Kaniya and the prophet. Akber was an enthusiast in the mystic poetry of Jydeva, which paints in glowing colours the loves of Kaniya and Radha, in which lovely personification the refined Hindu abjures all sensual interpretation, asserting its character of pure spiritual love.¹

Jehangir, by birth half a Rajpoot, was equally indulgent to the worship of Kaniya : but Shah Jehan, also the son of a Rajpoot princess, inclined to the doctrines of Siva, in which he was initiated by Sid-rup the Sanyasi. Sectarian animosity is more virulent than faiths totally dissimilar. Here we see Hindu depressing Hindu : the followers of Siva oppressing those of Kaniya ; the priests of Jupiter driving the pastoral Apollo from the Parnassus of Vrij. At the intercession, however, of a princess of Oodipoor, he was replaced on his altar, where he remained till Arungzeb became emperor of the Moguls. In such detestation did the Hindus hold this intolerant king, that in like manner as they supposed the beneficent Akber to be the devout Mokund in a former birth, so they make the tyrant's body enclose the soul of Kal-Yamun the foe of Crishna, ere his apotheosis, from whom he fled to Dwarica, and thence acquired the name of Rinchor.²

When Arungzeb proscribed Kaniya, and rendered his shrines impure throughout Vrij, Rana Raj Sing "offered the heads of one hundred thousand Rajpoots for his service," and the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampoor to Méwar. An omen decided the spot of his future residence. As he journeyed to gain the capital of the Seesodias the chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth and defied extrication ; upon which the *Sookuni* (augur) interpreted the pleasure of the god, that he desired to dwell there. This circumstance occurred at an inconsiderable village called Siarh, in the fief of Dailwara, one of the sixteen nobles of Méwar. Rejoiced at this decided manifestation of favour, the chief hastened to make a perpetual gift of the village and its lands, which was speedily confirmed by the patent of the Rana.³ Nat'hji (*the god*) was removed from his car, and in due time a temple was erected for his reception, when the hamlet of Siarh became the town of Nat'hdwara, which now contains many thousand inhabitants of all denominations, who, reposing under the especial protection of the god, are exempt from every mortal tribunal. The site is not uninteresting, nor devoid of the means of defence. To the east it is shut in by a cluster of hills, and to the westward flows the Bunas, which nearly bathes the extreme points of the hills. Within these bounds is the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Kaniya, where the criminal is free from pursuit ; nor dare the rod of justice appear on the mount, or the foot of

¹ It affords an example of the Hindu doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as well as of the regard which Akber's toleration had obtained him, to mention, that they held his body to be animated by the soul of a celebrated Hindu gymnosophist : in support of which they say he (Akber) went to his accustomed spot of penance (*tapasya*) at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges, and excavated the implements, namely, the tongs, gourd, and deer-skin, of his anchorite existence.

² *Rin*, the 'field of battle,' *Chor*, from *chorna*, 'to abandon.' Hence Rinchor, one of the titles under which Crishna is worshipped at Dwarica, is most unpropitious to the martial Rajpoot. Kal-Yamun, the foe from whom he fled, and who is figured as a serpent, is doubtless the Tâk, the ancient foe of the Yadús, who slew Janméja, emperor of the Pandús.

³ See Appendix to this Part, No. VIII.

the pursuer pass the stream ; neither within it can blood be spilt, for the pastoral Kaniya delights not in offerings of this kind. The territory contains within its precincts abundant space for the town, the temple, and the establishments of the priests, as well as for the numerous resident worshippers, and the constant influx of votaries from the most distant regions,

" From Samarcand, by Oxus, Temir's throne,
Down to the golden Chersonese,"

who find abundant shelter from the noontide blaze in the groves of tamarind, peepul, and semul,¹ where they listen to the mystic hymns of Jydeva. Here those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, satiety disgusted, commerce ruined, or crime disquieted, may be found as ascetic attendants on the mildest of the gods of India. Determined upon renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it, whether family, friends, or fortune, and placing their wealth at the disposal of the deity, stipulate only for a portion of the food dressed for him, and to be permitted to prostrate themselves before him till their allotted time is expired. Here no blood-stained sacrifice scares the timid devotee ; no austerities terrify, or tedious ceremonies fatigue him ; he is taught to cherish the hope that he has only to ask for mercy in order to obtain it ; and to believe that the compassionate deity who guarded the lapwing's nest² in the midst of myriads of combatants, who gave beauty to the courtesan³ who as the wall crushed her pronounced the name of " Rama," will not withhold it from him who has quitted the world and its allurements that he may live only in his presence, be fed by the food prepared for himself, and yield up his last sigh invoking the name of Heri. There have been two hundred individuals at a time, many of whom, stipulating

¹ The cotton tree, which grows to an immense height.

² Whoever has unhooded the falcon at a lapwing, or even scared one from her nest, need not be told of its peculiarly distressing scream, as if appealing to sympathy. The allusion here is to the lapwing scared from her nest, as the rival armies of the Curus and Pandus joined in battle, when the compassionate Crishna, taking from an elephant's neck a war-bell (*vira-gunt'ha*), covered the nest, in order to protect it. When the majority of the feudal nobles of Marwar became self-exiled, to avoid the almost demoniac fury of their sovereign, since his alliance with the British Government, Anar Sing, the chief of Ahore, a fine specimen of the Rahtore Rajpoot, brave, intelligent, and amiable, was one day lamenting, that while all India was enjoying tranquillity under the shield of Britain, they alone were suffering from the caprice of a tyrant ; concluding a powerful appeal to my personal interposition with the foregoing allegory, and observing on the beauty of the office of mediator : " You are all powerful," added he, " and we may be of little account in the grand scale of affairs ; but Crishna condescended to protect even the lapwing's egg in the midst of battle." This brave man knew my anxiety to make their peace with their sovereign, and being acquainted with the allegory, I replied with some fervour, in the same strain, " Would to God, Thakoor Sahib, I had the *vira-gunt'ha* to protect you." The effect was instantaneous, and the eye of this manly chieftain, who had often fearlessly encountered the foe in battle, filled with tears as, holding out his hand, he said, " At least you listen to our griefs, and speak the language of friendship. Say but the word, and you may command the services of twenty thousand Rahtores." There is, indeed, no human being more susceptible of excitement, and, under it, of being led to any desperate purpose, whether for good or for evil, than the Rajpoot.

³ Chund, the bard, gives this instance of the compassionate nature of Crishna, taken, as well as the former, from the *Mahabharat*.

merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites, have abandoned all to pass their days in devotion at the shrine: men of every condition, Rajpoot, merchant, and mechanic; and where sincerity of devotion is the sole expiation, and gifts outweigh penance, they must feel the road smooth to the haven of hope.

The dead stock of Crishna's shrine is augmented chiefly by those who hold life "unstable as the dew-drop on the lotus"; and who are happy to barter "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" for the intercessional prayers of the high priest, and his passport to *Heri-pûr*, the heaven of Heri. From the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, from the coasts of the Peninsula to the shores of the Red Sea, the gifts of gratitude or of fear are lavishly poured in; and though the unsettled aspect of the last half century curtailed the transmission of the more bulky, but least valuable benefactions, it less affected the bills of exchange from the successful sons of commerce, or the legacies of the dead. The safe arrival of a galleon from Sofala or Arabia produced as much to the shrine as to the insurance office, for Kaniya is the Saint Nicholas of the Hindu navigator, as was Apollo to the Grecian and Celtic sailors, who purchased the charmed arrows of the god to calm the troubled sea.¹ A storm accordingly yields in proportion to its violence, or to the nerve of the owner of the vessel. The appearance of a long-denied heir might deprive him of half his patrimony, and force him to lament his parent's distrust in natural causes; while the accidental mistake of touching forbidden food on particular fasts requires expiation, not by flagellation or seclusion, but by the penance of the purse.

There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of Crishna, from the baronial estate to a patch of meadow-land; from the gemmed coronet to adorn his image, to the widow's mite; nor, as before observed, is there a principality in India which does not diminish its fisc to add to his revenues. What effect the milder rites of the shepherd-god has produced on the adorers of Sîva we know not, but assuredly Eklinga, the tutelary divinity of Méwar, has to complain of being defrauded of half his dues since Kaniya transferred his abode from the Yamuna to the Bunas; for the revenues assigned to Kaniya, who under the epithet of "Yellow mantle," has a distinguished niche in the domestic chapel of the Rana, far exceed those of the Avenger. The grants or patents of *Hindu-*

¹ Near the town of Avranches, on the coast of Normandy, is a rock called Mont St. Michel, in ancient times sacred to the Gallic or Celtic Apollo, or Belenus; a name which the author from whom we quote observes, "certainly came from the East, and proves that the littoral provinces of Gaul were visited by the Phœnicians."—"A college of Druidical priestesses was established there, who sold to seafaring men certain arrows endowed with the peculiar virtue of allaying storms, if shot into the waves by a young mariner. Upon the vessel arriving safe, the young archer was sent by the crew to offer thanks and rewards to the priestesses. His presents were accepted in the most graceful manner; and at his departure the fair priestesses, who had received his embraces, presented to him a number of shells, which afterwards he never failed to use in adorning his person."—*Tour through France*.

When the early Christian warrior consecrated this mount to his protector St. Michel, its name was changed from *Mons Jouis* (being dedicated to Jupiter) to *Tumba*, supposed from *tumulus*, a mound; but as the Saxons and Celts placed pillars on all these mounts, dedicated to the Sun-god Belenus, Bal, or Apollo, it is not unlikely that *Tumba* is from the Sanscrit *t'humba*, or *st'humba*, 'a pillar.'

pāti,¹ defining the privileges and immunities of the shrine, are curious documents.²

The extension of the sanctuary beyond the vicinage of the shrine became a subject of much animadversion ; and in delegating judicial authority over the whole of the villages in the grant to the priests, the Rana committed the temporal welfare of his subjects to a class of men not apt to be lenient in the collection of their dues, which not unfrequently led to bloodshed. In alienating the other royalties, especially the transit duties, he was censured even by the zealots. Yet, however important such concessions, they were of subordinate value to the rights of sanctuary, which were extended to the whole of the towns in the grant, thereby multiplying the places of refuge for crime, already too numerous.

In all ages and countries the rights of sanctuary have been admitted, and however they may be abused, their institution sprung from humane motives. To check the impulse of revenge and to shelter the weak from oppression are noble objects, and the surest test of a nation's independence is the extent to which they are carried. From the remotest times *sirna* has been the most valued privilege of the Rajpoots, the lowest of whom deems his house a refuge against the most powerful. But we merely propose to discuss the sanctuary of holy places, and more immediately that of the shrine of Kaniya. When Moses, after the Exodus, made a division of the lands of Canaan amongst the Israelites, and appointed "six cities to be the refuge of him who had slain unwittingly, from the avenger of blood,"³ the intention was not to afford facilities for eluding justice, but to check the hasty impulse of revenge ; for the slayer was only to be protected "until he stood before the congregation for judgment, or until the death of the high-priest," which event appears to have been considered as the termination of revenge.⁴ The infraction of political sanctuary (*sirna toorna*) often gives rise to the most inveterate feuds ; and its abuse by the priests is highly prejudicial to society. Moses appointed but six cities of refuge to the whole Levite tribe ; but the Rana has assigned more to one shrine than the entire possessions of that branch of the Israelites who had but forty-two cities, while Kaniya has forty-six. The motive of sanctuary in Rajast'han may have been originally the same as that of the divine legislator ; but the privilege has been abused, and the most notorious criminals deem the temple their best safeguard. Yet some

¹ *Hindupāti*, vulgò *Hinduput*, 'chief of the Hindu race,' is a title justly appertaining to the Ranas of Méwar. It has, however, been assumed by chieftains scarcely superior to some of his vassals, though with some degree of pretension by Sevaji, who, had he been spared, might have worked the redemption of his nation, and of the Rana's house, from which he sprung.

² See Appendix to this paper, Nos. IX. and X.

³ Numbers, chap. xxxv. 11, 12.

⁴ Numbers, chap. xxxv. 25, and Joshua, chap. xx. 6. There was an ancient law of Athens analogous to the Mosaic, by which he who committed "*chance-medley*" should fly the country for a year, during which his relatives made satisfaction to the relatives of the deceased. The Greeks had *asyla* for every description of criminals, which could not be violated without infamy. Gibbon gives a memorable instance of disregard to the sanctuary of St. Julian in Auvergne, by the soldiers of the Frank king Theodoric, who divided the spoils of the altar, and made the priests captives : an impiety not only unsanctioned by the son of Clovis, but punished by the death of the offenders, the restoration of the plunder, and the extension of the right of sanctuary five miles around the sepulchre of the holy martyr.

princes have been found hardy enough to violate, though indirectly, the sacred *sirna*. Zalim Sing of Kotah, a zealot in all the observances of religion, had the boldness to draw the line when selfish priestcraft interfered with his police ; and though he would not demand the culprit, or sacrilegiously drag him from the altar, he has forced him thence by prohibiting the admission of food, and threatening to build up the door of the temple. It was thus the Greeks evaded the laws, and compelled the criminal's surrender by kindling fires around the sanctuary. The towns of Kaniya did not often abuse their privilege ; but the author once had to interpose, where a priest of Eklinga gave asylum to a felon who had committed murder within the bounds of his domain of Pahona. As this town, of eight thousand rupees annual revenue belonging to the fisc, had been gained by a forged charter, the author was glad to seize on the occasion to recommend its resumption, though he thereby incurred the penalty for seizing church land, namely "sixty thousand years in hell." The unusual occurrence created a sensation, but it was so indisputably just that not a voice was raised in opposition.

Let us revert to the endowments of Nat'hdwara. Herodotus furnishes a powerful instance of the estimation in which sacred offerings were held by the nations of antiquity. He observes that these were transmitted from the remotest nations of Scythia to Delos in Greece ; a range far less extensive than the offerings to the Dewul of Apollo in Méwar. The spices of the isles of the Indian archipelago ; the balmy spoils of Araby the blest ; the nard or frankincense of Tartary ; the raisins and pistachios of Persia ; every variety of saccharine preparation, from the *sacar-cand* (sugar-candy) of the celestial empire, with which the god sweetens his evening repast, to that more common sort which enters into the *péras* of Mat'hura, the food of his infancy ; the shawls of Cashmér, the silks of Bengal, the scarfs of Benares, the brocades of Guzzerat,

. . . "the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound,"

all contribute to enrich the shrine of Nat'hdwara. But it is with the votaries of the maritime provinces of India that he has most reason to be satisfied ; in the commercial cities of Surat, Cambay, Muscat-mandavi, etc., etc., where the Mookhias, or comptrollers deputed by the high-priest, reside, to collect the benefactions, and transmit them as occasion requires. A deputy resides on the part of the high priest at Mooltan, who invests the distant worshippers with the initiative cordon and necklace. Even from Samarcand the pilgrims repair with their offerings ; and a sum, seldom less than ten thousand rupees, is annually transmitted by the votaries from the Arabian ports of Muscat, Mocha, and Jidda ; which contribution is probably augmented not only by the votaries who dwell at the mouths of the Wolga,¹ but by the

¹ Pallas gives an admirable and evidently faithful account of the worship of Crishna and other Hindu divinities in the city of Astracan, where a Hindu mercantile colony is established. They are termed *Mooltani*, from the place whence they migrated—Mooltan, near the Indus. This class of merchants of the Hindu faith is disseminated over all the countries, from the Indus to the Caspian : and it would have been interesting had the professor given us any account of their period of settlement on the western shore of the Caspian sea. In costume and feature, as represented in the plate given by that author, they have nothing to

*Samoyede*¹ of Siberia. There is not a petty retailer professing the Vishnu creed who does not carry a tithe of his trade to the stores : and thus

denote their origin ; though their divinities might be seated on any altar on the Ganges. The Mooltanis of Indeskoi Dvor, or '*Indian court*,' at Astracan, have erected a pantheon, in which Crishna, the god of all Vishnué merchants, is seated in front of Juggernath, Rama, and his brothers, who stand in the background ; while Siva and his consort Ashta-bhooja '*the eight-armed*,' form an intermediate line, in which is also placed a statue which Pallas denominates *Moorli* ; but Pallas mistook the flute (*moorali*) of the divine Crishna for a rod. The principal figure we shall describe in his own words. "In the middle was placed a small idol with a very high bonnet, called *Gupaledshi*. At its right there was a large black stone, and on the left two smaller ones of the same colour, brought from the Ganges, and regarded by the Hindus as sacred. These fossils were of the species called *Sankara*, and appeared to be an impression of a bivalve muscle." Minute as is the description, our judgment is further aided by the plate. *Gupaledshi* is evidently Gopalji, the pastoral deity of Vrij (from *gao*, a cow, and *pali*, a herdsman). The head-dress worn by him and all the others is precisely that still worn by Crishna, in the sacred dance at Muttra : and so minute is the delineation that even the *péra* or sugar-ball is represented, although the professor appears to have been ignorant of its use, as he does not name it. He has likewise omitted to notice the representation of the sacred mount of Girdhana, which separates him from the Hindu Jove and the turreted Cybele (Doorga), his consort. The black stones are the *Saligramas*, worshipped by all *Vishnués*. In the names of "N'handigana and Gori," though the first is called a lion saddled, and the other a male divinity, we easily recognise Nanda, the bull-attendant (*Gana*) of Siva and his consort Gouri. Were all travellers to describe what they see with the same accuracy as Pallas, they would confer important obligations on society, and might defy criticism.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction I have to record, from the authority of a gentleman who has dwelt amongst the *Hindikis* of Astracan, that distance from their ancient abodes has not deteriorated their character for uprightness. Mr. Mitchell, from whose knowledge of Oriental languages the Royal Asiatic Society will some day derive benefit, says, that the reputation of these Hindu colonists, of whom there are about five hundred families, stands very high, and that they bear a preference over all the merchants of other nations settled in this great commercial city.

¹ Other travellers besides Pallas have described Hinduism as existing in the remote parts of the Russian empire, and if nominal resemblances may be admitted, we would instance the strong analogy between the *Samoyedes* and *Tchoudes* of Siberia and Finland and the *Sama Yadús* and *Joudes* of India. The languages of the two former races are said to have a strong affinity, and are classed as *Hindu-Germanic* by M. Klaproth, on whose learned work, *Asia Polyglotta*, M. Rémusat has given the world an interesting *critique*, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques* (tome i. p. 267), in which he traces these tribes to Central Asia ; thus approaching the land of the *Gete* or *Yuti*. Now the *Yutis* and *Yadús* have much in their early history to warrant the assertion of more than nominal analogy. The annals of the *Yadús* of Jessulmér state, that long anterior to Vicrama they held dominion from Guzni to Samarcand : that they established themselves in those regions after the Mahabharat, or great war ; and were again impelled, on the rise of Islamism, within the Indus. As *Yadús* of the race of Shám or Sam (a title of Crishna), they would be *Sama-Yadús* ; in like manner as the *B'hatti* tribe are called *Shama-b'hatti*, the *Ashambétti* of Abulfuzil. The race of *Joude* was existing near the Indus in the Emperor Baber's time, who describes them as occupying the mountainous range in the first Do-áb, the very spot mentioned in the annals of the *Yadús* as their place of halt, on quitting India twelve centuries before Christ, and thence called *Jadu* or *Yadu-ca-dang*, the '*hills of Jadu or Yadu*.' The peopling of all these regions, from the Indus to remote Tartary, is attributed to the race of *Ayu* or *Indu*, both signifying the moon, of which are the *Hyas*, *Aswas* (*Asi*), *Yadús*, etc., who spread a common language over all Western Asia. Amongst the few words of *Hindu-Germanic* origin which M. Rémusat gives to prove affinity between the Finnish and Samoyede languages is "*Miel*, *Mod*, dans le dialecte Caucasién, et *Méd*, en Slave," and which, as well as *mead*, the

caravans of thirty and forty cars, double-yoked, pass twice or thrice annually by the upper road to Nat'hdwara. These pious bounties are not allowed to moulder in the *bindars*: the apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as the gift of the deity to those who evince their devotion; and the edibles enter daily into the various food prepared at the shrine.

It has been remarked by the celebrated Goguet,¹ that the custom of offering food to the object of divine homage had its origin in a principle of gratitude, the repast being deemed hallowed by presenting the first portion to him who gave it, since the devotee was unable to conceive aught more acceptable than that whereby life is sustained. From the earliest period such offerings have been tendered; and in the burnt-offering (*hom*) of Abel, of the firstling of the flock, and the first portion of the repast presented by the Rajpoot to Anadeva² 'the nourisher,' the motive is the same. But the *pursad* (such is the denomination of the food sacred to Kaniya) is deemed unlucky, if not unholy; a prejudice arising from the heterogeneous sources whence it is supplied—often from bequests of the dead. The Mookhias of the temple accordingly carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries dwell, which proves an irresistible stimulus to backward zeal, and produces an ample return. At the same time are transmitted, as from the god, dresses of honour corresponding in material and value with the rank of the receiver: a diadem, or fillet of satin and gold, embroidered; a *dugla*, or quilted coat of gold or silver brocade for the cold weather; a scarf of blue and gold; or if to one who prizes the gift less for its intrinsic worth than as a mark of special favour, a fragment of the garland worn on some festival by the god; or a simple necklace, by which he is inaugurated amongst the elect.³

It has been mentioned that the lands of Méwar appropriated to the shrine are equal in value to a baronial appanage, and, as before observed, there is not a principality in India which does not assign a portion of its domain or revenue to this object. The Hara princes of Kotah and Boondí are almost exclusive worshippers of Kaniya, and the regent Zalim Sing is devoted to the maintenance of the dignity of the establishment. Everything at Kotah appertains to Kaniya. The prince has but the usufruct of the palace, for which £12,000 are annually transmitted to the shrine. The grand lake east of the town, with all its finny tenants, is under his especial protection;⁴ and the extensive suburb adjoining, with its rents, lands, and transit duties, all belong to the god. Zalim Sing moreover transmits to the high priest the most valuable shawls, broadcloths, and horses; and throughout the long period of predatory warfare he maintained two Neshans⁵ of a hundred firelocks each, for drink of the Scandinavian warrior, is from the Sanscrit *Madhu*, a bee. Hence intoxicating beverage is termed *Madhva*, which supplies another epithet for Crishna, *Madhú* or *Madhava*.

¹ *Origin of Laws and Government.*

² Literally "the giver of food."

³ *Kaniya ca canti band'hna*, 'to bind on [the neck] the chaplet of Kaniya,' is the initiatory step.

⁴ I had one day thrown my net into this lake, which abounded with a variety of fish, when my pastime was interrupted by a message from the regent, Zalim Sing: "Tell Captain Tod that Kotah and all around it are at his disposal; but these fish belong to Kaniya." I, of course, immediately desisted, and the fish were returned to the safeguard of the deity.

⁵ A Neshan, or standard, is synonymous with a company.

the protection of the temple. His favourite son also, a child of love, is called Gordhun-das, the 'slave of Gordhun,' one of the many titles of Kaniya. The prince of Marwar went mad from the murder of the high priest of Jalindra, the epithet given to Kaniya in that state; and the Raja of Sheopúr,¹ the last of the Gores, lost his sovereignty by abandoning the worship of Hur for that of Heri. The 'slave' of Radha² (such was the name of this prince) almost lived in the temple, and used to dance before the statue. Had he upheld the rights of him who wields the trident, the tutelary deity of his capital, Siva-púr, instead of the unwarlike divinity whose unpropitious title of Rinchor should never be borne by the martial Rajpoot, his fall would have been more dignified, though it could not have been retarded when the overwhelming torrent of the Mahrattas under Sindia swept Rajwarra.³

A distinction is made between the grants to the temple and those for the personal use of the pontiff, who at least affects never to apply any portion of the former to his own use, and he can scarcely have occasion to do so; but when from the stores of Apollo could be purchased the spices of the isles, the fruits of Persia, and the brocades of Guzzerat, we may indulge our scepticism in questioning this forbearance: but the abuse has been rectified, and traffic banished from the temple. The personal grant (Appendix, No. XI.) to the high priest ought alone to have sufficed for his household expenditure, being twenty thousand rupees per annum, equal to £10,000 in Europe. But the ten thousand towns of Méwar, from each of which he levied a crown, now exist only in the old rent-roll, and the heralds of Apollo would in vain attempt to collect their tribute from two thousand villages.

The Appendix, No. XII., being a grant of privileges to a minor shrine of Kaniya, in his character of *mooralí* or 'flute-player,' contains much information on the minutiae of benefactions, and will afford a good idea of the nature of these revenues.

The predominance of the mild doctrines of Kaniya over the dark rites of Siva, is doubtless beneficial to Rajpoot society. Were the prevention of female immolation the sole good resulting from their prevalence, that alone would conciliate our partiality; a real worshipper of Vishnu should forbid his wife following him to the pyre, as did recently the Boondi prince. In fact, their tenderness to animal life is carried to nearly as great an excess as with the Jains, who shed no blood. Celibacy is not imposed upon the priests of Kaniya, as upon those of Siva: on the contrary, they are enjoined to marry, and the priestly office is hereditary by descent. Their wives do not burn, but are committed, like themselves, to the earth. They inculcate tenderness towards all beings; though whether this feeling influences the mass, must depend on the soil which receives the seed, for the outward ceremonies of religion cost far less effort than the practice or essentials. I have often smiled

¹ Sheopúr or Siva-púr, the city of Sheo or Siva, the god of war, whose battle-shout is *Hur*; and hence one of his epithets, as Heri, is that of Crishna or Kaniya.

² Radha was the name of the chief of the *Gopis* or nymphs of Vrij, and the beloved of Kaniya.

³ In October 1807 I rambled through all these countries, then scarcely known by name to us. At that time Sheopúr was independent, and its prince treated me with the greatest hospitality. In 1809 I witnessed its fall, when following with the embassy in the train of the Mahratta leader.

at the incessant aspirations of the Macchiavelli of Rajast'han, Zalim Sing, who, while he ejaculated the name of the god as he told his beads, was inwardly absorbed by mundane affairs; and when one word would have prevented a civil war, and saved his reputation from the stain of disloyalty to his prince, he was, to use his own words, "at fourscore years and upwards, laying the foundation for another century of life." And thus it is with the prince of Marwar, who esteems the life of a man or a goat of equal value when prompted by revenge to take it. Hope may silence the reproaches of conscience, and gifts and ceremonies may be deemed atonement for a deviation from the first principle of their religion—a benevolence which should comprehend every animated thing. But fortunately the princely worshippers of Kaniya are few in number: it is to the sons of commerce we must look for the effects of these doctrines; and it is my pride and duty to declare that I have known men of both sects, Vishnue and Jain, whose integrity was spotless, and whose philanthropy was unbounded.

CHAPTER XX

The origin of Kaniya or Crishna—Sources of a plurality of gods among the Hindus—Allegories respecting Crishna elucidated—Songs of Jydéva celebrating the loves of Kaniya—The Rasmandel, a mystic dance—Girdhana—Crishna anciently worshipped in caves—His conquest of the 'Black serpent' allegorical of the contests between the Buddhists and Vishnués—Analogies between the legends of Crishna and western mythology—Festivals of Crishna—Pilgrimage to Nat'hdwara—The seven gods of that temple—Its Pontiff.

HERI, Crishna, familiarly Kaniya, was of the celebrated tribe of Yadu, the founder of the fifty-six tribes ¹ who obtained the universal sovereignty of India, and descended from Yayat, the third son ² of Swayambhuma Manu,³ or "The Man, Lord of the earth," whose daughter Ella ⁴ (*Terra*) was espoused by Budha (*Mercury*), son of Chandra ⁵ (*the Moon*), whence the Yadus are styled Chandravansi, or "children of the moon." Budha was therefore worshipped as the great ancestor (*Pitriswara*) of the lunar race; and previous to the apotheosis of Crishna, was adored by all the Yadu race. The principal shrine of Budha was at Dwarica, where he still receives adoration as Budha Trivicrama.⁶ Kaniya lived towards the conclusion of the brazen age, calculated to have been about 1100 to 1200 years before Christ.⁷ He was born to the inheritance of Vrij,

¹ *Chappun cula Yadu.*

² *Qu. Japhet?*

³ Also called *Vaiva-swata Manu*—'the man, son of the sun.'

⁴ Ella, the earth—the Saxon *Ertha*. The Germans chiefly worshipped Tuisco or Teutates and Ertha, who are the Buddha and Ella of the Rajpoots.

⁵ A male divinity with the Rajpoots, the Tatars, and ancient Germans.

⁶ 'Triple Energy,' the *Hermes Triplex* of the Egyptians.

⁷ I shall here subjoin an extract of the rise and progress of Vishnúism as written at my desire by the Múkhia of the temple:

"Twenty-five years of the *Dwapur* (the brazen age) were yet unexpired,

the country of the Surasēni, comprehending the territory round Mat'hura for a space of eighty miles, of which he was unjustly deprived in his infancy by his relative Kansa. From its vicinity to Dehli we may infer either that there was no lord paramount amongst the Yadus of this period, or that Crishna's family held as vassals of Hastinapoor, then, with Indraprestha or Dehli, the chief seat of Yadu power. There were two princes named Sūrasen amongst the immediate predecessors of Crishna: one, his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these was the founder of Sūrapoor on the Yamuna, the capital of the Yadus,¹ we know not, but we may assume that the first gave his name to the region around Mat'hura, described by Arrian as the country of the Suraseni. Alexander was in India probably about eight centuries after the deification of Crishna, and it is satisfactory to find that the inquiries he instituted into the genealogy of the dynasty then ruling on the Yamuna correspond very closely with those of the Yadus of this distant period; and combined with what Arrian says of the origin of the Pandus, it appears indisputable that the descendants of this powerful branch of the Yadus ruled on the Yamuna when the Macedonian erected the altars of Greece on the Indus. That the personage whose epithets of Crishna-Sham designate his colour as '*the Black Prince*,' was in fact a distinguished chief of the Yadus, there is not a shadow of doubt; nor that, after his death, they placed him among the gods as an incarnation of Vishnu or the Sun; and from this period we may induce the Hindu notion of their Trinity. Arrian enumerates the names of Budæus (*Βυδύας*) and Cradévas (*Κραδεύος*) amongst the early ancestors of the tribe

when the incarnation (*avatar*) of Sri Crishna took place. Of these, eleven were passed at Gokul,¹ and fourteen at Mat'hura. There he used to manifest himself personally, especially at Goverdhun. But when the *Kaliyūg* (the iron age) commenced, he retired to Dwarica, an island separated by the ocean from Baratkund,² where he passed a hundred years before he went to heaven. In Samvat 937 (A.D. 881) God decreed that the Hindu faith should be overturned, and that the Tūrishka³ should rule. Then the *jézéya*, or capitation tax, was inflicted on the head of the Hindu. Their faith also suffered much from the Jains and the various infidel (*assúra*) sects which abounded. The Jains were so hostile, that Brimha manifested himself in the shape of Sancara Acharya who destroyed them and their religion at Benares. In Guzzerat, by their magic, they made the moon appear at Amavus.⁴ Sancara foretold to its prince, Sid Raj,⁵ the flood then approaching, who escaped in a boat and fled to T'hoda, on which occasion all the Vedyas⁶ (magicians) in that country perished."

¹ For an account of the discovery of the remains of this ancient city, see *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 314.

¹ A small town and island in the Jumna, below Mat'hura. Hence one of Crishna's titles is Gokul Nath, 'Lord of Gokul.'

² The channel which separates the island of Dwarica from the mainland is filled up, except in spring tides. I passed it when it was dry.

³ We possess no record of the invasion of India in A.D. 881, by the Tūrki tribes, half a century after Mahmoun's expedition from Zabulist'han against Cheetore, in the reign of Rawul Khoman.

⁴ The ides of the month, when the moon is obscured.

⁵ He ruled Samvat 1151 (A.D. 1095) to S. 1201 (A.D. 1145).

⁶ Still used as a term of reproach to the Jains and Buddhists, in which, and other points, as *Ari* (the foe, qu. *Aria*?) they bear a strong resemblance to the followers of the Arian Zerdusht, or Zoroaster. Amongst other peculiarities, the ancient Persian fire-worshipping, like the present Jain, placed a bandage over the mouth while worshipping.

then in power, which would alone convince us that Alexander had access to the genealogies of the *Púrānas*; for we can have little hesitation in affirming these to be Budha and Croshtdeva, ancestors of Crishna; and that "Mathoras and Clisobaras, the chief cities of the Suraséni," are the Mat'hura and Súrpoor occupied by the descendants of Súrén. Had Arrian afforded as many hints for discussing the analogy between the Hindu and Grecian Apollos as he has for the Hercules of Thebes and India, we might have come to a conclusion that the three chief divinities¹ of Egypt, Greece, and India, had their altars first erected on the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna.

The earliest objects of adoration in these regions were the sun and moon, whose names designated the two grand races, Surya and Chandra or Indu. Budha, son of Indu, married Ella, a grand-child of Surya, from which union sprung the Indu race. They deified their ancestor Budha, who continued to be the chief object of adoration until Crishna: hence the worship of Bal-nath² and Budha³ were coeval. That the Nomadic tribes of Arabia, as well as those of Tartary and India, adored the same objects, we learn from the earliest writers; and Job, the probable contemporary of Hasti, the founder of the first capital of the Yadus on the Ganges, boasts in the midst of his griefs that he had always remained uncorrupted by the Sabeism which surrounded him. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God that is above."⁴ That there were many Hindus who, professing a pure monotheism like Job, never kissed the hand either to Surya or his herald Budha, we may easily credit from the sublimity of the notions of the 'One God,' expressed both by the ancients and moderns, by poets and by princes, of both races;⁵ but more especially by the sons of Budha, who for ages bowed not before graven images, and deemed it impious to raise a temple to

"The Spirit in whose honour shrines are weak."

Hence the Jains, the chief sect of the Budhists, so called from adoring the spirit (Jin), were untinctured with idolatry until the apotheosis of Crishna,⁶ whose mysteries superseded the simpler worship of Budha. Némnáth (*the deified Némí*) was the pontiff of Budha, and not only the contemporary of Crishna, but a Yadu, and his near relation; and both had epithets denoting their complexion; for *Arishta*, the surname of Némí, has the same import as Shám or Crishna, '*the black*,' though the latter is of a less Ethiopic hue than Némí. It was anterior to this schism amongst the sons of Budha that the creative power was degraded under

¹ Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo; *Bala-ram*, *Budha*, and *Kaniya*.

² The 'God Bal,' the Vivifier, the Sun.

³ Budha signifies 'wisdom.'

⁴ Job, chap. xxxi. 26, 27, 28.

⁵ Chund, the bard, after having separately invoked the three persons of the Hindu triad, says, that he who believes them distinct, "hell will be his portion."

⁶ A very curious cause was assigned by an eminent Jain priest for the innovation of enshrining and worshipping the forms of the twenty-four pontiffs: namely, that the worship of Kaniya, before and after the apotheosis, became quite a rage amongst the women, who crowded his shrines, drawing after them all the youth of the Jains; and that, in consequence, they made a statue of Némí to counteract a fervour that threatened the existence of their faith. It is seldom we are furnished with such rational reasons for religious changes.

sensual forms, when the pillar rose to Bal or Surya in Syria and on the Ganges: and the serpent, "subtlest beast of all the field," worshipped as the emblem of wisdom (Budha), was conjoined with the symbol of the creative power, as at the shrine of Eklinga, where the brazen serpent is wreathed round the lingam.¹ Budha's descendants, the Indus, preserved the Ophite sign of their race, when Crishna's followers adopted the eagle as his symbol. These, with the adorers of Surya, form the three idolatrous classes of India, not confined to its modern restricted definition, but that of antiquity, when Indu-st'han or Indu-Scythia extended from the Ganges to the Caspian. In support of the position that the existing polytheism was unknown on the rise of Vishnuism, we may state, that in none of the ancient genealogies do the names of such deities appear as proper names in society, a practice now common; and it is even recorded that the rites of magic, the worship of the host of heaven, and of idols, were introduced from Cashmér, between the periods of Crishna and Vicrama. The powers of nature were personified, and each quality, mental and physical, had its emblem, which the Brahmins taught the ignorant to adopt as realities, till the pantheon became so crowded that life would be too short to acquire even the nomenclature of their "thirty-three millions of gods."² No object was too high or too base, from the glorious Orb to the Rampi, or paring-knife of the shoemaker. In illustration of the increase of polytheism, I shall describe the seven forms under which Crishna is worshipped, whose statues are established in the various capitals of Rajast'han, and are occasionally brought together at the festival of Anacuta at Nat'hdwara.

The international wars of the Suryas and the Yadu races, as described in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat*, are lost between allegory and literal interpretation. The Suryas, or Saivas, were depressed; and the Indus, who counted "fifty-six" grand tribes, under the appellations of takshac, 'serpent,' aswa, 'horse,' sassu, 'hare,' etc., etc., had paramount sway. Crishna's schism produced a new type, that of the eagle, and the wars of the schismatics were depicted under their respective emblems, the eagle and serpent, of which latter were the Curus and Takshacs,³ the

¹ It was the serpent (Budha) who ravished Ella, daughter of Icshwaca, the son of Manu, whence the distinctive epithet of his descendants in the East, *Manús*, or men, the very tradition on an ancient sculptured column in the south of India, which evidently points to the primeval mystery. In Portici there is an exact *lingam* entwined with a brazen serpent, brought from the temple of Isis at Pompeii: and many of the same kind, in mosaic, decorate the floors of the dwelling-houses. But the most singular coincidence is in the wreaths of *lingams* and the *yonis* over the door of the minor temple of Isis at Pompeii; while on another front is painted the rape of Venus by Mercury (Budha and Ella). The Lunar race, according to the *Purans*, are the issue of the rape of Ella by Budha.

Aphah is a serpent in Hebrew. *Ahe* and *Serp* are two of its many appellations in Sanscrit.

² *Tynteas crore devota.*

³ The *Mahabharat* records constant wars from ancient times amongst the children of Surya (the sun), and the *Tak'* or *Takshac* (serpent races). The horse of the sun, liberated preparatory to sacrifice, by the father of Rama, was seized by the *Takshac Anuntá*; and Janméja, king of Dehli, grandson of Pandu, was killed by one of the same race. In both instances the *Takshac* is literally rendered the *snake*.

The successor of Janméja carried war into the seats of this *Ták* or serpent race, and is said to have sacrificed 20,000 of them in revenge; but although it

political adversaries of the Pandus, the relatives of Crishna. The allegory of Crishna's eagle pursuing the serpent Budha, and recovering the books of science and religion with which he fled, is an historical fact disguised: namely, that of Crishna incorporating the doctrines of Budha with his own after the expulsion of the sect from India. Dare we further attempt to lift the veil from this mystery, and trace from the seat of redemption of lost science its original source? ¹ The gulf of Kutch, the point where the serpent attempted to escape, has been from time immemorial to the present day the entrepôt for the commerce of Sofala, the Red Sea, Egypt, and Arabia. There Budha Trivicrama, or Mercury, has been and is yet invoked by the Indian mariners, especially the pirates of Dwarica. Did Budha or Mercury come from, or escape to the Nile? Is he the *Hermes* of Egypt to whom the "four books of science," like the four *Vêdas* ² of the Hindus, were sacred? The statues of Némî, ³ the representative of Budha, exactly resemble in feature the bust of young Memnon.

I have already observed that Crishna, before his own deification, worshipped his great ancestor Budha; and his temple at *Dwarica* rose over the ancient shrine of the latter, which yet stands. In an inscription from the cave of Gaya their characters are conjoined; "*Heri who is Budha*." According to western mythology, Apollo and Mercury exchanged symbols, the *caduceus* for the *lyre*; so likewise in India their characters intermingle: and even the *Sâivâ* propitiates Heri as the mediator and disposer of the 'divine spark' (*jote*) to its reunion with the 'parent-flame':—thus, like Mercury, he may be said to be the conveyer of the souls of the dead. Accordingly in funeral lamentation his name only is invoked, and *Heri-bol*! *Heri-bol*! is emphatically pronounced by those conveying the corpse to its final abode. The *vahan* (*qu.* the Saxon *van*?) or celestial car of Crishna, in which the souls (*ansa*) of the just are conveyed to *Surya-Mandal*, the 'mansion of the sun,' is painted like himself, blue (indicative of space, or as *Ouranos*), with the eagle's head; and here he partakes of the Mercury of the Greeks, and of *Oulios*, the preserver or saviour, one of the titles of Apollo at Delos. ⁴

is specifically stated that he subsequently compelled them to sign tributary engagements (*pañnamah*), the Brahmins have nevertheless distorted a plain historical fact by a literal and puerile interpretation.

The *Parataca* (*Mountain-Tâk*) of Alexander were doubtless of this race, as was his ally Taxiles, which appellation was titular, as he was called Omphis till his father's death. It is even probable that this name is the Greek ΟΦΙΣ, in which they recognised the tribe of the *Tâk* or *Snake*.

Taxiles may be compounded of *es*, 'lord or chief,' *silla*, 'rock or mountain,' and *Tâk*, 'lord of the mountain Tâk,' whose capital was in the range west of the Indus. We are indebted to the Emperor Baber for the exact position of the capital of this celebrated race, which he passed in his route of conquest. We have, however, an intermediate notice of it between Alexander and Baber, in the early history of the *Yadû Bhatts*, who came in conflict with the *Tâks* on their expulsion from Zabulisthan and settlement in the Punjab.

¹ The Budhists appeared in this peninsula and the adjacent continent was the cradle of Buddhism, and here are three of the "five" sacred mounts of their faith, *i.e.* Girnar, Satrunja, and Abu. The author purposes giving, hereafter, an account of his journey through these classic regions.

² The Budhists and Jains are stigmatised as *Vêdyavan*, which, signifying 'possessed of science,' is interpreted 'magician.'

³ He is called *Arishta-Némî*, 'the black Némî,' from his complexion.

⁴ The Sun-god (Kau, according to Diodorus) is the Minos of the Egyptians. The hieroglyphics at Turin represent him with the head of an ibis, or eagle, with

The Tatar nations, who are all of *Indu* race, like the Rajpoots and German tribes, adored the moon as a male divinity, and to his son, Budha, they assign the same character of mediator. The serpent is alike the symbol of the Budha of the Hindus, the Hermes of the Egyptians, and the Mercury of Greece : and the allegory of the *dragon's teeth*, the origin of letters, brought by Cadmus from Egypt, is a version of the Hindu fable of Kaniya (Apollo) wresting the *Védas* (*secrets*) from Budha or wisdom (*Hermes*), under his sign, the serpent or dragon. We might still further elucidate the resemblance, and by an analysis of the titles and attributes of the Hindu Apollo, prove that from the Yamuna may have been supplied the various incarnations of this divinity, which peopled the pantheons of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. As Nomios, who attended the herds of Admetus, we have Nonita,¹ the infantine appellation of Kaniya, when he pastured the kine of Cesava in the woods of Vindra, whence the ceremony of the sons of princes assuming the crook, and on particular days tending the flocks.² As Muralidhara, or the 'flute-holder,' Kaniya is the god of music ; and in giving him the shepherd's reed instead of the *vina* or lyre, we may conjecture that the simple bamboo (*bhans*) which formed the first flute (*bhanshi*) was in use before the *chatára*,³ the Grecian *cithara*,⁴ the first invented lyre of Apollo. Thus from the *six-wired* instrument of the Hindus we have the Greek *cithara*, the English *cithern*, and the Spanish *guitar* of modern days. The Greeks, following the Egyptians, had but six notes, with their lettered symbols ; and it was reserved for the Italians to add a seventh. Guido Aretine, a monk in the thirteenth century, has the credit of this. I, however, believe the Hindus numbered theirs from the heavenly bodies—the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—hence they had the regular octave, with its semi-tones : and as, in the pruriency of their fancy, they converted the ascending and descending notes into *grahas*, or planetary

an altar before him, on which a shade places his offerings, namely, a goose, cakes of bread, and flowers of the lotus, and awaits in humble attitude his doom. In Sanscrit the same word means *soul*, *goose*, and *swan*, and the Hindu poet is always punning upon it ; though it might be deemed a levity to represent the immaterial portion under so unclassical an emblem. The lotus flowers are alike sacred to the Kan of the Egyptians as to Kaniya the mediator of the Hindus, and both are painted blue and bird-headed. The claims of Kaniya (contracted Kan) as the sun divinity of the Hindus, will be abundantly illustrated in the account of the festivals.

¹ I do not mean to derive any aid from the resemblance of names, which is here merely accidental.

² When I heard the octogenarian ruler of Kotah ask his grandson, " Bappalal, have you been tending the cows to-day ? " my surprise was converted into pleasure on the origin of the custom being thus classically explained.

³ From *cha*, ' six ' ; and *tar*, ' a string or wire.'

⁴ Strabo says, the Greeks consider music as originating from Thrace and Asia, of which countries were Orpheus, Musæus, etc. ; and that others " who regard *all Asia, as far as India*, as a country sacred to *Dionysius* (Bacchus), attribute to that country the invention of nearly all the science of music. We perceive them sometimes describing the *cithara* of the Asiatic, and sometimes applying to flutes the epithet of Phrygian. The names of certain instruments, such as the *nabla*, and others likewise, are taken from barbarous tongues." This *nabla* of Strabo is possibly the *tabla*, the small tabor of India. If Strabo took his orthography from the Persian or Arabic, a single point would constitute the difference between the *N* (ن) and the *T* (ت).

bodies, so they may have added them to the harmonious numbers, and produced the *no-ragini*, their *nine* modes of music.¹ Could we affirm that the hymns composed and set to music by Jyḍéva, nearly three thousand years ago, and still chanted in honour of the Apollo of Vrij, had been handed down with the sentiments of these mystic compositions (and Sir W. Jones sanctions the idea), we should say, from their simplicity, that the musicians of that age had only the diatonic scale; but we have every reason to believe, from the very elaborate character of their written music, which is painful and discordant to the ear from its minuteness of subdivision, that they had also the chromatic scale, said to have been invented by Timotheus in the time of Alexander, who might have carried it from the banks of the Indus. In the mystic dance, the *Rasmandel*, yet imitated on the annual festival sacred to the sun-god Heri, he is represented with a radiant crown in a dancing attitude, playing on the flute to the nymphs encircling him, each holding a musical instrument.

"In song and dance about the sacred hill;
Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
Of planets, and of fixed, in all her wheels
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, interwolved, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem;
And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted."

—MILTON, Book v. 155.

These nymphs are also called the *no-ragini*, from *rāga*, a mode of song over which each presides, and *no-rasa*, or 'nine passions,' excited by the powers of harmony. May we not in this trace the origin of Apollo and the sacred nine? In the manner described above, the *rasmandel* is typical of the zodiacal phenomena; and in each sign a musical nymph is sculptured in *alto-relievo*, in the vaulted temples dedicated to the god,² or in secular edifices by way of ornament, as in the triumphal column of Chectore. On the festival of the Jenem, or 'birth-day,' there is a scenic representation of Kaniya and the Gopis: when are rehearsed in the mellifluous accents of the Ionic land of Vrij, the songs of Jyḍéva, as addressed by Kaniya to Radha and her companions. A specimen of these, as translated by that elegant scholar, Sir W. Jones, may not be considered inappropriate here.

I have had occasion to remark elsewhere,³ that the Rajpoot bards, like

¹ An account of the state of musical science amongst the Hindus of early ages, and a comparison between it and that of Europe, is yet a desideratum in Oriental literature. From what we already know of the science, it appears to have attained a theoretical precision yet unknown to Europe, and that, at a period when even Greece was little removed from barbarism. The inspirations in the arts of the first ages were all set to music; and the children of the most their expulsion among the episodes of the great epics of Valmika and Vyasu.

² The Budhists appear among the Royal Asiatic Society, and part of the cradle of Buddhism, and here are three *etc.* and we may hope that of their faith, i.e. Girnar, Satrunja, and Abu. The author purposes giving, hereafter, an account of his journey through these classic regions.

³ The Budhists and Jains are stigmatised as *Vēdyavan*, which, signifying 'possessed of science,' is interpreted 'magician.'

⁴ He is called *Arishta-Némi*, 'the black Némi,' from his complexion.

⁵ The Sun-god (Kan, according to Diodorus) is the Minos of the Egyptians. The hieroglyphics at Turin represent him with the head of an ibis, or eagle, with

the heroic Scalds of the north, lose no opportunity of lauding themselves ; of which Jydeva, the bard of the Yadus, has set an eminent example in the opening of " the songs of Govinda."

"If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of Heri, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of Jydeva, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant."

The poet opens the first interview of Crishna and Radha with an animated description of a night in the rainy season, in which Heri is represented as a wanderer, and Radha, daughter of the shepherd Nanda, is sent to offer him shelter in their cot. Nanda thus speaks to Radha : "The firmament is obscured by clouds ; the woodlands are black with Tamála trees ; that youth who roves in the forest will be fearful in the gloom of night ; go, my daughter, bring the wanderer to my rustic mansion. Such was the command of Nanda the herdsman, and hence arose the love of Radha and Madhava." ¹

The poet proceeds to apostrophise Heri, which the Hindu bard terms *rūpaca*, or 'personal description':

“ Oh thou who reclinest on the bosom of Camala, whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers ; thou, from whom the day-star derived his effulgence, who slewest the venom-breathing Caliya, who beamedst like a sun on the tribe of Yadu, that flourished like a lotus ; thou, who sittest on the plumage of Garura, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of Pédema, as the fluttering chacora drinks the moonbeams ; be victorious, O Heri.”

Jydeva then introduces Heri in the society of the pastoral nymphs of Vrij, whom he groups with admirable skill, expressing the passion by which each is animated towards the youthful prince with great warmth and elegance of diction. But Radha, indignant that he should divide with them the affection she deemed exclusively her own, flies his presence. Heri, repentant and alarmed, now searches the forest for his beloved, giving vent at each step to impassioned grief. "Woe is me ! she feels a sense of injured honour, and has departed in wrath. How will she conduct herself ? How will she express her pain in so long a separation ? What is wealth to me ? What are numerous attendants ? What the pleasures of the world ? How can I invite thee to return ? Grant me but a sight of thee, oh ! lovely Radha, for my passion torments me. O God of love ! mistake me not for Siva. Wound me not again. I love already but too passionately ; yet have I lost my beloved. Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the world ! My heart is already pierced by arrows from Radha's eyes, black and keen as those of the antelope."

Radha relents and sends a damsel in quest of Heri, whom she finds in a solitary arbour on the banks of the Yamuna. She describes her mistress as animated by the same despair which controls him :

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 " Her face is like a water-lily veiled in the dew of others " who regard
an as moons eclipsed. She draws the *as-tro-nomys-tus* (Bacchus), attribute
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even the light garland which waves o'er her bosom is a load. The palm of her hand supports her aching temple, motionless as the crescent rising at eve. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love must Radha be restored to health ; and if thou refusest, thy heart must be harder than the thunder-stone."¹

The damsel returns to Radha and reports the condition of Heri, mourning her absence : " Even the hum of the bee distracts him. Misery sits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish." She then recommends Radha to seek him. " Delay not, O, loveliest of women ; follow the lord of thy heart. Having bound his locks with forest flowers, he hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks of Yamuna, and there pronouncing thy name, *he modulates his divine reed*. Leave behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle when thou sportest in the dance. Cast over thee thy azure mantle and run to the shady bower."

But Radha, too weak to move, is thus reported to Heri by the same fair mediator : " She looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach : she advances a few steps and falls languid to the ground. She weaves bracelets of fresh leaves, and looking at herself in sport, exclaims, behold the vanquisher of Madha ! Then she repeats the name of Heri, and catching at a dark blue cloud,² strives to embrace it, saying, ' It is my beloved who approaches.' "

Midnight arrives, but neither Heri nor the damsel returns, when she gives herself up to the frenzy of despair, exclaiming : " The perfidy of my friend rends my heart. Bring disease and death, O gale of Malaya ! receive me in thy azure wave, O sister of Yama,³ that the ardour of my heart may be allayed."

The repentant Heri at length returns, and in speech well calculated to win forgiveness, thus pleads his pardon :

" Oh ! grant me a draught of honey from the lotus of thy mouth : or if thou art inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thine eyes ; make thy arms my chains : thou art my ornament ; thou art the pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth ! Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become through thy resentment like petals of the crimson lotus ! Thy silence affects me ; oh ! speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour."

" Radha with timid joy, darting her eyes on Govinda while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and *the bells of her zone*,⁴ entered the mystic bower of her beloved. His heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb.⁵ From his graceful

¹ We meet with various little philosophical phenomena used as similes in this rhapsody of Jydeva. These *aérolites*, mentioned by a poet the contemporary of David and Solomon, are but recently known to the European philosopher.

² This is, in allusion to the colour of Crishna, a dark blue.

³ The Indian Pluto ; she is addressing the Yamuna.

⁴ Thus the ancient statues do not present merely the sculptor's fancy in the zone of bells with which they are ornamented.

⁵ This is a favourite metaphor with the bards of India, to describe the alternations of the exciting causes of love ; and it is yet more important as showing that Jydeva was the philosopher as well as the poet of nature, in making the action of the moon upon the tides the basis of this beautiful simile.

waist flowed a pale yellow robe,¹ which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily scattered over its blue petals.² His locks interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated by the moonbeam. Tears of transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of Radha, and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which had before taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed,³ and departed when the fawn-eyed Radha gazed on the bright face of Crishna."

The poet proceeds to describe Apollo's bower on the sable Yamuna, as "Love's recess"; and sanctifies it as

. . . "The ground
Where early Love his Psyche's zone unbound." ⁴

In the morning the blue god aids in Radha's simple toilet. He stains her eye with antimony "which would make the blackest bee envious," places "a circle of musk on her forehead," and intertwines "a chaplet of flowers and peacock's feathers in her dark tresses," replacing "the zone of golden bells." The bard concludes as he commenced, with an eulogium on the inspirations of his muse, which it is evident were set to music. "Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, let the happy and wise learn from the songs of Jydeva."

This mystic dance, the *rasmandel*, appears analogous to the Pyrrhic dance, or the *fire-dance* of the Egyptians. The movements of those who personate the deity and his fair companions are full of grace, and the dialogue is replete with harmony.⁵ The Chobis⁶ of Mat'hura and Vind-ravana have considerable reputation as vocalists; and the effect of the modulated and deep tones of the adult blending with the clear treble of the juvenile performers, while the time is marked by the cymbal or the soothing monotony of the tabor, accompanied occasionally by the *murali* or flute, is very pleasing.

We have a Parnassus in Girdhana, from which sacred hill the god derives one of his principal epithets, Girdhun or Gordhun-náth, 'God of the mount of wealth.' Here he first gave proofs of miraculous power, and a cave in this hill was the first shrine, on his apotheosis, whence his miracles and oracles were made known to the Yadus. From this cave (*gopha*) is derived another of his titles—*Goph-nath*, 'Lord of the cave,' distinct from his epithet Gopi-nath, 'Lord of the Gopis,' or pastoral

¹ This yellow robe or mantle furnishes another title of the Sun-god, namely *Pit-ambra*, typical of the resplendence which precedes his rising and setting.

² It will be again necessary to call to mind the colour of Crishna, to appreciate this elegant metaphor.

³ This idea is quite new.

⁴ *Childe Harold*, Canto iii.

⁵ The anniversary of the birth of Kaniya is celebrated with splendour at Sindia's court, where the author frequently witnessed it, during a ten year's residence.

⁶ The priests of Kaniya, probably so called from the *chob* or club with which, on the annual festival, they assault the castle of Kansa, the tyrant usurper of Crishna's birthright, who, like Herod, ordered the slaughter of all the youth of Vrij, that Crishna might not escape. These *Chobis* are most likely the *Sobis* of Alexander, who occupied the chief towns of the Punjab, and who, according to Arrian, worshipped Hercules (*Heri-cul-és*, chief of the race of Heri), and were armed with clubs. The mimic assault of Kansa's castle by some hundreds of these robust church militants, with their long clubs covered with iron rings, is well worth seeing.

nymphs. On the annual festival held at Girdhana, the sacred mount is purified with copious oblations of milk, for which all the cows of the district are in requisition.

The worship of Crishna in ancient days, like that of Apollo amongst the Greeks, was chiefly celebrated in caves, of which there were many scattered over India. The most remarkable were those of Girdhana in Vrij; Gaya in Bahar; Goph-nath on the shores of Saurashtra; and Jalindra¹ on the Indus. In these dark and mysterious retreats superstition had her full influence over the votaries who sought the commands and deprecated the wrath of the deity: but, as the Mookhia told the author, "the age of oracles and miracles is past"; and the new wheel, which was miraculously furnished each revolving year to supply the place of that which first indicated his desire to abide at Nat'hdwara, is no longer forthcoming. The old one, which was the signal of his wish, is, however, preserved as a relic, and greatly revered. The statue now worshipped at Nat'hdwara, as the representative of 'the god of the mount,' is said to be the identical image raised in the cave of Girdhana, and brought thence by the high priest Balba.

As the destroyer of Kali-nag, 'the black serpent,' which infested the waters of the Yamuna, Kaniya has the character of the Pythic Apollo. He is represented dragging the monster from the 'black stream,' and bruising him with his foot. He had, however, many battles with his hydra-foe ere he vanquished him, and he was once driven by Kalyamun from Vrij to Dwarica, whence his title of Rinchor. Here we have the old allegory of the schismatic wars of the Buddhists and Vishnués.

Diodorus informs us that *Kan* was one of the titles of the Egyptian Apollo as the sun; and this is the common contraction for Kaniya, whose colour is a dark cerulean blue (*nila*): and hence his name Nila-nath, who, like the Apollo of the Nile, is depicted with the human form and eagle-head, with a lotus in his hand. S and H are permutable letters in the Bhakka, and Sâm or Sham, the god of the Yamuna, may be the *Ham* or *Hammon* of Egypt. Heri accompanied Ramesa to Lanka, as did the Egyptian Apollo, Rameses-Sesostris, on his expedition to India: both were attended in their expedition by an army of Satyrs, or tribes bearing the names of different animals: and as we have the *Aswas*, the *Takshacs*, and the *Sassus* of the *Yadu* tribes, typified under the horse, the serpent, and the hare, so the races of *Surya*, of which Rama was the head, may have been designated *Rishi* and *Hanuman*, or bears and monkeys. The distance of the Nile from the Indian shore forms no objection; the sail spread for Ceylon, could waft the vessel to the Red Sea, which the fleets of Tyre, of Solomon, and Hiram covered about this very time. That the Hindus navigated the ocean from the earliest ages, the traces of their religion in the isles of the Indian archipelago sufficiently attest; but on this subject we have already said enough.

The coincidence between the most common epithets of the Apollos of Greece and India, as applied to the sun, are peculiarly striking. Heri, as Bhan-nat'h, 'the lord of beams,' is Phœbus, and his heaven is *Heripûr*

¹ Jalindra on the Indus is described by the Emperor Daker as a very singular that Jydeva was the philosopher as well as the poet of nature, in making the action of the moon upon the tides the basis of this beautiful simile.

(Heliopolis), or 'city of Heri.'¹ Helios (Ἥλιος) was a title of Apollo, whence the Greeks had their Elysium, the Heripúr or *Bhan-t'han* (the abode of the sun), the highest of the heavens or abodes of bliss of the martial Rajpoot. Hence the eagle (the emblem of Heri as the sun)² was adopted by the western warrior as the symbol of victory.

The *Di Majores* of the Rajpoot are the same in number and title as amongst the Greeks and Romans, being the deities who figuratively preside over the planetary system. Their grades of bliss are therefore in unison with the eccentricity of orbit of the planet named. On this account Chandra or Indu, the moon, being a mere satellite of Ella, the earth, though probably originating the name of the *Indu* race, is inferior in the scale of blissful abodes to that of his son Budha or Mercury, whose heliacal appearance gave him importance even with the sons of Vaiva, the sun. From the poetic seers of the martial races we learn that there are two distinct places of reward; the one essentially spiritual, the other of a material nature. The bard inculcates that the warrior who falls in battle in the fulfilment of his duty, "who abandons life through the wave of steel," will know no "second birth," but that the unconfined spark (*jote*) will reunite to the parent orb. The doctrine of transmigration through a variety of hideous forms, may be considered as a series of purgatories.

The Greeks and Celts worshipped Apollo under the title of Carneios, which "selon le scholiaste de Théocrite" is derived from Carnos, "qui ne prophétisoit que des malheurs aux Héraclides lors de leur incursion dans le Péloponnèse. Un d'eux appelé *Hippotés*, le tua d'un coup de flèche." Now one of the titles of the Hindu Apollo is Carna, 'the radiant'; from *carna*, 'a ray': and when he led the remains of the *Hericúlas* in company with Baldéva (*the god of strength*), and Yudishtra, after the great international war, into the Peloponnesus of Saurashtra, they were attacked by the aboriginal Bhils, one of whom slew the divine Carna with an arrow. The Bhils claim to be of *Hyvansa*, or the race of *Hya*, whose chief seat was at Mahésvar on the Nerbudda: the assassin of Carna would consequently be Hipúta, or descendant of *Hya*.³

The most celebrated of the monuments commonly termed Druidic, scattered throughout Europe, is at Carnac in Brittany, on which coast the Celtic Apollo had his shrines, and was propitiated under the title of Carneus, and this monument may be considered at once sacred to the manes of the warriors and the sun-god Carneus. Thus the Roman Saturnalia, the

¹ "In Hebrew *heres* signifies the sun, but in Arabic the meaning of the radical word is to guard, preserve; and of *haris*, guardian, preserver."—Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, p. 316.

² The heaven of *Vishnu*, *Vaicúnt'ha*, is entirely of gold, and 80,000 miles in circumference. Its edifices, pillars, and ornaments are composed of precious stones. The crystal waters of the Ganges form a river in *Vaicúnt'ha*, where are lakes filled with blue, red, and white water-lilies, each of a hundred and even a thousand petals. On a throne glorious as the meridian sun resting on water-lilies, is Vishnu, with *Lacshmi* or *Sri*, the goddess of abundance (the *Ceres* of the Egyptians and Greeks), on his right hand, surrounded by spirits who constantly celebrate the praise of Vishnu and *Lacshmi*, who are served by his votaries, and to whom the eagle (*garúda*) is door-keeper.—Extract from the *Mahabharat*.—See Ward on the *History and Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 14.

³ Supposing these coincidences in the fabulous history of the ancient nations these robust church militants, fortuitous, they were covered with iron rings, is well worth seeing.

carnivale, has a better etymology in the festival to Carneus, as the sun, than in the "adieu to flesh" during the fast. The character of this festival is entirely oriental, and accompanied with the licentiousness which belonged to the celebration of the powers of nature. Even now, although Christianity has banished the grosser forms, it partakes more of a Pagan than a Christian ceremony.

Of the festivals of Crishna the *Anacúta* is the most remarkable ; when the seven statues were brought from the different capitals of Rajast'han, and mountains (*cúta*) of food (*ana*) piled up for their repast, at a given signal are levelled by the myriads of votaries assembled from all parts. About eighty years ago, on a memorable assemblage at the *Anacúta*, before warfare had devastated Rajast'han, and circumscribed the means of the faithful disciples of Heri, amongst the multitude of *Vishnués* of every region were almost all the Rajpoot princes ; Rana Ursi of Méwar, Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar, Raja Guj Sing of Bikanér, and Buhadoor Sing of Kishengurh. Rana Ursi presented to the god a *tora*, or massive golden anklet-chain set with emeralds : Beejy Sing a diamond necklace worth twenty-five thousand rupees : the other princes according to their means. They were followed by an old woman of Surat, with infirm step and shaking head, who deposited four coppers in the hand of the high-priest, which were received with a gracious smile, not vouchsafed to the lords of the earth. "The Ránd is in luck," whispered the chief of Kishengurh to the Rana. Soon afterwards the statue of Heri was brought forth, when the same old woman placed at its feet a bill of exchange for seventy thousand rupees. The mighty were humbled, and the smile of the *Gosaén* was explained. Such gifts, and to a yet greater amount, are, or were, by no means uncommon from the sons of commerce, who are only known to belong to the flock from the distinguishing necklace of the sect.¹

The predatory system which reduced these countries to a state of the most degraded anarchy, greatly diminished the number of pilgrimages to Nat'hdwara ; and the gods of Vrij had sufficient prescience to know that they could guard neither their priests nor followers from the Pat'han and Mahratta, to whom the crown of the god, or the *nutna* (nose-jewel) of Radha, would be alike acceptable : nor would they have scrupled to retain both the deities and priests as hostages for such imposition as they might deem within their means. Accordingly, of late years, there had been no congress of the gods of Vrij, who remained fixtures on their altars till the halcyon days of A.D. 1818 permitted their liberation.²

The seven statues of Kaniya were brought together by the high-priest

¹ Gibbon records a similar offering of 200,000 sesterces to the Roman church, by a stranger, in the reign of Decius.

² I enjoyed no small degree of favour with the supreme pontiff of the shrine of Apollo and all his votaries, for effecting a meeting of the seven statues of Vishnu in 1820. In contriving this I had not only to reconcile ancient animosities between the priests of the different shrines, in order to obtain a free passport for the gods, but to pledge myself to the princes in whose capitals they were established, for their safe return : for they dreaded lest bribery might entice the priests to fix them elsewhere, which would have involved their loss of sanctity, dignity, and prosperity. It cost me no little trouble, and still more anxiety, to keep the assembled multitudes at peace with each other, for they are as outrageous as any sectarians in contesting the supreme power and worth of their respective forms (*rúpa*). Yet they all separated, not only without violence, but without even any attempt at robbery, so common on such occasions.

Balba, who established the festival of the Anacúta. They remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Girdhari, the grandson of Balba, who having seven sons, gave to each a *rúpa* or statue, and whose descendants continue in the office of priest. The names and present abodes of the gods are as follows :—

Nath-ji, the god, or Gordan-Nath, god of the mount . Nat'hdwara.

1. Nonita Nat'hdwara.
2. Mat'hura-Nath Kotah.
3. Dwar-ca-Nath Kankerowli.
4. Gokul-Nath, or Gokul-Chandrama . Jeipoor.
5. Yadu-Nath Surat.
6. Vital-Nath Kotah.
7. Mudhun Mohuna Jeipoor.

Nath-ji is not enumerated amongst the forms ; he stands supreme.

Nonita, or Nonanda, the juvenile Kaniya, has his altar separate, though close to Nath-ji. He is also styled Bala-mokund, 'the blessed child,' and is depicted as an infant with a *péra*¹ or comfit-ball in his hand. This image, which was one of the *penates* of a former age, and which, since the destruction of the shrines of Crishna by the Islamites, had lain in the Yamuna, attached itself to the sacerdotal zone (*zunu*) of the high-priest Balba, while he was performing his ablutions, who, carrying it home, placed it in a niche of the temple and worshipped it : and Nonanda yet receives the peculiar homage of the high-priest and his family as their household divinity. Of the second image, Mat'hura Nath, there is no particular mention : it was at one time at Kamnorh in Méwar, but is now at Kotah.

Balcrishna, the third son, had Dwar-ca Nath, which statue, now at Kankerowli in Méwar, is asserted to be the identical image that received the adoration of Raja Umrika, a prince of the solar race who lived in the *Satya Yuga*, or silver age. The 'god of the mount' revealed himself in a dream to his high-priest, and told him of the domicile of this his representative at Kanouj. Thither Balba repaired, and having obtained it from the *Brahmin*, appointed Damodur-das Khetri to officiate at his altar.

The fourth statue, that of Gokul-Nath, or Gokul Chandrama (*i.e.* the moon of Gokul), had an equally mysterious origin, having been discovered in a deep ravine on the banks of the river ; Balba assigned it to his brother-in-law. Gokul is an island on the Jumna, a few miles below Mat'hura, and celebrated in the early history of the pastoral divinity. The residence of this image at Jeipoor does not deprive the little island of its honours as a place of pilgrimage ; for the '*god of Gokul*' has an altar on the original site, and his rites are performed by an aged priestess, who disowns the jurisdiction of the high-priest of Nat'hdwara, both in the spiritual and temporal concerns of her shrine ; and who, to the no small scandal of all who are interested in Apollo, appealed from the fiat of the high-priest to the British court of justice. The royal grants of the Mogul emperors were produced, which proved the right to lay in the high-priest, though a

¹ The *péra* of Mat'hura can only be made from the waters of the Yamuna, from whence it is still conveyed to Nonanda at Nat'hdwara, and with curds forms his evening repast.

long period of almost undisturbed authority had created a feeling of independent control in the family of the priestess, which they desired might continue. A compromise ensued, when the author was instrumental in restoring harmony to the shrines of Apollo.

The fifth, Yadu-Nath, is the deified ancestor of the whole *Yadu* race. This image, now at Surat, formerly adorned the shrine of Mahavan near Mat'hura, which was destroyed by Mahmud.

The sixth, Vitul-Nath, or Pandurang, was found in the Ganges at Benares, *Samvat* 1572 (A.D. 1516), from which we may judge of their habit of multiplying divinities.

The seventh, Mudhun Mohuna, "he who intoxicates with desire," the seductive lover of Radha and the *Gopis*, has his rites performed by a female. The present priestess of Mohuna is the mother of Damodra, the supreme head of all who adore the Apollo of Vrij.

I am not aware of the precise period of Balba Acharya, who thus collected the seven images of Crishna now in Rajast'han; but he must have lived about the time of the last of the Lodi kings, at the period of the conquest of India by the Moguls (A.D. 1526). The present pontiff, Damodra, as before said, is his lineal descendant; and whether in addressing him verbally or by letter, he is styled *Maharaja* or 'great prince.'¹

As the supreme head of the Vishnu sect, his person is held to be *Ansa*, or "a portion of the divinity"; and it is maintained that so late as the father of the present incumbent, the god manifested himself and conversed with the high-priest. The present pontiff is now about thirty years of age. He is of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour: courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high calling: meek, as becomes the priest of Govinda, but with the finished manners of one accustomed to the first society. His features are finely moulded, and his complexion good. He is about the middle size, though as he rises to no mortal, I could not exactly judge of his height. When I saw him he had one only daughter, to whom he is much attached. He has but one wife, nor does Crishna allow polygamy to his priest. In times of danger, like some of his prototypes in the dark ages of Europe, he poised the lance, and found it more effective than spiritual anathemas, against those who would first adore the god, and then plunder him. Such were the Mahratta chiefs, Jeswunt Rao Holkar and Bapoo Sindia. Damodra accordingly made the tour of his extensive diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. He rode the finest mares in the country; laid aside his pontificals for the quilted *dugla*, and was summoned to matins by the kettle-drum instead of the bell and cymbal. In this he only imitated Kaniya, who often mixed in the ranks of battle, and "died

¹ *Gosāden* is a title more applicable to the *célibataire* worshippers of Hari than of Heri—of Jupiter than of Apollo. It is alleged that the Emperor Akber first bestowed this epithet on the high-priest of Crishna, whose rites attracted his regard. They were previously called *Dikhit*, 'one who performs sacrifice,' a name given to a very numerous class of Brahmins.

The *Gotra Acharya*, or genealogical creed of the high-priest, is as follows: "*Tylung Brahmin, Bhardhwaja gotra*,¹ *Gūracūla*,² *Tyturi sac'ha*; i.e. Brahmin of Telingana, of the tribe of Bhardhwaja, of the race of Gūr, of the branch Tyturi."

¹ *Bhardhwaja* was a celebrated founder of a sect in the early ages.

² *Gūr* is an epithet applied to Vrishpati, "Lord of the Bull," the Indian Jupiter, who is called the *Gūr*, preceptor or guardian of the gods.

his saffron robe in the red-stained field." Had Damodra been captured on one of these occasions by any marauding Pat'han, and incarcerated, as he assuredly would have been, for ransom, the marauder might have replied to the Rana, as did the Plantagenet king to the Pope, when the surrender of the captive church-militant bishop was demanded, "Is this thy son Joseph's coat?" But, notwithstanding this display of martial principle, which covered with a helmet the shaven crown, his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable, and he furnishes a striking contrast to the late head of the Vishnu establishments in Marwar, who commenced with the care of his master's conscience, and ended with that of the state; meek and unassuming till he added temporal¹ to spiritual power, which developed unlimited pride, with all the qualities that too often wait on "a little brief authority," and to the display of which he fell a victim. Damodra,² similarly circumstanced, might have evinced the same failings, and have met the same end; but though endeavours were made to give him political influence at the Rana's court, yet, partly from his own good sense, and partly through the dissuasion of the Nestor of Kotah (Zalim Sing), he was not entrained in the vortex of its intrigues, which must have involved the sacrifice of wealth and the proper dignity of his station.

APPENDIX

No. I.

Grant of the Rahtore Rant, the Queen-Mother of Oodipoor, on the death of her Son, the Heir-Apparent, Prince Umra.

Sid Sri Burra³ Rahtor-ji to the Patéls and inhabitants of Giroh. The four *bighas* of land, belonging to the Jat Rogga, have been assigned to the Brahmin Kishna on the *Anta Samya* (final epoch) of *Lalji*.⁴ *Let him possess*

¹ The high priest of Jalindra-nath used to appear at the head of a cavalcade far more numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar. A sketch of this personage will appear elsewhere. These Brahmins were not a jot behind the ecclesiastical lords of the Middle Ages, who are thus characterised: "Les seigneurs ecclésiastiques, malgré l'humilité chrétienne, ne se sont pas montrés moins orgueilleux que les nobles laïcs: Le doyen du chapitre de Notre Dame du Port, à Clermont, pour montrer sa grande noblesse, officiait avec toute la pompe féodale. Etant à l'autel, il avait l'oiseau sur la perche gauche, et on portait devant lui la hallebarde; on la lui portait aussi de la même manière pendant qu'on chantait l'évangile, et aux processions il avait lui-même l'oiseau sur le poing, et il marchait à la tête de ses serviteurs, menant ses chiens de chasse."—*Dict. de l'Anc. Régime*, p. 380.

² The first letter I received on reaching England after my long residence in India was from this priest, filled with anxious expressions for my health, and speedy return to protect the lands and sacred kine of Apollo.

³ The great Rahtore queen. There were two of this tribe; she was the queen-mother.

⁴ An endearing epithet, applied to children, from *larla*, beloved.

the rents thereof.¹ The dues for wood and forage (*khur lākur*) contributions (*buyar*) are renounced by the state in favour of the Brahmins.

Samvat 1875, *Amavasya* 15th of *Asoj*, A.D. 1819.

No. II.

Grant held by a Brahmin of Birkhairah.

"A Brahmin's orphan was compelled by hunger to seek sustenance in driving an oil-mill; instead of oil the receptacle was filled with blood. The frightened oilman demanded of the child who he was; 'A Brahmin's orphan,' was the reply. Alarmed at the enormity of his guilt in thus employing the son of a priest, he covered the palm of his hand with earth, in which he sowed the tilasi seed, and went on a pilgrimage to Dwarica. He demanded the presence (*darsana*) of the god; the priests pointed to the ocean, when he plunged in, and had an interview with Dwarica Nath, who presented him with a written order on the *Rana* for forty-five *bigahs* of land. He returned and threw the writing before the *Rana*, on the steps of the temple of Juggernath. The *Rana* read the writing of the god, placed it on his head, and immediately made out the grant. This is three hundred and fifty years ago, as recorded by an inscription on stone, and his descendant, Koshala, yet enjoys it."

(A true Translation.)

J. Tod.

No. III.

The Palode inscription is unfortunately mislaid; but in searching for it, another was discovered from Unair, four miles south-west of the ancient Morwan, where there is a temple to the four-armed divinity (Chathurbhuj), endowed in *Samvat* 1570, by *Rana* Juggut Sing.

On one of the pillars of the temple is inscribed a voluntary gift made in *Samvat* 1845, and signed by the village *Panch*, of the first-fruits of the harvest, namely, two *seers* and a-half (five pounds weight) from each *khal*² of the spring, and the same of the autumnal harvests.

No. IV.

Sri Umra Sing (II.) etc., etc.

Whereas the shrine of Sri Pratap-Iswara (*the God of Fortune*) has been erected in the meadows of Rasmi, all the groves and trees are sacred to

¹ It is customary to call these grants to religious orders "grants of land," although they entitle only the rents thereof; for there is no *seizin* of the land itself, as numerous inscriptions testify, and which, as well as the present, prove the proprietary right to be in the cultivator only. The *tamba-patta*,¹ or copper-plate *patent* (by which such grants are properly designated) of Yasovarman, the *Pramara* prince of Oojein, seven hundred years ago, is good evidence that the rents only are granted; he commands the crown tenants of the two villages assigned to the temple "to pay all dues as they arise—money-rent—first share of produce," not a word of *seizin* of the soil.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

² A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about five maunds.

¹ To distinguish them from grants of land to *feudal tenants*, which patents (*patta*) are manuscript.

him; whoever cuts down any of them is an offender to the state, and shall pay a fine of three hundred rupees, and the *ass*¹ shall be the portion of the officers of government who suffer it.

Pos. 14, *Samvat* 1712 (A.D. 1656).

No. V.

Mahrana Sri Raj Sing, commanding.

To the Nobles, Ministers, *Patéls*,² *Pulwaris*,² of the ten thousand [villages] of Mēwar (*dossehés Mēwar-ra*), according to your stations—read!

1. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the *Jains* have been authorised; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter—this is their ancient privilege.

2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amra*).³

3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*sirna*) to the dwellings (*upasrá*)⁴ of the *Yatis*,⁵ shall not there be seized by the servants of the court.

4. The *kuncht*⁶ (handful) at harvest, the *múti* (handful) of *keranoh*, the charity lands (*dohi*), grounds, and houses, established by them in the various towns, shall be maintained.

5. This ordinance is issued in consequence of the representation of the *Ric*⁷ Manoh, to whom is granted fifteen *bigahs* of *adhán*⁸ land, and twenty-five of *malaiti*.⁹ The same quantity of each kind in each of the districts of Nimutch and Nimbahaira.—Total in three districts, forty-five *bigahs* of *adhán*, and seventy-five of *mal*.⁹

On seeing this ordinance, let the land be measured and assigned, and let none molest the *Yatis*, but foster their privileges: Cursed be he who infringes them—the cow to the Hindu—the hog and corpse to the Musulman.

(By command)

Samvat 1749, *Mahsud* 5th, A.D. 1693.

SAH DYAL (Minister).

No. VI.

Maharaja Chuttur Sing (one of the Rana's sons), commanding.

In the town of Rasmi, whoever slays sheep, buffaloes, goats, or other living thing, is a criminal to the state; his house, cattle, and effects shall be forfeited, and himself expelled the village.

(By command)

Pos Sud 14, *Samvat* 1705, A.D. 1649.

The Pancholi DUMICA DAS.

¹ The *gadda-ghál* is a punishment unknown in any but the Hindu code; the hieroglyphic import appears on the pillar, and must be seen to be understood.

² Revenue officers.

³ Literally 'immortal,' from *mura*, 'death,' and the privative prefix.

⁴ Schools or colleges of the *Yatis*.

⁵ Priests of the *Jains*.

⁶ *Kuncht* and *múti* are both a 'handful'; the first is applied to grain in the stalk at harvest time; the other to such edibles in merchandise as sugar, raisins, etc., collectively termed *keranoh*.

⁷ *Ric* is an ancient title applied to the highest class of priests; *Ric-Ricsa-Ric-iswára*, applied to royalty in old times.

⁸ *Adhán* is the richest land, lying under the protection of the town walls; *mal* or *malaiti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

⁹ In all a hundred and twenty *bigahs*, or about forty acres.

No. VII.

Mahrana Jey Sing to the inhabitants of Bakrole; printers, potters, oilmen, etc., etc., commanding.

From the 11th *Asar* (June) to the full moon of *Asoj* (September), none shall drain the waters of the lake; no oil-mill shall work, or earthen vessel be made, during these the four rainy months.

No. VIII.

Mahrana Sri Juggut Sing II., commanding

The village of *Siarh* in the hills, of one thousand rupees yearly rent, having been chosen by *Nat'h-ji* (*the God*) for his residence, and given up by *Rinna Raghudé*,¹ I have confirmed it. The *Gosaén*² and his heirs shall enjoy it for ever.

Samvat 1793, A.D. 1737.

No. IX.

Sid Sri Mahraja Dheraj, Mahrana Sri Bhím Sing-ji, commanding.

The undermentioned towns and villages were presented to *Sri-ji*³ by copper-plate. The revenues (*hasil*),⁴ contributions (*burar*), taxes, dues (*lagut-bé-lagut*), trees, shrubs, foundations and boundaries (*ním sím*), shall all belong to *Sri-ji*. If of my seed, none will ever dispute this.

The ancient copper-plate being lost, I have thus renewed it.

Here follows a list of *thirty-four* entire towns and villages, many from the fisc, or confirmations of the grants of the chiefs, besides various parcels of arable land, from twenty to one hundred and fifty *bígahs*, in forty-six more villages, from chiefs of every class, and patches of meadow-land (*bíra*) in twenty more.

No. X.

Sri Mahrana Bhíma Sing-ji, commanding.

To the towns of *Sri-ji*, or to the [*personal*] lands of the *Gosaén-ji*,⁵ no molestation shall be offered. No warrants or exactions shall be issued

¹ The chief of *Délwara*.

² There are other grants later than this, which prove that all grants were renewed in every new reign. This grant also proves that no chief has the power to alienate without his sovereign's sanction.

³ Epithet indicative of the greatness of the deity.

⁴ Here is another proof that the sovereign can only alienate the revenues (*hasil*); and though everything upon and about the grant, yet *not the soil*. The *nám-sím* is almost as powerful an expression as the old grant to the *Rawdons*—

vol. i. p. 223.

⁵ A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about *five māunas*.

¹ To distinguish them from grants of land to *feudal tenants*, which patents (*putta*) are manuscript.

or levied upon them. All complaints, suits, or matters, in which justice is required, originating in Nat'hdwara, shall be settled there; none shall interfere therein, and the decisions of the *Gosaén-ji* I shall invariably confirm. The town and transit duties¹ (of Nat'hdwara and villages pertaining thereto), the assay (*purkhaye*)¹ fees from the public markets, duties on precious metals (*kasoti*),¹ all brokerage (*dulali*), and dues collected at the four gates; all contributions and taxes of whatever kind, are presented as an offering to Sri-ji; let the income thereof be placed in Sri-ji's coffers.

All the products of foreign countries imported by the *Vaishnuvas*,² whether domestic or foreign, and intended for consumption at Nat'hdwara,³ shall be exempt from duties. The right of sanctuary (*sirna*) of Sri-ji, both in the town and in all his other villages,⁴ will be maintained: the Almighty will take cognisance of any innovation. Wherefore, let all chiefs, farmers of duties, beware of molesting the goods of Nat'h-ji (*the* god), and wherever such may halt, let guards be provided for their security, and let each chief convey them through his bounds in safety. If of my blood, or if my servants, this warrant will be obeyed for ever and for ever. Whoever resumes this grant will be a caterpillar in hell during 60,000 years.

By command—through the chief butler (*Panairi*) Eklingdas: written by Surut Sing, son of Nat'hji Pancholi, *Mah-sud* 1st, *Samvat* 1865; A.D. 1809.

No. XI.

Personal grant to the high-priest, Damodurji Mahraj.

Swesta Sri, from the abode at Udyapúr, Mahrana Sri Bhím Sing-ji, commanding.

To all the chieftains, landholders, managers of the crown and *dori*⁵ lands, to all *Patéls*, etc., etc., etc. As an offering to the *Sri Gosaén-ji* two rupees have been granted in every village throughout *Méwar*, one in each harvest—let no opposition be made thereto. If of my kin or issue, none will revoke this—the *án* (oath of allegiance) be upon his head. By command, through Purihara Myaram, *Samvat* 1860, *Jaet sud* 5th *Munigulwar*; A.D. 1804.

At one side of the patent, in the Rana's own hand, "An offering to Sri Girdhari-ji⁶ Mahraj—If of my issue none will disobey—who dares, may the Almighty punish!"

¹ All these are royalties, and the Rana was much blamed, even by his *Vishnuva* ministers, for sacrificing them even to Kaniya.

² Followers of Vishnu, Crishna, or Kaniya, chiefly mercantile.

³ Many merchants, by the connivance of the conductors of the caravans of Nat'h-ji's goods, contrived to smuggle their goods to Nat'hdwara, and to the disgrace of the high priest or his underlings, this traffic was sold for their personal advantage. It was a delicate thing to search these caravans, or to prevent the loss to the state from the evasion of the duties. The Rana durst not interfere lest he might incur the penalty. The author's influence with the high priest was applied to the highest class of priests; and the same was applied to royalty in old times.

⁴ *Adhán* is the richest land, lying under the protection of the town walls; *mal* or *malaiti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

⁵ In all a hundred and twenty *bíghas*, or about forty acres.

Mahrana Bhīm Sing, commanding.

To the Mindra (*minister*) of Sri Murli Munohur (*flute delighting*), situated on the dam of the lake at Mandelgurrh, the following grant has been made, with all the dues, income, and privileges, viz. :

1. The hamlet called Kotwal-khéra, with all thereto appertaining.
2. Three rupees worth of saffron monthly from the transit duty *chābūtra*.
3. From the police-office of Mandelgurrh :
Three tunics (*bagha*) for the idol on each festival, viz. *Ushtumi*, *Jul-jatra*, and *Vassunt Panchama*.
Five rupees worth of oil ¹ on the *Jul-jatra*, and two and a half in the full moon of *Kartik*.
4. Both gardens under the dam of the lake, with all the fruits and flowers thereof.
5. The *Inch* ² on all the vegetables appertaining to the prince.
6. *Kūncht* and *dalali*, or the handful at harvest, and all brokerage.
7. The income arising from the sale of the estates is to be applied to the repairs of the temple and dam.

Megsir Sud 1, *Samvat* 1866 ; A.D. 1810.

CHAPTER XXI

Importance of mythological history—Aboriginal tribes of India—The Rajpoots are conquerors—Solar year of the Hindus—Opened at the winter solstice—The Vassant, or spring festival—Birth of the Sun—Common origin assumed of the Rajpoots and Getic tribe of Scandinavia—Surya, the sun-god of all nations, Thor, Syrus, Sol—Sun-worship—The Ahairea, or spring-hunt, described—Boar-feast—Phalgun festival—The Rajpoot Saturnalia—Games on horseback—Rites to the Manes—Festival of Sītla as guardian of children—Rana's birthday—Phūladōla, the Rajpoot Floralia—Festival of Gouri—Compared with the Diana of Egypt—The Isis or Ertha of the Suevi—And the Phrygian Cybele—Anniversary of Rama—Fête of Camdéva or Cupid—Little Gangore—Inundation of the capital—Festival of Rembha or Venus—Rajpoot and Druidic rites—Their analogy—Serpent worship—*Rakhi*, or Festival of the bracelet.

It has been observed by that philosophical traveller, Dr. Clarke, that, "by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors, with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language ; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change." ³ Impressed with the justness, as well as the originality of the remark, I shall adopt it as my guide in the observations I propose to make on the religious festivals and superstitions of Méwar. However important may be the study of military,

¹ Amongst the items of the Chartulary of Dumfermline, is the tithe of the oil of the Greenland whale fisheries.

² A handful of every basket of vegetables sold in the public markets.

³ *Travels in Scandinavia*, vol. i. p. 33.

civil, and political history, the science is incomplete without mythological history ; and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy, who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination. Did no other consequence result from the study of mythology, than the fact, that, in all ages and countries, man has desecrated his reason, and voluntarily reduced himself below the level of the brutes that perish, it must provoke inquiry into the cause of this degradation. Such an investigation would develop, not only the source of history, the handmaid of the arts of sciences, but the origin and application of the latter, in a theogony typical of the seasons, their changes, and products. Thus mythology may be considered the parent of all history.

With regard, however, to the rude tribes who still inhabit the mountains and fastnesses of India, and who may be regarded as the aborigines of that country, the converse of this doctrine is more probable. Not their language only, but their superstitions, differ from those of the Rajpoots : though, from a desire to rise above their natural condition, they have engrafted upon their own the most popular mythologies of their civilised conquerors, who from the north gradually spread themselves over the continent and peninsula, even to the remote isles of the Indian ocean. Of the primitive inhabitants we may enumerate the Meenas, the Méras, the Goands, the Bhils, the Séryas, the Sarjas, the Ahiras, the Goojurs, and those who inhabit the forests of the Nerbudda, the Sone, the Mahanadi, the mountains of Sargooja, and the lesser Nagpore ; many of whom are still but little removed from savage life, and whose dialects are as various as their manners. These are content to be called the 'sons of the earth,'¹ or 'children of the forest,'² while their conquerors, the Rajpoots, arrogate celestial descent.³ How soon after the flood the Suryas, or sun-worshippers, entered India Proper, must ever remain uncertain. It is sufficient that they were anterior in date to the Indus, or races tracing their descent from the moon (*Ind*) ; as the migration of the latter from the central lands of Indo-Scythia was antecedent to that of the Agnicûlas, or fire-worshippers, of the Snake race, claiming Takshac as their original progenitor. The Suryas,⁴ who migrated both to the East and West, as population became redundant in these fertile regions, may be considered the *Celtic*, as the Indu-Getæ may be accounted the *Gothic*, races of India. To attempt to discriminate these different races, and mark the shades which once separated them, after a system of priestcraft has amalgamated the mass, and identified their superstitions, would be fruitless ; but the observer of ancient customs may, with the imperfect guidance of peculiar rites, discover things, and even names, totally incongruous with the Brahminical system, and which could never have originated within the Indus or Uttuc,—the Rubicon of Gangetic antiquarians, who fear to look beyond that stream for the origin of tribes.

¹ *Bhomapûtra*.

² *Venapûtra*.

³ *Sûryás and Indupûtrás*.

⁴ The Sauromatia, or Sarmatians of early Europe, as well as the Syrians, were most probably colonies of the same Sûryavansi, who simultaneously peopled the shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean, and the banks of the Indus and Ganges. Many of the tribes described by Strabo as dwelling around the Caspian, are enumerated amongst the thirty-six royal races of India. One of these, the *Sacasesi*, supposed to be the ancestors of our own Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia, adjoining Albania.

A residence amongst the Rajpoots would lead to a disregard of such boundaries, either to the moral or physical man, as the annals of Méwar abundantly testify.

Sir Wm. Jones remarks, "If the festivals of the old Greeks, Persians, Romans, Egyptians, and Goths could be arranged with exactness in the same form with the Indian, there would be found a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all might throw great light on the religion, and perhaps on the history, of the primitive world."

In treating of the festivals and superstitions of the Rajpoots, wherever there may appear to be a fair ground for supposing an analogy with those of other nations of antiquity, I shall not hesitate to pursue it. The proper names of many of the martial Rajpoots would alone point out the necessity of seeking for a solution of them out of the explored paths; and where Sanscrit derivation cannot be assigned, as it happens in many instances, we are not, therefore, warranted in the hasty conclusion that the names must have been adopted since the conquests of Mahmoud or Shabudín, events of comparatively modern date. Let us at once admit the hypothesis of Pinkerton,—the establishment of an original Indu-Getic or Indo-Scythic empire, "extending from the Caspian to the Ganges"; or if this conjecture be too extensive or too vague, let us fix the centre of this *Media-Bhúmi* in the fertile region of Sogdiana;¹ and from the lights which modern history affords on the many migrations from this nursery of mankind, even since the time of Mahomed, let us form an opinion of those which have not been recorded, or have been conveyed by the Hindus only in imperfect allegory; and with the aid of ancient customs, obsolete words, and proper names, trace them to Indo-Scythic colonies grafted on the parent stock. The *Poorans* themselves bear testimony to the incorporation of Scythic tribes with the Hindus, and to the continual irruptions of the Sacæ, the Pelavi, the Yavans,² the Túrshkas, names conspicuous amongst the races of Central Asia, and recorded in the pages of the earliest Western historians. Even so early as the period of Rama, when furious international wars were carried on between the military and sacerdotal classes for supremacy, we have the names of these tribes recorded as auxiliaries to the priesthood; who, while admitting them to fight under the banners of Síva, would not scruple to stamp them with the seal of Hinduism. In this manner, beyond a doubt, at a much later period than the events in the *Ramayana*, these tribes from the North either forced themselves among, or were incorporated with, 'the races of the sun.' When, therefore, we meet

¹ Long after the overthrow of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by the Yuti or Getes, this region was populous and flourishing. In the year 120 before Christ, De Guignes says: "Dans ce pays on trouvait d'excellens grains, du vin de vigne, plus de cent villes, tant grandes que petites. Il est aussi fait mention du Tahia situé au midi du Gihon, et où il y a de grandes villes murées. Le général Chinois y vit des toiles de l'Inde et autres marchandises, etc., etc."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns*, vol. i. p. 51.

² Yavan or Javan is a celebrated link of the Indu (*lunar*) genealogical chain; nor need we go to Ionia for it, though the Ionians may be a colony descended from Javan, the ninth from Yayat, who was the third son of Ayú, the ancestor of the Hindu as well as of the Tatar Indu-vansi. The *Asuras*, who are so often described as invaders of India, and which word has ordinarily a mere irreligious acceptation, I firmly believe to mean the Assyrians.

with rites in Rajpootana and in ancient Scandinavia, such as were practised amongst the Getic nations on the Oxus, why should we hesitate to assign the origin of both to this region of earliest civilisation? When we see the ancient Asi, and the Yeuts, or Juts, taking omens from the white steed of Thor, shut up in the temple at Upsala; and in like manner, the Rajpoot of past days offering the same animal in sacrifice to the sun, and his modern descendant taking the omen from his neigh, why are we to refuse our assent to the common origin of the superstition practised by the Gete of the Oxus? Again, when we find the "homage to the sword" performed by all the Getic races of antiquity in Dacia, on the Baltic, as well as by the modern Rajpoot, shall we draw no conclusion from this testimony of the father of history, who declares that such rites were practised on the Jaxartes in the very dawn of knowledge? Moreover, why hesitate to give Eastern etymologies for Eastern rites, though found on the Baltic? The antiquarian of the North (Mallet) may thus be assisted to the etymon of '*Tir-sing*,' the enchanted sword of Angantyr, in *tir*, 'water,' and *sing*, 'a lion'; i.e. in water or spirit like a lion; for even *pani*, the common epithet for water, is applied metaphorically to 'spirit.'

It would be less difficult to find Sanscrit derivations for many of the proper names in the *Edda*, than to give a Sanscrit analysis of many common amongst the Rajpoots, which we must trace to an Indo-Scythic root:¹ such as Eyvorsél, Udila, Attitai, Pújoon, Hamira,² and numerous other proper names of warriors. Of tribes: the Cat'hi, Rajpali, Mohila, Sariaspah, Aswaria (*qu.* Assyrian?), Bináfur, Camari, Silara, Dahima, etc. Of mountains: Drúnádhâr, Arabûdha, Aravulli, Aravind'-ha (the root *ara*, or mountain, being Scythic, and the expletive adjunct Sanscrit), 'the hill of Budha,' 'of strength,' 'of limit.' To all such as cannot be resolved into the cognate language of India, what origin can we assign but Scythic?³

In a memoir prepared for me by a well-informed public officer in the

¹ See Turner's *History of Anglo-Saxons* for Indo-Scythic words.

² There were no less than four distinguished leaders of this name amongst the vassals of the last Rajpoot emperor of Dehli; and one of them, who turned traitor to his sovereign and joined Shabudîn, was actually a Scythian, and of the Ghiker race, which maintained their ancient habits of polyandrisim even in Baber's time. The *Haoli Rao* Hamfra was lord of Kangra and the Ghikers of Pamer.

³ Turner, when discussing the history of the *Sakai*, or *Sacaseni*, of the Caspian, whom he justly supposes to be the Saxons of the Baltic, takes occasion to introduce some words of Scythic origin (preserved by ancient writers), to almost every one of which, without straining etymology, we may give a Sanscrit origin.

| | Scythic. | Sanskrit, or Bakha. |
|-----------|--------------------------|---|
| Exampaïos | sacred ways | <i>Agham</i> is the sacred book; <i>pâi</i> and <i>pâda</i> , a foot; <i>pante</i> , a path. |
| Arimu | one | <i>Ad</i> is the first; whence <i>Adima</i> , or man. |
| Spou | an eye. | |
| Oior | a man. | |
| Pata | to kill | <i>Badha</i> , to kill. |
| Tahiti | the chief deity is Vesta | <i>Tâpi</i> is heat or flame; the type of Vesta. |
| Papaïos | „ Jupiter | <i>Baba</i> , or <i>Bapâ</i> , the universal father. The Hindu <i>Jîva-pitri</i> , or <i>Father of Life</i> . |

Rana's court, on the chief festivals celebrated in Méwar, he commenced with those following the autumnal equinox, in the month Asoj or Aswini, opening with the *Noratri*, sacred to the god of war. Their fasts are in general regulated by the moon; although the most remarkable are solar, especially those of the equinoxes and solstices, and the *Sancrantis*, or days on which the sun enters a new sign. The Hindu solar year anciently commenced on the winter solstice, in the month Posha, and was emphatically called "the morning of the gods"; also Sivrát, or night of Síva, analogous, as has been before remarked, to the 'mother night,' which ushered in the new year of the Scandinavian Asi, and other nations of Asiatic origin dwelling in the north.

They term the summer solstice in the month of Asar, 'the night of the Gods,' because Vishnu (as the sun) reposes during the four rainy months on his serpent couch. The lunar year of 360 days was more ancient than the solar, and commenced with the month of Asoj or Aswini: "the moon being at the full when that name was imposed on the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliptic."¹

According to another authority, the festivals commenced on Amavus, or the '*ides*' of Cheyt, near which the vernal equinox falls, the opening of the modern solar year; when, in like manner as at the commencement of the lunar year in Asoj, they dedicate the first nine days of Cheyt (also called *Noratri*) to Iswara and his consort Isa.

Having thus specified both modes of reckoning for the opening of the solar and lunar years, I shall not commence the abstract of the festivals of Méwar with either, but follow the more ancient division of time, when the year closed with the winter solstice in the month of Posh, consequently opening the new year with Magh. By this arrangement, we shall commence with the spring festivals, and let the days dedicated to mirth and gaiety follow each other; preferring the natural to the astrological year, which will enable us to preserve the analogy with the northern nations of Europe, who also reckoned from the winter solstice. The Hindu divides the year into six seasons, each of two months; namely, Vassanta, Greeshma, Varsha, Sharati, Shishíra, Sheeta; or spring, summer, rainy, sultry, dewy, and cold.

It is not, however, my intention to detail all the fasts and festivals which the Rajpoot of Méwar holds in common with the Hindu nation,

| | Scythic. | | Sanscrit, or Bakha. |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Oitosuros . . . | the chief deity is Apollo | Aitiswara, or | <i>Sun-God</i> , applicable to Vishnu, who has every attribute of Apollo; from all contraction of <i>aditya</i> , the sun. |
| Artimpasa, or Aripasa . . . | „ | Venus | Apsára, because born from the froth or essence, ' <i>sara</i> ,' of the waters, ' <i>ap</i> .' |
| Thamimasadus . . . | „ | Neptune | Thoéna'tha; or <i>God of the Waters</i> . |
| Apia . . . | wife of Papaíos, or Earth | Ambá, Amá, Omia, is the | <i>universal mother</i> ; wife of "Baba Adam," as they term the universal father. |

—See Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 35.

¹ Sir W. Jones, 'On the Lunar Year of the Hindus,' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 257.

but chiefly those restricted to that state, or such as are celebrated with local peculiarity, or striking analogies to those of Egypt, Greece, or Scandinavia. The goddess who presides over mirth and idleness, preferred holding her court amidst the ruins of Oodipoor, to searching elsewhere for a dwelling. This determination to be happy amidst calamity, individual and national, has made the court proverbial in Rajwarra, in the adage, "*sa'h bāra, aur no takwara*," i.e. *nine* holidays out of *seven* days. Although many of these festivals are common to India, and their maintenance is enjoined by religion, yet not only the prolongation and repetition of some, but the entire institution of others, as well as the peculiar splendour of their solemnisation, originate with the prince; proving how much individual example may influence the manners of a nation.

By the arrangement we have adopted, the lovely VASSANTI, goddess of the spring, will usher in the festivals of Méwar. In 1819 her rites were celebrated in the kalends of January, and even then, on the verge of the tropic, her birth was premature.

The opening of the spring being on the 5th of the month Magha, is thence called the Vassant *panchami*, which in 1819 fell on the 30th of January; consequently the first of Posh (the antecedent month), the beginning of the old Hindu year, or "*the morning of the gods*," fell on the 25th of December. The Vassant continues forty days after the *panchami*, or initiative fifth, during which the utmost license prevails in action and in speech; the lower classes regale even to intoxication on every kind of stimulating confection and spirituous beverage, and the most respectable individuals, who would at other times be shocked to utter an indelicate allusion, roam about with the groups of bacchanals, reciting stanzas of the warmest description in praise of the powers of nature, as did the conscript fathers of Rome during the Saturnalia. In this season, when the barriers of rank are thrown down, and the spirit of democracy is let loose, though never abused, even the wild Bhil, or savage Mēr, will leave his forest or mountain shade to mingle in the revelries of the capital; and decorating his ebon hair or tattered turban with a garland of jessamine, will join the clamorous parties which perambulate the streets of the capital. These orgies are, however, reserved for the conclusion for the forty days sacred to the goddess of nature.

Two days following the initiative fifth, is the *bhān septimi* or 'seventh [day] of the sun,' also called 'the birth of the sun,' with various other metaphorical denominations.¹ On this day there is a grand procession of the Rana, his chiefs and vassals, to the Chougan, where the sun is worshipped. At the Jeipoor court, whose princes claim descent from CUSH, the second son of RAMA, the *bhān septimi* is peculiarly sacred. The chariot of the sun, drawn by eight horses, is taken from the temple dedicated to that orb, and moves in procession: a ceremony otherwise never observed but on the inauguration of a new prince.

In the mythology of the Rajpoots, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmins, the sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitiate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle, from the hope of being received

¹ *Bhāscara septimi*, in honour of the sun, as a form of Vishnu.—*Varaha Pūrāna*. *Macari*, from the sun entering the constellation *Macara* (Pisces), the first of the solar Māgha.—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 273.

into his mansion. Their highest heaven is accordingly the *Bhan-t'han* or *Bhánuloca*, the 'region of the sun': and like the Indu-Scythic Gete, the Rajpoot warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour,¹ and dedicated to him the first day of the week, namely, *Aditwár*, contracted to *Aitwar*, also called T'hawara.²

The more we attend to the warlike mythology of the north, the more apparent is its analogy with that of the Rajpoots, and the stronger ground is there for assuming that both races inherited their creed from the common land of the *Yuti* of the Jaxartes. What is a more proper etymon for Scandinavian, the abode of the warriors who destroyed the Roman power, than *Scanda*, the Mars or Ku-mara of the Rajpoots? perhaps the origin of the *Kimbri*, derived by Mallet from *Kæmpfer*, 'to fight.'

Thor, in the eleventh fable of the *Edda*, is denominated Asa-Thor,³ the 'lord Thor,' called the Celtic Mars by the Romans. The chariot of Thor is ignobly yoked compared with the car of Surya; but in the substitution of the *he-goats* for the seven-headed horse *Septaswa*, we have but the change of an adjunct depending on clime, when the *Yuti* migrated from the plains of Scythia, of which the horse is a native, to *Yulland*, of whose mountains the goat was an inhabitant prior to any of the race of *Asi*. The northern warrior makes the palace of the sun-god Thor the most splendid of the celestial abodes, "in which are five hundred and forty halls": vying with the *Surya-Mandala*, the supreme heaven of the Rajpoot. Whence such notions of the *Aswa* races of the Ganges, and the *Asi* of Scandinavia, but from the Scythic *Sacæ*, who adored the solar divinity under the name of "*Gæto-Syrus*,"⁴ the *Surya* of the *Sacha* Rajpoot; and as, according to the commentator on the *Edda*, "the ancient people of the north pronounced the *th* as the English now do *ss*," the sun-god *Thor* becomes *Sor*, and is identified still more with *Surya* whose worship no doubt gave the name to that extensive portion of Asia called *Συρία*, as it did to the small peninsula of the *Sauras*, still peopled by tribes of Scythic origin. The *Sol* of the Romans has probably the same Celto-Etrurian origin; with those tribes the sun was the great object of adoration, and their grand festival, the winter solstice, was called *Yule*, *Híul*, *Houl*, "which even at this day signifies the SUN, in the language of Bas-Bretagne and Cornwall."⁵ On the conversion of the descendants of these Scythic Yeuts, who, according to Herodotus, sacrificed the horse (*Hî*) to the sun (*El*), the name of the Pagan jubilee of the solstice was transferred to the day of Christ's nativity, which is thus still held in remembrance by their descendants of the north.

At Oodipoor the sun has universal precedence; his portal (*Surya-pol*)

¹ See p. 63.

² This word appears to have the same import as Thor, the sun-god and war divinity of the Scandinavians.

³ Odin is also called *As* or 'lord'; the Gauls also called him *Œs* or *Es*, and with a Latin termination *Hesus*, whom Lucan calls *Esus*; *Edda*, vol. ii. pp. 45-6. The celebrated translator of these invaluable remnants of ancient superstitions, by which alone light can be thrown on the origin of nations, observes that *Es* or *Œs* is the name for *God* with all the Celtic races. So it was with the Tuscans, doubtless from the Sanscrit, or rather from a more provincial tongue, the common contraction of *Eswâr*, the Egyptian *Osiris*, the Persian *Syr*, the sun-god.

⁴ Which Mallet, from Hesychius, interprets 'good star.'

⁵ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 42.

is the chief entrance to the city ; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (*Surya-mahal*) of the palace ; and from the balcony of the sun (*Surya-gokra*) the descendant of Rama shows himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changi*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed *kirnia*, in allusion to its shape, like a ray (*carna*) of the orb. The last day but one of the month of Magha is called *Sivrat* (night of Siva), and is held peculiarly sacred by the Rana, who is styled the Regent of Siva. It is a rigid fast, and the night is passed in vigils, and rites to the phallic representative of Siva.

The merry month of Phalgun is ushered in with the *Ahaira*, or spring-hunt.¹ The preceding day the Rana distributes to all his chiefs and servants either a dress of green, or some portion thereof, in which all appear habited on the morrow, whenever the astrologer has fixed the hour for sallying forth to slay the boar to *Gouri*, the Ceres of the Rajpoots : the *Ahaira* is therefore called the *Muhoorut ca sihar*, or the chase fixed astrologically. As their success on this occasion is ominous of future good, no means are neglected to secure it, either by scouts previously discovering the lair, or the desperate efforts of the hunters to slay the boar when roused. With the sovereign and his sons all the chiefs sally forth, each on his best steed, and all animated by the desire to surpass each other in acts of prowess and dexterity. It is very rare that in some one of the passes or recesses of the valley the hog is not found ; the spot is then surrounded by the hunters, whose vociferations soon start the *d'hokra*,² and frequently a drove of hogs. Then each cavalier impels his steed, and with lance or sword, regardless of rock, ravine, or tree, presses on the bristly foe, whose knowledge of the country is of no avail when thus circumvented, and the ground soon reeks with gore, in which not unfrequently is mixed that of horse or rider. On the last occasion, there occurred fewer casualties than usual ; though the Chondawut Hamira, whom we nicknamed the "*Red Riever*," had his leg broken, and the second son of Sheodan Sing, a near relation of the Rana, had his neighbour's lance driven through his arm. The young chief of Saloombra was amongst the distinguished of this day's sport. It would appal even an English fox-hunter to see the Rajpoot driving their steeds at full speed, bounding like the antelope over every barrier,—the thick jungle covert, or rocky steep bare of soil or vegetation, —with their lances balanced in the air, or leaning on the saddle-bow slashing at the boar.

The royal kitchen moves out on this occasion, and in some chosen spot

¹ In his delight for this diversion, the Rajpoot evinces his Scythic propensity. The grand hunts of the last Chohan emperor often led him into warfare, for Pirthi Raj was a *poacher* of the first magnitude, and one of his battles with the Tatars was while engaged in field sports on the *Ravf*.

The heir of Gengis Khan was chief huntsman, the highest office of the state amongst the Scythic Tatars ; as Ajānbahu, alike celebrated in either field, of war and sport, was chief huntsman to the Chohan emperor of Dehli, whose bard enters minutely into the subject, describing all the variety of dogs of chase.

² A hog in Hindué ; in Persian *hooq*, nearly our *hog*.

the repast is prepared, of which all partake, for the hog is the favourite food of the Rajpoot, as it was of the heroes of Scandinavia. Nor is the *munwâr pidla*, or invitation cup, forgotten; and having feasted, and thrice slain their bristly antagonist, they return to the capital, where fame had already spread their exploits,—the deeds done by the *birchi* (lance) of Pudma,¹ or the *khanda* (sword) blow of Hamîra,² which lopped the head of the foe of Gouri. Even this martial amusement, the *Ahairca*, has a religious origin. The boar is the enemy of Gouri of the Rajpoots; it was so held of Isis by the Egyptians, of Ceres by the Greeks, of Freya by the north-man, whose favourite food was the hog; and of such importance was it deemed by the Franks, that the second chapter of the Salic law is entirely penal with regard to the stealers of swine. The heroes of the *Edda*, even in Valhalla, feed on the fat of the wild boar *Serimner*, while "the illustrious father of armies fattens his wolves *Geri* and *Freki*, and takes no other nourishment himself than the interrupted quaffing of wine": quite the picture of Hur, the Rajpoot god of war, and his sons the Bhyrûs, Gora, and Kala, metaphorically called the "*sons of slaughter*." We need hardly repeat that the cup of the Scandinavian god of war, like that of the Rajpoots, is the human skull (*cupra*).

As Phalgun advances, the bacchanalian mirth increases; groups are continually patrolling the streets, throwing a crimson powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, so that the garments and visages of all are one mass of crimson. On the 8th, emphatically called the *Phâg*, the Rana joins the queens and their attendants in the palace, when all restraint is removed and mirth is unlimited. But the most brilliant sight is the playing of the *holl* on horseback, on the terrace in front of the palace. Each chief who chooses to join has a plentiful supply of missiles, formed of thin plates of mica or talc, enclosing this crimson powder, called *abtra*, which with the most graceful and dextrous horsemanship they dart at each other, pursuing, caprioling, and jesting. This part of it much resembles the Saturnalia of Rome of this day, when similar missiles are scattered at the *Carnivâle*. The last day or *Poonum* ends the *holl*, when the Nakarras from the *Tripolia* summon all the chiefs with their retinues to attend their prince, and accompany him in procession to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of this is a long *sala* or hall, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps: the roof is supported by square columns without any walls, so that the court is entirely open. Here, surrounded by his chiefs, the Rana passes an hour, listening to the songs in praise of *Holika*, while a scurrilous *cavya* or couplet from some wag in the crowd reminds him, that exalted rank is no protection against the license of the spring Saturnalia; though "the Dewan of Eldinga" has not to reproach himself with a failure of obedience to the rites of the goddess, having fulfilled the command "to multiply," more than any individual in his kingdom.³ While the Rana and his chiefs are thus amused above, the buffoons and itinerant groups mix with the cavalcade, throw powder in their eyes, or deluge their garments with the crimson solution. To resent it would only expose the sensitive party to be laughed at, and draw upon him a host of these bacchanals:

¹ Chief of Saloombra.

² Chief of Hamirgur'h.

³ He has been the father of more than one hundred children, legitimate and illegitimate, though very few are living.

so that no alternative exists between keeping entirely aloof or mixing in the fray.¹

On the last day, the Rana feasts his chiefs, and the camp breaks up with the distribution of *khanda nareal*, or swords and coco-nuts, to the chiefs and all "whom the king delighteth to honour." These *khandas* are but "of lath," in shape like the Andrea Ferrara, or long cut-and-thrust, the favourite weapon of the Rajpoot. They are painted in various ways, like Harlequin's sword, and meant as a burlesque, in unison with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication,² not the destruction, of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the spring. At nightfall, the forty days conclude with "*the burning of the holi*," when they light large fires, into which various substances, as well as the crimson *abira*, are thrown, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets like so many infernals. Until three hours after sunrise of the new month of Cheyt, these orgies are continued with increased vigour, when the natives bathe, change their garments, worship, and return to the rank of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.³

CHEYT.—The first of this month is the Samvatsiri (vulg. *Chamchari*), or anniversary of the death of the Rana's father, to whose memory solemn rites are performed both in the palace and at *Ara*, the royal cemetery, metaphorically termed 'Maha-Sati,' or place of 'great faith.' Thither the Rana repairs, and offers oblations to the *manes* of his father; and after purifying in the *Gangabheva*, a rivulet which flows through the middle of "the abode of silence," he returns to the palace.

On the 3rd, the whole of the royal insignia proceeds to Baidla, the residence of the Chohan chief (one of the *sixteen*), within the valley of the capital, in order to convey the *Rao* to court. The Rana advances to the *Ganésa Deori*⁴ to receive him; when, after salutation, the sovereign and his chief return to the great hall of assembly, hand in hand, but that of the *Chohan* above or upon his sovereign's. In this ceremony we have another singular memorial of the glorious days of Méwar, when almost every chieftain established by deeds of devotion a right to the eternal gratitude of their princes; the decay of whose power but serves to hallow such reminiscences. It is in these little acts of courteous condescension, deviations from the formal routine of reception, that we recognise the traces of Rajpoot history; for inquiry into these customs will reveal the incident which gave birth to each, and curiosity will be amply repaid, in a lesson at

¹ That this can be done without any loss of dignity by the *Sahib log* (a name European gentlemen have assumed) is well known to those who may have partaken of the hospitalities of that honourable man, and brave and zealous officer, Colonel James Skinner, C.B., at Hansi. That his example is worthy of imitation in the mode of commanding, is best evinced by the implicit and cheerful obedience his men pay to his instructions when removed from his personal control. He has passed through the ordeal of nearly thirty years of unremitted service, and from the glorious days of Delhi and Laswari under Lake, to the last siege of Bhurtpore, James Skinner has been second to none. In obtaining for this gallant and modest officer the order of the Bath, Lord Combermere must have been applauded by every person who knows the worth of him who bears it, which includes the whole army of Bengal.

² Evincing in the presentation of the *sri-phala*, the fruit of *Sri*, which is the coco-nut, emblematic of fruitfulness.

³ Another point of resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia.

⁴ A hall so called in honour of Ganésa, or Janus, whose effigies adorn the entrance.

once of political and moral import. For my own part, I never heard the kettledrum of my friend Raj Kulian strike at the sacred barrier, the *tripolia*, without recalling the glorious memory of his ancestor at the Thermopylæ of Méwar ;¹ nor looked on the autograph lance, the symbol of the Chondawuts, without recognising the fidelity of the founder of the clan ;² nor observed the honours paid to the Chohans of Baidlu and Kotario, without the silent tribute of applause to the manes of their sires.

Cheytt badi sath, or '7th of Cheyt,' is in honour of the goddess *Sitla*, the protectress of children : all the matrons of the city proceed with their offerings to the shrine of the goddess, placed upon the very pinnacle of an isolated hill in the valley. In every point of view, this divinity is the twin-sister of the *Mater Montana*, the guardian of infants amongst the Romans, the Grecian or Phrygian Cybele.

This is also the Rana's birthday,³ on which occasion all classes flock with gifts and good wishes that "the king may live for ever" ; but it is in the penetralia of the *Rawula*, where the profane eye enters not, that the greatest festivities of this day are kept.

Cheytt Sudi 1st (15th of the month) is the opening of the *luni-solar* year of Vicramaditya. Ceremonies, which more especially appertain to the *Noratri* of Asoj, are performed on this day ; and the sword is worshipped in the palace. But such rites are subordinate to those of the fair divinity, who still rules over this the smiling portion of the year. Vassanti has ripened into the fragrant Flora, and all the fair of the capital, as well as the other sex, repair to the gardens and groves, where parties assemble, regale, and swing, adorned with chaplets of roses, jessamine, or oleander, when the Nolakhu gardens may vie with the Tivoli of Paris. They return in the evening to the city.

"*The Festival of Flowers.*"—The Rajpoot Floralia ushers in the rites of the beneficent Gouri, which continue nine days, the number sacred to the creative power. These vie with the *Cerealia* of Rome, or the more ancient rites of the goddess of the Nile : I shall therefore devote some space to a particular account of them.

GANGORE.—Among the many remarkable festivals of Rajast'han, kept with peculiar brilliancy at Oodipoor, is that in honour of *Gouri*, or Isani, the goddess of abundance, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece. Like the Rajpoot Saturnalia, which it follows, it belongs to the vernal equinox, when nature in these regions proximate to the tropic is in the full expanse of her charms, and the matronly Gouri casts her golden mantle over the beauties of the verdant Vassanti.⁴ Then the fruits exhibit their promise to the eye ; the kohil fills the ear with melody ; the air is impregnated with aroma, and the crimson poppy contrasts with the spikes of golden grain, to form a wreath for the beneficent Gouri.

Gouri is one of the names of Isa or Parvati, wife of the greatest of the gods, Mahadéva or Iswara, who is conjoined with her in these rites, which almost exclusively appertain to the women. The meaning of *gouri* is 'yellow,' emblematic of the ripened harvest, when the votaries of the goddess adore her effigies, which are those of a matron painted the colour of ripe corn ; and though her image is represented with only two hands, in

¹ See p. 270.

³ It fell on the 18th March 1819.

² See p. 224.

⁴ Personification of spring.

one of which she holds the lotos, which the Egyptians regarded as emblematic of reproduction, yet not unfrequently they equip her with the warlike conch, the discus, and the club, to denote that the goddess, whose gifts sustain life, is likewise accessory to the loss of it : uniting, as Gouri and Cali, the characters of life and death, like the Isis and Cybele of the Egyptians. But here she is only seen as *Ana-purana*, the benefactress of mankind. The rites commence when the sun enters Aries (the opening of the Hindu year), by a deputation to a spot beyond the city, "to bring *earth* for the image of Gouri."¹ When this is formed, a smaller one of Iswara is made, and they are placed together ; a small trench is then excavated, in which barley is sown ; the ground is irrigated and artificial heat supplied till the grain germinates, when the females join hands and dance round it, invoking the blessings of Gouri on their husbands. The young corn is then taken up, distributed, and presented by the females to the men, who wear it in their turbans. Every wealthy family has its image, or at least every poorwa or subdivision of the city. These and other rites known only to the initiated, having been performed for several days within doors, they decorate the images, and prepare to carry them in procession to the lake. During these days of preparation, nothing is talked of but Gouri's departure from the palace ; whether she will be as sumptuously appparelled as in the year gone by ; whether an additional boat will be launched on the occasion ; though not a few forget the goddess altogether in the recollection of the gazelle eyes (*mîrg-nâentî*) and serpentine locks (*nâgni-zoolf*)² of the beauteous handmaids who are selected to attend her. At length the hour arrives, the martial nakaras give the signal "to the cannonier without," and speculation is at rest when the guns on the summit of the castle of Éklinggûrh announce that Gouri has commenced her excursion to the lake.

The cavalcade assembles on the magnificent terrace, and the Rana, surrounded by his nobles, leads the way to the boats, of a form as primitive as that which conveyed the Argonauts to Colchis. The scenery is admirably adapted for these fêtes, the ascent being gradual from the margin of the lake, which here forms a fine bay, and gently rising to the crest of the ridge on which the palace and dwellings of the chiefs are built. Every turret and balcony is crowded with spectators, from the palace to the water's edge ; and the ample flight of marble steps which intervene from the *Tripolia*, or triple portal, to the boats, is a dense mass of females in variegated robes, whose scarfs but half conceal their ebon tresses adorned with the rose and the jessamine. A more imposing or more exhilarating sight cannot be imagined than the entire population of a city thus assembled for the purpose of rejoicing ; the countenance of every individual, from the prince to the peasant, dressed in smiles. Carry the eye to heaven, and it rests on "a sky without a cloud" : below is a magnificent lake, the even surface of the deep blue waters broken only by palaces of marble, whose arched piazzas are seen through the foliage of orange groves, plantain, and tamarind ; while the vision is bounded by noble mountains, their peaks towering over each other, and composing an immense amphitheatre. Here the deformity of vice intrudes not ; no object is degraded by inebriation : no tumultuous disorder or deafening clamour, but all await patiently, with

¹ Here we have *Gouri* as the type of the earth.

² Here the Hindu mixes Persian with his Sanscrit, and produces the mongrel dialect *Hindee*.

eyes directed to the *Tripolia*, the appearance of GOURI. At length the procession is seen winding down the steep, and in the midst, borne on a *pat'h*,¹ or throne, gorgeously arrayed in yellow robes, and blazing with "barbaric pearl and gold," the goddess appears; on either side the two beauties wave the silver *chamra* over her head, while the more favoured damsels act as harbingers, preceding her with wands of silver: the whole chanting hymns. On her approach, the Rana, his chiefs and ministers rise and remain standing till the goddess is seated on her throne close to the water's edge, when all bow, and the prince and court take their seats in the boats. The females then form a circle around the goddess, unite hands, and with a measured step and various graceful inclinations of the body, keeping time by beating the palms at particular cadences, move round the image singing hymns, some in honour of the goddess of abundance, others on love and chivalry; and embodying little episodes of national achievements, occasionally sprinkled with *double entendre*, which excites a smile and significant nod from the chiefs, and an inclination of the head of the fair choristers. The festival being entirely female, not a single male mixed in the immense groups, and even Iswara himself, the husband of Gouri, attracts no attention, as appears from his ascetic or mendicant form begging his dole from the bounteous and universal *mother*. It is taken for granted that the goddess is occupied in bathing all the time she remains, and ancient tradition says death was the penalty of any male intruding on these solemnities; but the present prince deems them so fitted for amusement, that he has even instituted a second *Gangore*. Some hours are thus consumed, while easy and good-humoured conversation is carried on. At length, the ablutions over, the goddess is taken up, and conveyed to the palace with the same forms and state. The Rana and his chiefs then unmoor their boats, and are rowed round the margin of the lake, to visit in succession the other images of the goddess, around which female groups are chanting and worshipping, as already described, with which ceremonies the evening closes, when the whole terminates with a grand display of fireworks, the *finale* of each of the three days dedicated to Gouri.

Considerable resemblance is to be discerned between this festival of *Gouri* and that in honour of the Egyptian *Diana* at Bubastis, and *Isis* at Busiris, within the Delta of the Nile, of which Herodotus says: "They who celebrate those of *Diana* embark in vessels; the women strike their tabors, the men their flutes; the rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought on shore; the women use ungracious language, dance, and indelicately

¹ Tukht, Pat'h, Persian and Sanscrit, alike meaning *board*.

² The Ephesian *Diana* is the twin sister of *Gouri*, and can have a Sanscrit derivation in *Devi-ana*, 'the goddess of food,' contracted *Dé-ana*, though commonly *Ana-dé* or *Ana-devi*, and *Anapūrna*, 'filling with food,' or the nourisher, the name applied by "the mother of mankind," when she places the repast before the messenger of heaven:

"Heavenly stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasured out, descends,
To us for food and for delight, hath caused
The earth to yield."

throw about their garments.”¹ Wherever the rites of Isis prevailed, we find the boat introduced as an essential emblem in her worship, whether in the heart of Rajast’han, on the banks of the Nile, or in the woods of Germany. Bryant² furnishes an interesting account from Diodorus and Curtius, illustrated by drawings from Pocock, from the temple of Luxor, near Carnac, in the Thebaid, of “the ship of Isis,” carrying an ark; and from a male figure therein, this learned person thinks it bears a mysterious allusion to the deluge. I am inclined to deem the personage in the ark *Osiris*, husband of Isis, the type of the sun arrived in the sign of Aries (of which the rams’ heads ornamenting both the prow and stem of the vessel are typical), the harbinger of the annual fertilising inundation of the Nile: evincing identity of origin as an equinoctial festival with that of *Gouri* (Isis) of the *Indu-Scythic* races of Rajast’han.

The German Suevi adored Isis, and also introduced a ship in her worship, for which Tacitus is at a loss to account, and with his usual candour says, he has no materials whence to investigate the origin of a worship denoting the foreign origin of the tribe. This Isis of the Suevi was evidently a form of Ertha, the chief divinity of all the Saxon races, who, with her consort Teutates or Hesus³ (*Mercury*), were the chief deities of both the Celtic and early Gothic races: the Búdha and Ella of the Rajpoots; in short, *the earth*,⁴ the prolific mother, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece, the Ana-purana (*giver of food*) of the Rajpoots. On some ancient temples dedicated to this Hindu Ceres, we have sculptured on the frieze and pedestal of the columns the emblem of abundance, termed the *cámácúm̐pa*, or *vessel of desire*, a vase of elegant form, from which branches of the palm are gracefully pendent. Herodotus says that similar water-vessels, filled with wheat and barley, were carried in the festival of Isis; and all who have attended to Egyptian antiquities are aware, that the god Canopus is depicted under the form of a *water-jar*, or Nilometer, whose covering bears the head of Osiris.

To render the analogy perfect between the vessels emblematic of the Isis of the Nile and the Ganges, there is a festival sacred to the sage *Agastya*, who presides over the star Canopus, when the sun enters Virgo (*Kaniya*). The *cámácúm̐pa* is then personified under the epithet *cúmbháyoní*, and the votary is instructed to pour water into a sea-shell, in which having placed *white flowers and unground rice*, turning his face to the south, he offers it with this incantation: “Hail, CUMBHAYONI, born in the sight of MITRA and VARUNA (the sun and water divinities), bright as the blossom of the *cusa* (grass), who sprung from *Agni* (fire) and Maruta.” By the prefix of

¹ Euterpe, 283.

² *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, p. 312.

³ Hesus is probably derived from Eswara, or Esa, *the god*. Toth was the Egyptian, and Teutates the Scandinavian, Mercury. I have elsewhere attempted to trace the origin of the Suevi, Su, or Yeuts of Yentland (Jutland), to Yute, Gete, or Jit, of Central Asia, who carried thence the religion of Búdha into India as well as to the Baltic. There is little doubt that the races called Jotner, Jæter, Jotuns, Jæts, and Yeuts, who followed the *Asi* into Scandinavia, migrated from the Jaxartes, the land of *the great Gete* (Massagetæ); the leader was supposed to be endued with supernatural powers, like the Buddhist, called *Védianán*, or magician, whose haunts adjoined Aria, the cradle of the Magi. They are designated *Ari-punta*, under the sign of a serpent, the type of Búdha; or Ari-mánús, ‘the foe of man.’

⁴ The German *Ertha*, to show her kindred to the *Ella* of the Rajpoots, had her car drawn by a cow, under which form the Hindus typify the earth (*prithwi*).

Gangā (the river) to *Gouri*, we see that the *Gangore* festival is essentially sacred to a river-goddess, affording additional proof of the common origin of the rites of the Isis of Egypt and India.

The Egyptians, according to Plutarch, considered the Nile as flowing from Osiris; in like manner as the Hindu poet describes the fair *Ganga* flowing from the head of *Iswara*, which Sir W. Jones thus classically paints in his hymn to *Ganga* :—

" Above the reach of mortal ken,
On blest *Coilasa's* top, where every stem
Glowed with a vegetable gem,
Maheśa stood, the dread and joy of men ;
While *Parvati*, to gain a boon,
Fixed on his locks a beamy moon,
And hid his frontal eye in jocund play,
With reluctant sweet delay ;
All nature straight was locked in dim eclipse,
Till *Brahmins* pure, with hallowed lips
And warbled prayers, restored the day,
When *Ganga* from his brow, with heavenly fingers prest,
Sprang radiant, and descending, graced the caverns of the west."

Ganga, the river goddess, like the Nile, is the type of fertility, and like that celebrated stream, has her source amidst the eternal glaciers of *Chundragiri* or *Somadri* (the mountains of the moon) ; the higher peaks of the gigantic *Himalya*, where *Parvati* is represented as ornamenting the tiara of *Iswara* "with a beamy moon." In this metaphor, and in his title of *Somanāt'ha* (*lord of the moon*), we again have evidence of *Iswara*, or *Siva*, after representing the sun, having the satellite moon as his ornament.¹ His Olympus, *Cailāsa*, is studded with that majestic pine, the *cedar* ; thence he is called *Cēdār-na't'h*, 'lord of the cedar-trees.' The mysteries of Osiris and those of Eleusis² were of the same character, commemorative of the first germ of civilisation, the culture of the earth, under a variety of names, *Ertha*, *Isis*, *Diana*, *Ceres*, *Ella*. It is a curious fact, that in the terra-cotta images of *Isis*, frequently excavated about her temple at *Pæstum*,³ she holds in her right hand an exact representation of the Hindu lingam and yoni combined ; and on the Indian expedition to Egypt, our Hindu soldiers deemed themselves amongst the altars of their own god *Iswara* (*Osiris*), from the abundance of his emblematic representatives.

In the festival of *Gangore*, as before mentioned, *Iswara* yields to his consort *Gouri*, and occupies an unimportant position near her at the water's edge, meanly clad, smoking intoxicating herbs, and, whether by accident or design, holding the stalk of an onion in full blossom as a mace or club—a plant regarded by some of the Egyptians with veneration, and held by the Hindus generally in detestation : and why they should on such an occasion thus degrade *Iswara*, I know not. Onion-juice is reluctantly taken when prescribed medicinally, as a powerful stimulant, by those who would reject spirituous liquors ; and there are classes, as the *Aghori*, that worship

¹ Let it be borne in mind that *Indu*, *Chundra*, *Soma*, are all epithets for 'the moon,' or as he is classically styled (in an inscription of the famous *Komarpal*, which I discovered in *Chectore*), "*Nissa Na't'h*," the ruler of darkness (*Nissa*).

² I have before remarked that a Sanscrit etymology might be given to this word in *Ella* and *Isa*, i.e. 'the goddess of the earth.'

³ I was informed at *Naples* that four thousand of these were dug out of one spot, and I obtained while at *Pæstum* many fragments and heads of this goddess.

Iswara in his most degraded form, who will not only devour raw flesh, but that of man ; and to whom it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the victim was slaughtered or died a natural death. For the honour of humanity, such monsters are few in number ; but that they practise these deeds I can testify, from a personal visit to their haunts, where I saw the cave of one of these Troglodyte monsters, in which by his own command he was inhumed ; and which will remain closed, until curiosity and incredulity greater than mine may disturb the bones of the *Aghori* of Aboo.

The *ὀμοφαγία*, or eating raw flesh with the blood, was a part of the secret mysteries of Osiris, in commemoration of the happy change in the condition of mankind from savage to civilised life, and intended to deter by disgust the return thereto.¹

The Budhists pursued this idea to excess ; and in honour of *Ad-Iswara*, the *First*, who from his abode of Méru taught them the arts of agriculture, they altogether abandoned that type of savage life, the eating of the flesh of animals,² and confined themselves to the fruits of the earth. With these sectarian anti-idolaters, *who are almost all of Rajpoot descent*, the beneficent *Lacshmi*, *Sri*, or *Gouri*, is an object of sincere devotion.

But we must close this digression ; for such is the affinity between the mythology of India, Greece, and Egypt, that a bare recapitulation of the numerous surnames of the Hindu goddess of abundance would lead us beyond reasonable limits ; all are forms of *Parvati* or *Doorga Mata*, the *Mater Montana* of Greece and Rome, an epithet of Cybele or Vesta (according to Diodorus), as the guardian goddess of children, one of the characters of the Rajpoot "Mother of the Mount," whose shrine crowns many a pinnacle in Méwar ; and who, with the prolific Gouri, is amongst the amiable forms of the universal mother, whose functions are more varied and extensive than her sisters of Egypt and of Greece. Like the Ephesian Diana, Doorga wears the crescent on her head. She is also "the turreted Cybele," the guardian goddess of all places of strength (*doorga*),³ and like her she is drawn or carried by the lion. As Mata Janávi, 'the Mother of Births,' she is *Juno Lucina* : as Pudma, 'whose throne is the lotos,' she is the fair Isis of the Nile : as Tri-poorá,⁴ 'governing the three worlds,' and Atmá-devi, 'the Goddess of Souls,' she is the *Hecate Triformis* of the Greeks. In short, her power is manifested under every form from the birth, and all the intermediate stages until death ; whether Janávi, Gouri, or the terrific Cali, the Proserpine or Calligenia of the West.

Whoever desires to witness one of the most imposing and pleasing of Hindu festivals, let him repair to Oodipoor, and behold the rites of the lotos-queen Pudma, the Gouri of Rajast'han.

Cheynt (*Súdi*) 8th, which, being after the *ides*, is the 23rd of the month, is sacred to *Dévi*, the goddess of every tribe ; she is called *Asócashtami*, and being the ninth night (*noratri*) from the opening of their Floralia, they perform the *homa*, or sacrifice of fire. On this day, a grand procession

¹ Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, p. 369.

² The Baudhas of Tartary make no scruple of eating flesh.

³ *Doorga*, 'a fort' ; as *Suverna-doorg*, 'the golden castle,' etc. etc.

⁴ Literally *Tri-poli* 'the three cities,' *poora*, *polis*.

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Since these exchanges were occurring, it is evident the fiefs (*puttas*) were not grants in perpetuity. This is just the state of the benefices in France at an early period, as described by Gibbon, following Montesquieu : "Les bénéfices étoient amovibles ; bientôt ils les rendirent perpétuels, et enfin héréditaires."¹ This is the precise gradation of fiefs in Méwar ; movable, perpetual, and then hereditary. The sons were occasionally permitted to succeed their fathers ;² an indulgence which easily grew into a right, though the crown had the indubitable reversion. It is not, however, impossible that these changes³ were not of ancient authority, but arose from the policy of the times to prevent infidelity.

We ought to have a high opinion of princes who could produce an effect so powerful on the minds of a proud and turbulent nobility. The son was heir to the title and power over the vassals' personals and movables, and to the allegiance of his father, but to nothing which could endanger that allegiance.

A proper apportioning and mixture of the different clans was another good result to prevent their combinations in powerful families, which gave effect to rebellion, and has tended more than external causes to the ruin which the state of Méwar exhibits.

Throughout the various gradations of its nobility, it was the original policy to introduce some who were foreign in country and blood. Chiefs of the Rahtore, Chohan, Pramara, Solanki, and Bhatti tribes were intermingled. Of these several were lineal descendants of the most ancient races of the kings of Dehli and Anhulwarra Puttun ;⁴ and from these, in order to preserve the purity of blood, the princes of Méwar took their wives, when the other princes of Hind assented to the degradation of giving daughters in marriage to the emperors of Dehli. The princes of Méwar never yielded in this point, but preserved their ancient manners amidst all vicissitudes. In like manner did the nobles of the Rana's blood take daughters from the same tribes ; the interest of this foreign race was therefore strongly identified with the general welfare, and on all occasions of internal turmoil and rebellion they invariably supported their prince. But when these wise institutions were overlooked, when the great clans increased and congregated together, and the crown demesne was impoverished by prodigality, rebellions were fostered by Mahratta rapacity, which were little known during the lengthened paramount sway of the kings of Dehli. This foreign admixture will lead us to the discussion of the different kinds

so interwoven with their customs was this rule that it caused no dissatisfaction ; but of this we may be allowed at least to doubt. It was a perfect check to the imbibing of local attachment ; and the prohibition against erecting forts for refuge or defiance, prevented its growth if acquired. It produced the object intended, obedience to the prince, and unity against the restless Mogul. Perhaps to these institutions it is owing that Méwar alone never was conquered by the kings during the protracted struggle of seven centuries ; though at length worried and worn out, her power expired with theirs, and predatory spoliation completed her ruin.

¹ Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, vol. iii. p. 189 ; *sur le système féodal surtout en France*.

² Hallam, quoting Gregory of Tours ; the picture drawn in A.D. 595.

³ "Fiefs had partially become hereditary towards the end of the first race : in these days they had not the idea of an 'unalienable fief.' Montesquieu, vol. ii. p. 431. The historian of the Middle Ages doubts if ever they were resumable at pleasure, unless from delinquency.

⁴ The Nehlvarya of D'Anville and the Arabian travellers of the eighth century, the capital of the Balham kings.

of grants : a difference, perhaps, more nominal than real, but exhibiting a distinction so wide as to imply grants resumable and irresumable.

KALA PUTTAS.—It is elsewhere related that two great clans, descendants of the Ranas Rae Mul and Udyā Sing, and their numerous scions, forming subdivisions with separate titles or patronymics, compose the chief vassalage of this country.

Chondawut and Suktawut are the stock ; the former is subdivided into ten, the latter into about six clans. Rajpoots never intermarry with their own kin : the prohibition has no limit ; it extends to the remotest degree. All these clans are resolvable into the generic term of ' the race ' or Cūla Sesodia. A Sesodia man and woman cannot unite in wedlock—all these are therefore of the blood royal ; and the essayists on population would have had a fine field in these quarters a century ago, ere constant misery had thinned the country, to trace the numerous progeny of Chonda and Sukta in the *Genesis*¹ of Méwar. The Bhat's genealogies would still, to a certain extent, afford the same means.

Descent gives a strength to the tenure of these tribes which the foreign nobles do not possess ; for although, from all that has been said, it will be evident that a right of reversion and resumption existed (though seldom exercised, and never but in cases of crime), yet the foreigner had not this strength in the soil, even though of twenty generations' duration. The epithet of *kala putta*, or ' black grant,' attaches to the foreign grant, and is admitted by the holder, from which the kinsman thinks himself exempt. It is virtually a grant resumable ; nor can the possessors feel that security which the other widely affiliated aristocracies afford. When, on a recent occasion, a revision of all the grants took place, the old ones being called in to be renewed under the sign-manual of the reigning prince, the minister himself visited the chief of Saloombra, the head of the Chondawuts, at his residence at the capital, for this purpose. Having become possessed of several villages in the confusion of the times, a perusal of the grant would have been the means of detection ; and on being urged to send to his estate for it, he replied, pointing to the palace, " My grant is in the foundation of that edifice " : an answer worthy of a descendant of Chonda, then only just of age. The expression marks the spirit which animates this people, and recalls to mind the well-known reply of our own Earl Warrenne, on the very same occasion, to the *quo warranto* of Edward : " By their swords my ancestors obtained this land, and by mine will I maintain it."

✓ Hence it may be pronounced that a grant of an estate is for the life of the holder, with inheritance for his offspring in lineal descent or adoption, with the sanction of the prince, and resumable for crime or incapacity : ² this reversion and power of resumption being marked by the usual ceremonies on each lapse of the grantee, of sequestration (*zūbti*), of relief (*nuzzerana*), of homage and investiture of the heir.] Those estates held by foreign nobles differ not in tenure ; though, for the reasons specified, they have not the same grounds of security as the others, in whose welfare the whole body is

¹ *Jenem*, ' birth ' ; *es*, lord ' or ' man.'

² " La loi des Lombards oppose les bénéfices à la propriété. Les historiens, les formules, les codes des différens peuples barbares, tous les monumens qui nous restent, sont unanimes. Enfin, ceux qui ont écrit le livre des fiefs, nous apprennent, que d'abord les Seigneurs purent les ôter à leur volonté, qu'ensuite ils les assurèrent pour un an, et après les donnerent pour la vie."—*L'Esprit des Loix*, chaps. xvi. liv. 30.

interested, feeling the case to be their own : and their interests, certainly, have not been so consulted since the rebellions of S. 1822,¹ and subsequent years. Witness the Chohans of Baidla and Kotario (in the Oodipoor valley), and the Pramars of the plateau of Méwar, all chiefs of the first rank.

The difficulty and danger of resuming an old-established grant in these countries are too great to be lightly risked. Though in all these estates there is a mixture of foreign Rajpoots, yet the blood of the chief predominates ; and these must have a leader of their own, or be incorporated in the estates of the nearest of kin. This increase might not be desirable for the crown, but the sub-vassals cannot be turned adrift ; a resumption therefore in these countries is widely felt, as it involves many. If crime or incapacity render it necessary, the prince inducts a new head of that blood ; and it is their pride, as well as the prince's interest, that a proper choice should be made. If, as has often occurred, the title be abolished, the sub-vassals retain their sub-infeudations, and become attached to the crown.

Many estates were obtained, during periods of external commotion, by threats, combination, or the avarice of the prince—his short-sighted policy, or that of his ministers,—which have been remedied in the late reorganisation of Méwar ; where, by retrograding half a century, and bringing matters as near as possible to the period preceding civil dissention, they have advanced at least a century towards order.

BHOOMIA, THE ALLODIAL PROPRIETOR.—It is stated in the historical annals of this country that the ancient clans, prior to Sanga Rana,² had ceased, on the rising greatness of the subsequent new division of clans, to hold the higher grades of rank ; and had, in fact, merged into the general military landed proprietors of this country under the term *bhoomia*, a most expressive and comprehensive name, importing absolute identity with the soil : *bhoom* meaning 'land,' and being far more expressive than the new-fangled word, unknown to Hindu India, of *zemindar*, the 'landholder' of Mahomedan growth. These Bhoomias, the scions of the earliest princes, are to be met with in various parts of Méwar ; though only in those of high antiquity, where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing ; as in Komulmér, the wilds of Chuppun, or plains of Mandelgurh, long under the kings, and where their agricultural pursuits maintained them.

Their clannish appellations, Kombawut, Loonawut, and Ranawut, distinctly show from what stem and when they branched off ; and [as they ceased to be of sufficient importance to visit the court on the new and continually extending ramifications, they took to the plough.] But while they disdained not to derive a subsistence from labouring as husbandmen, they never abandoned their arms ; and the Bhoomia, amid the crags of the alpine Aravulli where he pastures his cattle or cultivates his fields, preserves the erect mien and proud spirit of his ancestors, with more tractability, and less arrogance and folly, than his more courtly but now widely separated brethren, who often make a jest of his industrious but less refined qualifications.³ [Some of these yet possess entire villages, which are subject to the payment of a small quit-rent : they also constitute a local militia, to

¹ A.D. 1766.

² Contemporary and opponent of Sultan Baber.

³ Many of them taking wives from the degraded but aboriginal races in their neighbouring retreats, have begot a mixed progeny, who, in describing themselves, unite the tribes of father and mother.

be called in by the governor of the district, but for which service they are entitled to rations or *paiti*.¹ These, the allodial² tenantry of our feudal system, form a considerable body in many districts, armed with matchlock, sword, and shield. In Mandelgurh, when their own interests and the prince's unite (though the rapacity of governors, pupils of the Mahratta and other predatory schools, have disgusted these independents), four thousand Bhoomias could be collected. They held and maintained without support the important fortress of that district, during half a century of turmoil, for their prince. Mandelgurh is the largest district of Méwar, and in its three hundred and sixty towns and villages many specimens of ancient usage may be found. The Solanki held largely here in ancient days, and the descendant of the princes of Puttun still retains his Bhoom and title of Rao.³

All this feudal militia pay a quit-rent to the crown, and perform local but limited service on the frontier garrison; and upon invasion,⁴ when the *Khér* is called out, the whole are at the disposal of the prince on furnishing rations only. They assert that they ought not to pay this quit-rent and perform service also; but this may be doubted, since the sum is so small. To elude it, they often performed service under some powerful chief, where faction or court interest caused it to be winked at. To serve without a *putta* is the great object of ambition. *Ma ca bhoom*, 'my land,' in their Doric tongue, is a favourite phrase.⁵

¹ Literally, 'a belly-full.'

² Allodial property is defined (Hallam, vol. i. p. 144) as "land which had descended by inheritance, subject to no burthen but public defence. It passed to all the children equally; in failure of children, to the nearest kindred. Thus it is strictly the *Meevas* or *Bhoom* of the Rajpoots: inheritance, patrimony. In Méwar it is divisible to a certain extent; but in Kutch, to infinity: and is liable only to local defence. The holder of bhoom calls it his *Adyapi*, i.e. of old, by prescriptive right; not by written deed.

Montesquieu, describing the conversion of allodial estates into fiefs, says, "these lands were held by Romans or Franks (i.e. freemen) not the king's vassals," viz. lands exterior and anterior to the monarchy. We have Rahtore, Solanki, and other tribes, now holding bhoom in various districts, whose ancestors were conquered by the Sesodias, but left in possession of small portions insufficient to cause jealousy. Some of these may be said to have converted their lands into fiefs, as the Chohan lord of —, who served the Saloombra chief.

³ Amidst ruins overgrown with forest, I discovered on two tables of stone the genealogical history of this branch, which was of considerable use in elucidating that of Anhulwarra, and which corresponded so well with the genealogies of a decayed bard of the family, who travelled the country for a subsistence, that I feel assured they formerly made good use of these marble records.

⁴ See Appendix, Nos. XVI. and XVII.

⁵ I was intimately acquainted with, and much esteemed, many of these Bhoomia chiefs—from my friend Puharjee (the rock), Ranawut of Umurgurh, to the Kombawut of Sesodia on the highest point, lord of the pass of the Aravulli; and even the mountain lion, Doonger Sing, who bore amongst us, from his old raids, the familiar title of Roderic Dhu. In each situation I have had my tents filled with them; and it was one of the greatest pleasures I ever experienced, after I had taken my leave of them, perhaps for ever, crossed the frontiers of Méwar, and encamped in the dreary pass between it and Marwar, to find that a body of them had been my guards during the night. This is one of the many pleasing recollections of the past. Fortunately for our happiness, the mind admits their preponderance over opposite feelings. I had much to do in aiding the restoration of their past condition; leaving, I believe, as few traces of error in the mode as could be expected, where so many conflicting interests were to be reconciled.

Circumstances have concurred to produce a resemblance even to the refined fiction of giving up their allodial property to have it conferred as a fief. But in candour it should be stated, that the only instances were caused by the desire of being revenged on the immediate superiors of the vassals. The Rahtore chief of Dabla held of his superior, the Raja of Bunéra, three considerable places included in the grant of Bunéra. He paid homage, an annual quit-rent, was bound to attend him personally to court, and to furnish thirty-five horse in case of an invasion. During the troubles, though perfectly equal to their performance, he was remiss in all these duties. His chief, with returning peace, desired to enforce the return to ancient customs, and his rights so long withheld; but the Rahtore had felt the sweets of entire independence, and refused to attend his summons. To the warrant he replied, "his head and Dabla were together"; and he would neither pay the quit-rent nor attend his court. This refractory spirit was reported to the Rana; and it ended in Dabla being added to the fisc, and the chief's holding the rest as a vassal of the Rana, but only to perform local service. There are many other petty free proprietors on the Bunéra estate, holding from small portions of land to small villages; but the service is limited and local in order to swell the chief's miniature court. If they accompany him, he must find rations for them and their steeds.

So cherished is this tenure of Bloom, that the greatest chiefs are always solicitous to obtain it, even in the villages wholly dependent on their authority: a decided proof of its durability above common grants.

The various modes in which it is acquired, and the precise technicalities which distinguished its tenure, as well as the privileges attached to it, are fully developed in translations of different deeds on the subject.¹

RAJAS OF BUNÉRA AND SHAPOORA.—We have also, amongst the nobility of Méwar, two who hold the independent title of prince or raja, one of whom is by far too powerful for a subject. These are the Rajas of Bunéra and Shapoora, both of the blood royal. The ancestor of the first was the twin-brother of Rana Jey Sing; the other, a Ranawut, branched off from Rana Udyá Sing.

They have their grants renewed, and receive the *khelat* of investiture; but they pay no relief, and are exempt from all but personal attendance at their prince's court, and the local service of the district in which their estates are situated. They have hitherto paid but little attention to their duties, but this defect arose out of the times. These lands lying most exposed to the imperial headquarters at Ajmér, they were compelled to bend to circumstances, and the kings were glad to confer rank and honour on such near relations of the Rana's house. He bestowed on them the titles of Raja, and added to the Shapoora chief's patrimony a large estate in Ajmér, which he now holds direct of the British Government, on payment of an annual tribute.

FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF GRANT.—To give a proper idea of the variety of items forming these chartularies, I append several² which exhibit the rights, privileges, and honours, as well as the sources of income, while they also record the terms on which they are granted. Many royalties have been alienated in modern times by the thoughtless prodigality of the princes; even the grand mark of vassalage, the fine of relief,

¹ See Appendix.

² See Appendix, Nos. IV., V., VI.

has been forgiven to one or two individuals ; portions of transit duties, tolls on ferries, and other seignorial rights ; coining copper currency ; exactions of every kind, from the levy of toll for night protection of merchandise and for the repairs of fortifications, to the share of the depredations of the common robber, will sufficiently show the demoralisation of the country.

DIVISION OF PUTTAS, OR SUB-INFEUDATION.—Many years ago, when the similarity of the systems first struck my attention, I took one of the grants or *puttas* of a great vassal of Jeipoor, and dissected it in all its minutiae, with the aid of a very competent authority who had resided as one of the managers of the chief. This document, in which the subdivision of the whole clan is detailed, materially aided me in developing the system.

The court and the household economy of a great chieftain is a miniature representation of the sovereign's: the same officers, from the purdhan, or minister, to the cup-bearer (*panairie*), as well as the same domestic arrangements. He must have his *sheesh-mahl*,¹ his *bari-mahl*,² and his *mindur*,³ like his prince. He enters the *durri-sala*, or carpet hall, the minstrel⁴ preceding him rehearsing the praises of his family ; and he takes his seat on his throne, while the assembled retainers, marshalled in lines on the right and left, simultaneously exclaim, "Health to our chief!" which salutation he returns by bowing to all as he passes them. When he is seated, at a given signal they all follow the example, and shield rattles against shield as they wedge into their places.

We have neither the kiss nor individual oaths of fidelity administered. It is sufficient, when a chief succeeds to his patrimony, that his '*án*'⁵ is proclaimed within his *seem* or boundary. Allegiance is as hereditary as the land : "I am your child ; my head and sword are yours, my service is at your command." It is a rare thing for a Rajpoot to betray his Thacoor, while the instances of self-devotion for him are innumerable : many will be seen interspersed in these papers. Base desertion, to their honour be it said, is little known, and known only to be execrated. Fidelity to the chief, *Swam Dherma*, is the climax of all the virtues. The Rajpoot is taught from his infancy, in the song of the bard, to regard it as the source of honour here, and of happiness hereafter. The poet Chund abounds with episodes on the duty and beauty of fidelity ; nor does it require a very fervid imagination to picture the affections which such a life is calculated to promote, when the chief is possessed of the qualities to call them forth. At the chase his vassals attend him : in the covert of the forest, the ground their social board, they eat their repast together, from the venison or wild boar furnished by the sport of the day ; nor is the cup neglected. They are familiarly admitted at all times to his presence, and accompany him to the court of their mutual sovereign. In short, they are inseparable.⁶

¹ Mirror apartments.

² Gardens on the terrace within the palace.

³ Private temple of worship.

⁴ Dholi.

⁵ *An* is the oath of allegiance. Three things in Méwar are royalties a subject cannot meddle with : 1, *An*, or oath of allegiance ; 2, *Dán*, or transit dues on commerce ; 3, *Kán*, or mines of the precious metals.

⁶ I rather describe what they were, than what they are. Contentions and poverty have weakened their sympathies and affections ; but the mind of philanthropy must hope that they will again become what they have been.

Their having retained so much of their ancient manners and customs, during centuries of misery and oppression, is the best evidence that those customs were riveted to their very souls. The Rajpoot of character is a being of the most acute sensibility; where honour is concerned, the most trivial omission is often ignorantly construed into an affront.

In all the large estates, the chief must provide for his sons or brothers, according to his means and the number of immediate descendants. In an estate of sixty to eighty thousand rupees of annual rent, the second brother might have a village of three to five thousand of rent. This is his patrimony (*bapota*): he besides pushes his fortune at the court of his sovereign or abroad. Juniors share in proportion. These again subdivide, and have their little circle of dependents. Each new family is known by the name of the founder conjoined to that of his father and tribe: *Mán Mégsingole Suktawut*; that is, 'Mán, family of Még, tribe Suktawut.' The subdivisions descend to the lowest denomination.

CHURSA.—*Chursa*, a 'hide of land,' or about sufficient to furnish an equipped cavalier. It is a singular coincidence that the term for the lowest subdivision of land for military service should be the same amongst the Rajpoots as in the English system. Besides being similar in name, it nearly corresponds in actual quantity. From the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon government the land was divided into hides, each comprehending what could be cultivated by a single plough.¹ Four hides constituted one knight's fee,² which is stated to be about forty acres. The *Chursa* may have from twenty-five to thirty beegas; which are equal to about ten acres—the Saxon hide.

For what these minor vassals held to be their rights on the great puttawuts, the reader is again referred to the letter of protest of the inferior puttawuts of the Deogurh estate—it may aid his judgment; and it is curious to observe how nearly the subject of their prayer to the sovereign corresponded with the edict of Conrad of Italy,³ in the year 1037, which originated in disagreements between the great lords and their vassals on the subject of sub-infeudations.

The extent to which the subdivision before-mentioned is carried in some of the Rajpoot states, is ruinous to the protection and general welfare of the country. It is pursued in some parts till there is actually nothing left sufficiently large to share, or to furnish subsistence for one individual: consequently a great deprivation of services to the state ensues. But this does not prevail so much in the larger principalities as in the isolated tributary t'hacoorats or lordships scattered over the country; as amongst the Jharéjas of Kutch, the tribes in Cattiawar, and the small independencies of Guzzerat bordering on the greater western Rajpoot states. This error in policy requires to be checked by supreme

¹ Millar's *Historical View of the English Government*, p. 85.

² Hume, *History of England*, Appendix II. vol. ii. p. 291.

³ "1. That no man should be deprived of his fief, whether held of the emperor or mesne lord, but by the laws of the empire and judgment of his peers. 2. That from such judgment the vassal might appeal to his sovereign. 3. That fiefs, should be inherited by sons and their children, or in their failure by brothers, provided they were *feuda paterna*, such as had descended from the father. 4. That the lord should not alienate the fief of his vassal without his consent."

authority, as it was in England by *Magna Charta*,¹ when the barons of those days took such precautions to secure their own seignorial rights.

The system in these countries of minute subdivision of fiefs is termed *bhyād*,² or brotherhood, synonymous to the tenure by frerage of France, but styled only an approximation to sub-infeudation.³ "Give me my *bhut* (share)," says the Rajpoot, when he attains to man's estate, 'the *bhut* of the *bhyad*,' the portion of the frerage; and thus they go on clipping and paring till all are impoverished. The 'customs' of France⁴ preserved the dignities of families and the indivisibility of a feudal homage, without exposing the younger sons of a gentleman to beggary and dependence. It would be a great national benefit if some means could be found to limit this subdivision, but it is an evil difficulty of remedy. The divisibility of the Kutch and Cattiarwar frerage, carried to the most destructive extent, is productive of litigation, crime, and misery. Where it has proper limits it is useful; but though the idea of each rood supporting its man is very poetical, it does not and cannot answer in practice. Its limit in Méwar we would not undertake to assert, but the vassals are careful not to let it become too small; they send the extra numbers to seek their fortunes abroad. In this custom, and the difficulty of finding *daijas*, or dowers, for their daughters, we have the two chief causes of infanticide amongst the Rajpoots, which horrible practice was not always confined to the female.

The author of the Middle Ages exemplifies ingeniously the advantages of sub-infeudation, by the instance of two persons holding one knight's fee; and as the lord was entitled to the service of one for forty days, he could commute it for the joint service of the two for twenty days each. He even erects as a maxim on it, that "whatever opposition was made to the rights of sub-infeudation or frerage, would indicate decay in the military character, the living principle of feudal tenure";⁵ which remark may be just where proper limitation exists, before it reaches that extent when the impoverished vassal would descend to mend his shoes instead of his shield. Primogeniture is the corner-stone of feudality, but this unrestricted sub-infeudation would soon destroy it.⁶ It is strong in these states; its rights were first introduced by the Normans from Scandinavia. But more will appear on this subject and its technicalities, in the personal narrative of the author.

¹ By the revised statute, *Qui emptores*, of Edw. 1., which forbids it in excess, under penalty of forfeiture.—Hallam, vol. i. p. 184.

² *Bhyād*, 'frerage.'

³ Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ "Le droit d'aînesse a causé, pendant l'existence du régime féodal, une multitude de guerres et de procès. Notre histoire nous présente, à chaque page, des cadets réduits à la mendicité, se livrant à toutes sortes de brigandages pour réparer les torts de la fortune; des aînés, refusant la légitime à leurs frères; des cadets, assassinant leur aîné pour lui succéder, etc."—See article, "Droit d'aînesse," *Dict. de l'Ancien Régime*.

CHAPTER IV

Rekwalee—Servitude—Bussie—Gola and Das—Private feuds and composition
—Rajpoot Purdhans or Premiers.

REKWALEE.—I now proceed to another point of striking resemblance between the systems of the east and west, arising from the same causes—the unsettled state of society, and the deficiency of paramount protection. It is here called *rekwalee*,¹ or 'preservation'; the *salvamenta* of Europe.² To a certain degree it always existed in these states; but the interminable predatory warfare of the last half century increased it to so frightful an extent that superior authority was required to redeem the abuses it had occasioned. It originated in the necessity of protection; and the modes of obtaining it, as well as the compensation when obtained, were various. It often consisted of money or kind on the reaping of each harvest: sometimes in a multiplicity of petty privileges and advantages, but the chief object was to obtain *bhoom*: and here we have one solution of the constituted *bhoomia*,³ assimilating, as observed, to the allodial proprietor. Bhoom thus obtained is irrevocable; and in the eager anxiety for its acquisition, we have another decided proof of every other kind of tenure being deemed resumable by the crown.

It was not unfrequent that application for protection was made to the nearest chief by the tenants of the fisc; a course eventually sanctioned by the government, which could not refuse assent where it could not protect. Here, then, we revert to first principles; and 'seigniorial rights' may be forfeited when they cease to yield that which ought to have originated them, viz. benefit to the community. Personal service at stated periods, to aid in the agricultural economy of the protector, was sometimes stipulated, when the husbandmen were to find implements and cattle,⁴ and to attend whenever ordered. The protected calls the chief 'patron'; and the condition may not unaptly be compared to that of personal commendation,⁵ like *salvamenta*, founded on the disturbed state of society. But what originated thus was often continued and multiplied by avarice, and the spirit of rapine, which disgraced the Rajpoot of the last half century, though he had abundance of apologies for 'scouring the country.' But all *salvamenta* and other marks of vassalage, obtained during these

¹ See Appendix, Nos. VII., VIII., and IX.

² This is the '*sauvement ou vintain*' of the French system: there it ceased with the cause. "Les guerres (feudal) cessèrent avec le régime féodal, et les paysans n'eurent plus besoin de la protection du Seigneur; on ne les força pas moins de réparer son château, et de lui payer le droit qui se nommait de *sauvement ou vintain*."—Art. "Château," *Dict. de l'Anc. Régime*.

³ The chief might lose his *putta* lands, and he would then dwindle down into the *bhoomia* proprietor, which title only lawless force could take from him. See Appendix, No. IX.

⁴ See Appendix, No. X., Art. II.

⁵ This species would come under the distinct term of Hydages due by soccage vassals, who in return for protection supplies carriages and work.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 308.

⁶ Hallam, vol. i. p. 169.

times of desolation, were annulled in the settlement which took place between the Rana and his chiefs, in A.D. 1818.¹

But the crown itself, by some singular proceeding, possesses, or did possess, according to the *Putta Buhae*, or Book of Grants, considerable *salvamenta* right, especially in the districts between the new and ancient capitals, in sums of from twenty to one hundred rupees in separate villages.

To such an extent has this *rekwalee* ² been carried when protection was desired, that whole communities have ventured their liberty, and become, if not slaves, yet nearly approaching the condition of slaves, to the protector. But no common visitation ever leads to an evil of this magnitude. I mention the fact merely to show that it does exist; and we may infer that the chief, who has become the arbiter of the lives and fortunes of his followers, must have obtained this power by devoting all to their protection. The term thus originated, and probably now (with many others) written for the first time in English letters in this sense, is *Bussie*.

BUSSIE.—Slavery is to be found in successive stages of society of Europe, but we have no parallel in Rajwarra (at least in name) to the agricultural serfs and *villains* of Europe; nor is there any intermediate term denoting a species of slavery between the *Gola* ³ of the Hindu chief's household and the free Rajpoot, but the singular one of *bussie*, which must be explained, since it cannot be translated. This class approximates closely to the *tributarii* and *coloni*, perhaps to the *servi*, of the Salic Franks, "who were cultivators of the earth, and subject to residence upon their master's estate, though not destitute of property or civil rights." ⁴ Precisely the

¹ In indulging my curiosity on this subject, I collected some hundred engagements, and many of a most singular nature. We see the chieftain stipulating for fees on marriages; for a dish of the good fare at the wedding feast, which he transfers to a relation of his district if unable to attend himself; portions of fuel and provender; and even wherewithal to fill the wassail cup in his days of merriment. The Rajpoot's religious notions are not of so strict a character as to prevent his even exacting his *rekwalee* dues from the church lands, and the threat of slaughtering the sacred flock of our Indian Apollo has been resorted to, to compel payment when withheld. Nay, by the chiefs it was imposed on things locomotive: on caravans, or Tandas of merchandise, wherever they halted for the day, *rekwalee* was demanded. Each petty chief through whose district or patch of territory they travelled, made a demand, till commerce was dreadfully shackled; but it was the only way in which it could be secured. It was astonishing how commerce was carried on at all; yet did the cloths of Dacca and the shawls of Cashmere pass through all such restraints, and were never more in request. Where there is demand no danger will deter enterprise; and commerce flourished more when these predatory armies were rolling like waves over the land, than during the succeeding halcyon days of pacification.

² The method by which the country is brought under this tax is as follows:— "When the people are almost ruined by continual robberies and plunders, the leader of the band of thieves, or some friend of his, proposes that, for a sum of money annually paid, he will keep a number of men in arms to protect such a tract of ground, or as many parishes as submit to the contribution. When the terms are agreed upon he ceases to steal, and thereby the contributors are safe: if anyone refuse to pay, he is immediately plundered. To colour all this villainy, those concerned in the robberies pay the tax with the rest; and all the neighbourhood must comply or be undone. This is the case (among others) with the whole low country of the shire of Ross."—Extract from Lord Lovat's Memorial to George I. on the State of the Highlands of Scotland, in A.D. 1724.

³ In Persian *gholam*, literally 'slave'; evidently a word of the same origin with the Hindu *gola*.

⁴ Hallam, vol. i. p. 217.

condition of the cultivator in Harouti, who now tills for a task-master the fields he formerly owned, degraded to the name of *hallee*,¹ a ploughman.

"When small proprietors," says Hallam, "lost their lands by mere rapine, we may believe their liberty was hardly less endangered." The *hallee* of Haravati knows the bitter truth of this inference, which applies to the subject immediately before us, the *bussie*. The portion of liberty the latter has parted with, was not originally lost through compulsion on the part of the protector, but from external violence, which made this desperate remedy necessary. Very different from the *hallee* of Kotah, who is servile though without the title—a serf in condition but without the patrimony; compelled to labour for subsistence on the land he once owned; chained to it by the double tie of debt and strict police; and if flight were practicable, the impossibility of bettering his condition from the anarchy around would render it unavailing. This is not the practice under the patriarchal native government, which, with all its faults, retains the old links of society, with its redeeming sympathies; but springs from a *maire du palais*, who pursued an unfeeling and mistaken policy towards this class of society till of late years. Mistaken ambition was the origin of the evil; he saw his error, and remedied it in time to prevent further mischief to the state. This octogenarian ruler, Zalim Sing of Kotah, is too much of a philosopher and politician to let passion overcome his interests and reputation; and we owe to the greatest despot a state ever had the only regular charter which at present exists in Rajast'han, investing a corporate body with the election of their own magistrates and the making of their own laws, subject only to confirmation; with all the privileges which marked in the outset the foundation of the free cities of Europe, and that of boroughs in England.

It is true that, in detached documents, we see the spirit of these institutions existing in Méwar, and it is as much a matter of speculation, whether this wise ruler promulgated this novelty as a trap for good opinions, or from policy and foresight alone: aware, when all around him was improving, from the shackles of restraint being cast aside, that his retention of them must be hurtful to himself. Liberality in this exigence answered the previous purpose of extortion. His system, even then, was good by comparison: all around was rapine, save in the little oasis kept verdant by his skill, where he permitted no other oppression than his own.

This charter is appended² as a curiosity in legislation, being given thirty years ago. Another, for the agriculturalists' protection, was set up in A.D. 1821. No human being prompted either; though the latter is modelled from the proceedings in Méwar, and may have been intended, as before observed, to entrap applause.

In every district of Haravati the stone was raised to record this ordinance.

GOLA—DAS (*Slaves*).—Famine in these regions is the great cause of loss of liberty: thousands were sold in the last great famine. The predatory system of the Pindarries and mountain tribes aided to keep it up. Here, as amongst the Franks, freedom is derived through the mother. The offspring of a *golee*³ or *dasi* must be a slave. Hence the great number of

¹ From *hal*, 'a plough.' *Syl* is 'a plough' in Saxon (Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*). The *h* and *s* are permutable throughout Rajwarra. In Marwar, *Salim Sing* is pronounced *Halim Hing*.

² See Appendix, No XI.

³ Female slave.

golas in Rajpoot families, whose illegitimate offspring are still adorned in Méwar, as our Saxon slaves were of old, with a silver ring round the left ankle, instead of the neck. They are well treated, and are often amongst the best of the military retainers ;¹ but are generally esteemed in proportion to the quality of the mother, whether Rajpootnee, Moslem, or of the degraded tribes : they hold confidential places about the chiefs of whose blood they are. The great-grandfather of the late chief of Deogurh used to appear at court with three hundred *golas* ² on horseback in his train, the sons of Rajpoots, each with a gold ring round his ankle : men whose lives were his own. This chief could then head two thousand retainers, his own vassals.³

Tacitus describes the baneful effects of gambling amongst the German tribes, as involving personal liberty ; their becoming slaves, and being subsequently sold by the winner. The Rajpoot's passion for gaming, as remarked in the history of the tribes, is strong ; and we can revert to periods long anterior to Tacitus, and perhaps before the woods of Germany were peopled with the worshippers of Tuisto, for the antiquity of this vice amongst the Rajpoot warriors, presenting a highly interesting picture of its pernicious effects. Yoodishtra having staked and lost the throne of India to Duryodhana, to recover it hazarded the beautiful and virtuous Droopdevi. By the loaded dice of his foe she became the *golee* of the Coorwa, who, triumphing in his pride, would have unveiled her in public ; but the deity presiding over female modesty preserved her from the rude gaze of the assembled host ; the miraculous scarf lengthened as he withdrew it, till tired, he desisted at the instance of superior interposition. Yoodishtra, not satisfied with this, staked twelve years of his personal liberty, and became an exile from the haunts of Kalindi, a wanderer in the wilds skirting the distant ocean.

The illegitimate sons of the Rana are called *das*, literally 'slave' : they have no rank, though they are liberally provided for. *Bussie* signifies 'acquired slavery' ; in contradistinction to *gola*, 'an hereditary slave.' The *gola* can only marry a *golee* : the lowest Rajpoot would refuse his daughter to a son of the Rana of this kind. The *bussie* can redeem⁴ his liberty : the *gola* has no wish to do so, because he could not improve his condition nor overcome his natural defects. To the *bussie* nothing dishonourable attaches : the class retain their employments and caste, and

¹ See Appendix, No. XIX.

² The reader of Dow's translation of Ferishta may recollect that when Kootub Udin was left the viceroy of the conqueror, he is made to say, "He placed one *Gola* upon the throne of Ajmér"; mistaking this appellation of the natural brother of the last Hindu sovereign for a proper name. He is mentioned by the bard Chund in his exploits of Pirthwirájá.

³ I have often received the most confidential messages, from chiefs of the highest rank, through these channels.

⁴ The *das* or 'slave' may hold a fief in Rajast'han, but he never can rise above the condition in which this defect of birth has placed him. "L'affranchissement consistait à sortir de la classe des serfs, par l'acquisition d'un fief, ou seulement d'un fonds. La nécessité où s'étaient trouvés les seigneurs féodaux de vendre une partie de leurs terres, pour faire leurs équipages des croisades, avait rendu ces acquisitions communes ; mais le fief n'anoblissait qu'à la troisième génération." Serfs who had twice or thrice been champions, or saved the lives of their masters, were also liberated. "Un évêque d'Auxerre déclara qu'il n'affranchirait gratuitement, qui que ce soit, s'il n'avait reçu quinze blessures à son service."—See Article "Affranchissement," *Dict. de l'ancien Régime*.

are confined to no occupation, but it must be exercised with the chief's sanction. Individuals reclaimed from captivity, in gratitude have given up their liberty: communities, when this or greater evils threatened, have done the same for protection of their lives, religion, and honour. Instances exist of the population of towns being in this situation. The greater part of the inhabitants of the estate of Bijolli are the *bussie* of its chief, who is of the Pramara tribe: they are his subjects; the Rana, the paramount lord, has no sort of authority over them. Twelve generations have elapsed since his ancestor conducted this little colony into Méwar, and received the highest honours and a large estate on the plateau of its border, in a most interesting country.¹

The only badge denoting the *bussie* is a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head. The term interpreted has nothing harsh in it, meaning 'occupant, dweller, or settler.' The numerous towns in India called *Bussie* have this origin: chiefs abandoning their ancient haunts, and settling² with all their retainers and chattels in new abodes. From this, the town of Bussie near Tonk (Rampoora), derived its name, when the Solanki prince was compelled to abandon his patrimonial lands in Guzzerat; his subjects of all classes accompanying him voluntarily, in preference to submitting to foreign rule. Probably the foundation of Bijolli was similar; though only the name of Bussie now attaches to the inhabitants. It is not uncommon, in the overflowing of gratitude, to be told, "You may sell me, I am your *bussie*."³

PRIVATE FEUDS—COMPOSITION.—In a state of society such as these sketches delineate, where all depends on the personal character of the sovereign, the field for the indulgence of the passions, and especially of that most incident to the uncontrollable habits of such races—revenge—must necessarily be great. Private feuds have tended, with the general distraction of the times, to desolate this country. Some account of their mode of prosecution, and the incidents thence arising, cannot fail to throw additional light on the manners of society, which during the last half-century were fast receding to a worse than semi-barbarous condition, and, aided by other powerful causes, might have ended in entire annihilation. The period was rapidly advancing, when this fair region of Méwar, the garden of Rajast'han, would have reverted to its primitive sterility. The tiger and the wild boar had already become inmates of the capital, and the bats flitted undisturbed in the palaces of her princes. The ante-courts, where the chieftains and their followers assembled to grace their prince's cavalcade, were overgrown with dank shrubs and grass, through which a mere footpath

¹ I could but indistinctly learn whether this migration, and the species of paternity here existing, arose from rescuing them from Tatar invaders or from the calamity of famine.

² *Bussna*, 'to settle.'

³ I had the happiness to be the means of releasing from captivity some young chiefs, who had been languishing in Mahratta fetters as hostages for the payment of a war contribution. One of them, a younger brother of the Poorawut division, had a mother dying to see him; but though he might have taken her house in the way, a strong feeling of honour and gratitude made him forego this anxious visit: "I am your Rajpoot, your gola, your *bussie*." He was soon sent off to his mother. Such little acts, mingling with public duty, are a compensation for the many drawbacks of solitude, gloom, and vexation, attending such situations. They are no sinecures or beds of roses—ease, comfort, and health, being all subordinate considerations.

conducted the 'descendant of a hundred kings' to the ruins of his capital.

In these principalities the influence of revenge is universal. Not to prosecute a feud is tantamount to an acknowledgment of self-degradation ; and, as in all countries where the laws are insufficient to control individual actions or redress injuries, they have few scruples as to the mode of its gratification. Hence feuds are entailed with the estates from generation to generation. To sheathe the sword till 'a feud is balanced' (their own idiomatic expression), would be a blot never to be effaced from the escutcheon.

In the Hindu word which designates a feud we have another of those striking coincidences in terms to which allusion has already been made : *wér* is 'a feud,' *wéree*, 'a foe.' The Saxon term for the composition of a feud, *wergeldt*, is familiar to every man. In some of these states the initial vowel is hard, and pronounced *bér*. In Rajast'han, *bér* is more common than *wér*, but throughout the south-west *wér* only is used. In these we have the original Saxon word *war*,¹ the French *guer*. The Rajpoot *wergeldt* is land or a daughter to wife. In points of honour the Rajpoot is centuries in advance of our Saxon forefathers, who had a legislative remedy for every bodily injury, when each finger and toe had its price.² This might do very well when the injury was committed on a hind, but the Rajpoot must have blood for blood. The monarch must be powerful who can compel acceptance of the compensation, or *moond-kuttie*.³

The prosecution of a feud is only to be stopped by a process which is next to impracticable ; namely, by the party injured volunteering forgiveness, or the aggressor throwing himself as a suppliant unawares on the clemency of his foe within his own domains : a most trying situation for each to be placed in, yet not unexampled, and revenge in such a case would entail infamy. It was reserved for these degenerate days to produce such an instance.

The Raja of Shapoorá, one of the most powerful of the chiefs of Méwar, and of the Rana's blood, had a feud with the Ranawut chief, the Bhoomia proprietor of Amergurh. Oméda,⁴ the chief of Shapoorá, held two estates : one was the grant of the kings of Dehli, the other of his own sovereign, and each amounting to £10,000⁵ of annual rent, besides the duties on com-

¹ Gilbert on *Tenures*, art. "Warranty," p. 169.

² "The great toe took rank as it should be, and held to double the sum of the others, for which ten scyllinga was the value without the nail, which was thirty scealta to boot."—Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 133.

³ Appendix, No. XVIII. The laws of composition were carried to a much greater extent amongst the Hindu nations than even amongst those of the Anglo-Saxons, who might have found in Menu all that was ever written on the subject, from the killing of a Brahmin by design to the accidental murder of a dog. The Brahmin is four times the value of the soldier, eight of the merchant, and sixteen times of the Soodra. "If a Brahmin kill one of the soldier caste (without malice), a bull and one thousand cows is the fine of expiation. If he slays a merchant, a bull and one hundred cows is the fine. If a Soodra or lowest class, ten white cows and a bull to the priest is the expiation." Menu legislated also for the protection of the brute creation, and if the priest by chance kills a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must drink nothing but milk for three days and nights, or walk four miles in the night.—Vide *Institutes of Menu*, edited by that able orientalist, Professor Haughton.

⁴ Oméda, 'hope.'

⁵ Together £20,000, equal to £100,000 of England, if the respective value of the necessaries of life be considered.

merce. His estate in Méwar was in the district of Mandelgurh, where also lay his antagonist's; their bounds were in common and some of the lands were intermixed: this led to disputes, threats, and blows, even in the towns of their fathers, between their husbandmen. The Bhoomia Dellil was much less powerful; he was lord of only ten villages, not yielding above £1200 a year; but they were compact and well managed, and he was popular amongst his brethren, whose swords he could always command. His castle was perched on a rock, and on the towers facing the west (the direction of Shapoorá) were mounted some swivels: moreover a belt of forest surrounded it, through which only two or three roads were cut, so that surprise was impossible. Dellil had therefore little to fear, though his antagonist could bring two thousand of his own followers against him. The feud burned and cooled alternately; but the Raja's exposed villages enabled Dellil to revenge himself with much inferior means. He carried off the cattle, and sometimes the opulent subjects, of his foe, to his donjon-keep in Amergurh for ransom. Meanwhile the husbandmen of both suffered, and agriculture was neglected, till half the villages held by Oméda in Mandelgurh became deserted. The Raja had merited this by his arrogance and attempts to humble Dellil, who had deserved more of the sympathies of his neighbours than his rival, whose tenants were tired of the payments of *birchec-dohac*.¹

Oméda was eccentric, if the term be not too weak to characterise acts which, in more civilised regions, would have subjected him to coercion. He has taken his son and suspended him by the cincture to the pinnacle of his little chapel at Shapoorá, and then called on the mother to come and witness the sight. He would make excursions alone on horseback or on a swift camel, and be missing for days. In one of these moods he and his foe Dellil encountered face to face within the bounds of Amergurh. Dellil only saw a chief high in rank at his mercy. With courtesy he saluted him, invited him to his castle, entertained him, and pledged his health and forgiveness in the *munwár píala*:² they made merry, and in the cup agreed to extinguish the remembrance of the feud.

Both had been summoned to the court of the sovereign. The Raja proposed that they should go together, and invited him to go by Shapoorá. Dellil accordingly saddled his twenty steeds, moved out his equipage, and providing himself with fitting raiment, and funds to maintain him at the capital, accompanied the Raja to receive the return of his hospitality. They ate from the same platter,³ drank of the same cup and enjoyed the song and dance. They even went together to their devotions, to swear before their deity what they had pledged in the cup—oblivion of the past. But scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the chapel, when the head of the chief of Amergurh was rolling on the pavement, and the deity and the altar were sprinkled with his blood! To this atrocious and unheard-of breach of the laws of hospitality, the Raja added the baseness of the pilferer, seizing on the effects of his now lifeless foe. He is said, also, with

¹ *Birchec* is 'a lance.' In these marauding days, when there was a riever in every village, they sallied out to 'run the country,' either to stop the passenger on the highway or the inhabitant of the city. The lance at his breast, he would call out '*dohac*,' an invocation of aid. During harvest time *birchec-dohac* used to be exacted.

² 'Cup of invitation.'

³ This is a favourite expression, and a mode of indicating great friendship: "to eat of the same platter (*thali*), and drink of the same cup (*píala*)."

Balba, who established the festival of the Anacúta. They remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Girdhari, the grandson of Balba, who having seven sons, gave to each a *rúpa* or statue, and whose descendants continue in the office of priest. The names and present abodes of the gods are as follows :—

Nath-ji, the god, or Gordan-Nath, god of the mount . Nat'hdwara.

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Nonita | Nat'hdwara. |
| 2. Mat'hura-Nath | Kotah. |
| 3. Dwar-ca-Nath | Kankerowli. |
| 4. Gokul-Nath, or Gokul-Chandrama | Jeipoor. |
| 5. Yadu-Nath | Surat. |
| 6. Vital-Nath | Kotah. |
| 7. Mudhun Mohuna | Jeipoor. |

Nath-ji is not enumerated amongst the forms ; he stands supreme.

Nonita, or Nonanda, the juvenile Kaniya, has his altar separate, though close to Nath-ji. He is also styled Bala-mokund, 'the blessed child,' and is depicted as an infant with a *péra*¹ or comfit-ball in his hand. This image, which was one of the *penates* of a former age, and which, since the destruction of the shrines of Crishna by the Islamites, had lain in the Yamuna, attached itself to the sacerdotal zone (*zunu*) of the high-priest Balba, while he was performing his ablutions, who, carrying it home, placed it in a niche of the temple and worshipped it : and Nonanda yet receives the peculiar homage of the high-priest and his family as their household divinity. Of the second image, Mat'hura Nath, there is no particular mention : it was at one time at Kamnorh in Méwar, but is now at Kotah.

Balcrishna, the third son, had Dwar-ca Nath, which statue, now at Kankerowli in Méwar, is asserted to be the identical image that received the adoration of Raja Umrika, a prince of the solar race who lived in the *Satya Yuga*, or silver age. The 'god of the mount' revealed himself in a dream to his high-priest, and told him of the domicile of this his representative at Kanouj. Thither Balba repaired, and having obtained it from the *Brahmin*, appointed Damodur-das Khetri to officiate at his altar.

The fourth statue, that of Gokul-Nath, or Gokul Chandrama (*i.e.* the moon of Gokul), had an equally mysterious origin, having been discovered in a deep ravine on the banks of the river ; Balba assigned it to his brother-in-law. Gokul is an island on the Jumna, a few miles below Mat'hura, and celebrated in the early history of the pastoral divinity. The residence of this image at Jeipoor does not deprive the little island of its honours as a place of pilgrimage ; for the '*god of Gokul*' has an altar on the original site, and his rites are performed by an aged priestess, who disowns the jurisdiction of the high-priest of Nat'hdwara, both in the spiritual and temporal concerns of her shrine ; and who, to the no small scandal of all who are interested in Apollo, appealed from the fiat of the high-priest to the British court of justice. The royal grants of the Mogul emperors were produced, which proved the right to lay in the high-priest, though a

¹ The *péra* of Mat'hura can only be made from the waters of the Yamuna, from whence it is still conveyed to Nonanda at Nat'hdwara, and with curds forms his evening repast.

long period of almost undisturbed authority had created a feeling of independent control in the family of the priestess, which they desired might continue. A compromise ensued, when the author was instrumental in restoring harmony to the shrines of Apollo.

The fifth, Yadu-Nath, is the deified ancestor of the whole *Yadu* race. This image, now at Surat, formerly adorned the shrine of Mahavan near Mat'hura, which was destroyed by Mahmud.

The sixth, Vitul-Nath, or Pandurang, was found in the Ganges at Benares, *Samvat* 1572 (A.D. 1516), from which we may judge of their habit of multiplying divinities.

The seventh, Mudhun Mohuna, "he who intoxicates with desire," the seductive lover of Radha and the *Gopis*, has his rites performed by a female. The present priestess of Mohuna is the mother of Damodra, the supreme head of all who adore the Apollo of Vrij.

I am not aware of the precise period of Balba Acharya, who thus collected the seven images of Crishna now in Rajast'han; but he must have lived about the time of the last of the Lodi kings, at the period of the conquest of India by the Moguls (A.D. 1526). The present pontiff, Damodra, as before said, is his lineal descendant; and whether in addressing him verbally or by letter, he is styled *Maharaja* or 'great prince.'

As the supreme head of the Vishnu sect, his person is held to be *Ansa*, or "a portion of the divinity"; and it is maintained that so late as the father of the present incumbent, the god manifested himself and conversed with the high-priest. The present pontiff is now about thirty years of age. He is of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour: courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high calling: meek, as becomes the priest of Govinda, but with the finished manners of one accustomed to the first society. His features are finely moulded, and his complexion good. He is about the middle size, though as he rises to no mortal, I could not exactly judge of his height. When I saw him he had one only daughter, to whom he is much attached. He has but one wife, nor does Crishna allow polygamy to his priest. In times of danger, like some of his prototypes in the dark ages of Europe, he poised the lance, and found it more effective than spiritual anathemas, against those who would first adore the god, and then plunder him. Such were the Mahratta chiefs, Jeswunt Rao Holkar and Bapoo Sindia. Damodra accordingly made the tour of his extensive diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. He rode the finest mares in the country; laid aside his pontificals for the quilted *dugla*, and was summoned to matins by the kettle-drum instead of the bell and cymbal. In this he only imitated Kaniya, who often mixed in the ranks of battle, and "dyed

¹ *Gosāden* is a title more applicable to the *celibataire* worshippers of Hari than of Heri—of Jupiter than of Apollo. It is alleged that the Emperor Akber first bestowed this epithet on the high-priest of Crishna, whose rites attracted his regard. They were previously called *Dikhit*, 'one who performs sacrifice,' a name given to a very numerous class of Brahmins.

The *Gotra Acharya*, or genealogical creed of the high-priest, is as follows: "*Tylung Brahmin, Bhardhwaja gotra*,¹ *Gūracūla*,² *Tyturi sac'ha*; i.e. Brahmin of Telingana, of the tribe of Bhardhwaja, of the race of Gūr, of the branch Tyturi."

¹ *Bhardhwaja* was a celebrated founder of a sect in the early ages.

² *Gūr* is an epithet applied to Vrishpati, "Lord of the Bull," the Indian Jupiter, who is called the *Gūr*, preceptor or guardian of the gods.

his saffron robe in the red-stained field." Had Damodra been captured on one of these occasions by any marauding Pat'han, and incarcerated, as he assuredly would have been, for ransom, the marauder might have replied to the Rana, as did the Plantagenet king to the Pope, when the surrender of the captive church-militant bishop was demanded, "Is this thy son Joseph's coat?" But, notwithstanding this display of martial principle, which covered with a helmet the shaven crown, his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable, and he furnishes a striking contrast to the late head of the Vishnu establishments in Marwar, who commenced with the care of his master's conscience, and ended with that of the state; meek and unassuming till he added temporal¹ to spiritual power, which developed unlimited pride, with all the qualities that too often wait on "a little brief authority," and to the display of which he fell a victim. Damodra,² similarly circumstanced, might have evinced the same failings, and have met the same end; but though endeavours were made to give him political influence at the Rana's court, yet, partly from his own good sense, and partly through the dissuasion of the Nestor of Kotah (Zalim Sing), he was not entrained in the vortex of its intrigues, which must have involved the sacrifice of wealth and the proper dignity of his station.

APPENDIX

No. I.

Grant of the Rahtore Rant, the Queen-Mother of Oodipoor, on the death of her Son, the Heir-Apparent, Prince Umra.

Sid Sri Burra³ *Rahtor-ji* to the *Patéls* and inhabitants of *Giroh*. The four *bégahs* of land, belonging to the *Jat Rogga*, have been assigned to the Brahmin *Kishna* on the *Anta Samya* (final epoch) of *Lalji*.⁴ *Let him possess*

¹ The high priest of Jalindra-nath used to appear at the head of a cavalcade far more numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar. A sketch of this personage will appear elsewhere. These Brahmins were not a jot behind the ecclesiastical lords of the Middle Ages, who are thus characterised: "Les seigneurs ecclésiastiques, malgré l'humilité chrétienne, ne se sont pas montrés moins orgueilleux que les nobles laïcs. Le doyen du chapitre de Notre Dame du Port, à Clermont, pour montrer sa grande noblesse, officiait avec toute la pompe féodale. Etant à l'autel, il avait l'oiseau sur la perche gauche, et on portait devant lui la hallebarde; on la lui portait aussi de la même manière pendant qu'on chantait l'évangile, et aux processions il avait lui-même l'oiseau sur le poing, et il marchait à la tête de ses serviteurs, menant ses chiens de chasse."—*Dict. de l'Anc. Régime*, p. 380.

² The first letter I received on reaching England after my long residence in India was from this priest, filled with anxious expressions for my health, and speedy return to protect the lands and sacred kine of Apollo.

³ The great *Rahtore* queen. There were two of this tribe; she was the queen-mother.

⁴ An endearing epithet, applied to children, from *larla*, beloved.

*the rents thereof.*¹ The dues for wood and forage (*khur lākur*) contributions (*burar*) are renounced by the state in favour of the Brahmins.

Samvat 1875, Amavasya 15th of Asoj, A.D. 1819.

No. II.

Grant held by a Brahmin of Birkhairah.

"A Brahmin's orphan was compelled by hunger to seek sustenance in driving an oil-mill; instead of oil the receptacle was filled with blood. The frightened oilman demanded of the child who he was; 'A Brahmin's orphan,' was the reply. Alarmed at the enormity of his guilt in thus employing the son of a priest, he covered the palm of his hand with earth, in which he sowed the tilasi seed, and went on a pilgrimage to Dwarica. He demanded the presence (*darsana*) of the god; the priests pointed to the ocean, when he plunged in, and had an interview with Dwarica Nath, who presented him with a written order on the *Rana* for forty-five *bigahs* of land. He returned and threw the writing before the *Rana*, on the steps of the temple of Juggernath. The *Rana* read the writing of the god, placed it on his head, and immediately made out the grant. This is three hundred and fifty years ago, as recorded by an inscription on stone, and his descendant, Koshala, yet enjoys it."

(A true Translation.)

J. Tod.

No. III.

The Palode inscription is unfortunately mislaid; but in searching for it, another was discovered from Unair, four miles south-west of the ancient Morwan, where there is a temple to the four-armed divinity (Chathurbhuj), endowed in *Samvat 1570*, by *Rana Juggut Sing*.

On one of the pillars of the temple is inscribed a voluntary gift made in *Samvat 1845*, and signed by the village *Panch*, of the first-fruits of the harvest, namely, *two seers and a-half* (five pounds weight) from each *khal*² of the spring, and the same of the autumnal harvests.

No. IV.

Sri Umra Sing (II.) etc., etc.

Whereas the shrine of Sri Pratap-Iswara (*the God of Fortune*) has been erected in the meadows of Rasmi, all the groves and trees are sacred to

¹ It is customary to call these grants to religious orders "grants of land," although they entitle only the rents thereof; for there is no *seizin* of the land itself, as numerous inscriptions testify, and which, as well as the present, prove the proprietary right to be in the cultivator only. The *tamba-patta*,¹ or copper-plate *patent* (by which such grants are properly designated) of Yasovarman, the *Pramara* prince of Oojein, seven hundred years ago, is good evidence that the rents only are granted; he commands the crown tenants of the two villages assigned to the temple "to pay all dues as they arise—money-rent—first share of produce," not a word of *seizin* of the soil.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

² A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about *five maunds*.

¹ To distinguish them from grants of land to *feudal tenants*, which patents (*patta*) are manuscript.

him; whoever cuts down any of them is an offender to the state, and shall pay a fine of three hundred rupees, and the *ass*¹ shall be the portion of the officers of government who suffer it.

Pos. 14, *Samvat* 1712 (A.D. 1656).

No. V.

Mahrana Sri Raj Sing, commanding.

To the Nobles, Ministers, *Patéls*,² *Pulwaris*,² of the ten thousand [villages] of Méwar (*dossehs Méwar-ra*), according to your stations—read!

1. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the *Jains* have been authorised; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter—this is their ancient privilege.

2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amra*).³

3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*sirna*) to the dwellings (*upasrá*)⁴ of the *Yatis*,⁵ shall not there be seized by the servants of the court.

4. The *kuncht*⁶ (handful) at harvest, the *múti* (handful) of *keranoh*, the charity lands (*doli*), grounds, and houses, established by them in the various towns, shall be maintained.

5. This ordinance is issued in consequence of the representation of the *Ric*⁷ Manoh, to whom is granted fifteen *bigahs* of *adhán*⁸ land, and twenty-five of *malaiti*.⁹ The same quantity of each kind in each of the districts of Nimutch and Nimbahaira.—Total in three districts, forty-five *bigahs* of *adhán*, and seventy-five of *mal*.⁹

On seeing this ordinance, let the land be measured and assigned, and let none molest the *Yatis*, but foster their privileges: Cursed be he who infringes them—the *cow* to the Hindu—the *hog* and *corpse* to the Musulman.

(By command)

Samvat 1749, *Mahsud* 5th, A.D. 1693.

SAH DYAL (Minister).

No. VI.

Maharaja Chuttur Sing (one of the Rana's sons), commanding.

In the town of Rasmi, whoever slays sheep, buffaloes, goats, or other living thing, is a criminal to the state; his house, cattle, and effects shall be forfeited, and himself expelled the village.

(By command)

Pos Sud 14, *Samvat* 1705, A.D. 1649.

The Pancholi DUMICA DAS.

¹ The *gadda-ghál* is a punishment unknown in any but the Hindu code; the hieroglyphic import appears on the pillar, and must be seen to be understood.

² Revenue officers.

³ Literally 'immortal,' from *mura*, 'death,' and the privative prefix.

⁴ Schools or colleges of the *Yatis*.

⁵ Priests of the *Jains*.

⁶ *Kuncht* and *múti* are both a 'handful'; the first is applied to grain in the stalk at harvest time; the other to such edibles in merchandise as sugar, raisins, etc., collectively termed *keranoh*.

⁷ *Ric* is an ancient title applied to the highest class of priests; *Ric-Ricsa-Ric-iswára*, applied to royalty in old times.

⁸ *Adhán* is the richest land, lying under the protection of the town walls; *mal* or *malaiti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

⁹ In all a hundred and twenty *bigahs*, or about forty acres.

No. VII.

Mahrana Jey Sing to the inhabitants of Bakrole; printers, potters, oilmen, etc., etc., commanding.

From the 11th *Asar* (June) to the full moon of *Asoj* (September), none shall drain the waters of the lake; no oil-mill shall work, or earthen vessel be made, during these the four rainy months.

No. VIII.

Mahrana Sri Juggut Sing II., commanding

The village of *Siarh* in the hills, of one thousand rupees yearly rent, having been chosen by *Nat'h-ji* (*the God*) for his residence, and given up by *Rinna Raghudé*,¹ I have confirmed it. The *Gosaén*² and his heirs shall enjoy it for ever.

Samvat 1793, A.D. 1737.

No. IX.

Sid Sri Mahraja Dheraj, Mahrana Sri Bhím Sing-ji, commanding.

The undermentioned towns and villages were presented to *Sri-ji*³ by copper-plate. The revenues (*hasil*),⁴ contributions (*burar*), taxes, dues (*lagut-bé-lagut*), trees, shrubs, foundations and boundaries (*ním sím*), shall all belong to *Sri-ji*. If of my seed, none will ever dispute this.

The ancient copper-plate being lost, I have thus renewed it.

Here follows a list of *thirty-four* entire towns and villages, many from the fisc, or confirmations of the grants of the chiefs, besides various parcels of arable land, from twenty to one hundred and fifty *bígahs*, in forty-six more villages, from chiefs of every class, and patches of meadow-land (*bíra*) in twenty more.

No. X.

Sri Mahrana Bhíma Sing-ji, commanding.

To the towns of *Sri-ji*, or to the [*personal*] lands of the *Gosaén-ji*,⁵ no molestation shall be offered. No warrants or exactions shall be issued

¹ The chief of *Délwara*.

² There are other grants later than this, which prove that all grants were renewed in every new reign. This grant also proves that no chief has the power to alienate without his sovereign's sanction.

³ Epithet indicative of the greatness of the deity.

⁴ Here is another proof that the sovereign can only alienate the revenues (*hasil*); and though everything upon and about the grant, yet *not the soil*. The *nám-sím* is almost as powerful an expression as the old grant to the *Rawdons*—

vol. i. p. 223.

⁵ A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about *five māunus*.

¹ To distinguish them from grants of land to *feudal tenants*, which patents (*putta*) are manuscript.

or levied upon them. All complaints, suits, or matters, in which justice is required, originating in Nat'hdwara, shall be settled there; none shall interfere therein, and the decisions of the *Gosaén-ji* I shall invariably confirm. The town and transit duties¹ (of Nat'hdwara and villages pertaining thereto), the assay (*purkhaye*)¹ fees from the public markets, duties on precious metals (*kasoti*),¹ all brokerage (*dulali*), and dues collected at the four gates; all contributions and taxes of whatever kind, are presented as an offering to Sri-ji; let the income thereof be placed in Sri-ji's coffers.

All the products of foreign countries imported by the *Vaishnuvas*,² whether domestic or foreign, and intended for consumption at Nat'hdwara,³ shall be exempt from duties. The right of sanctuary (*sirna*) of Sri-ji, both in the town and in all his other villages,⁴ will be maintained: the Almighty will take cognisance of any innovation. Wherefore, let all chiefs, farmers of duties, beware of molesting the goods of Nat'h-ji (*the god*), and wherever such may halt, let guards be provided for their security, and let each chief convey them through his bounds in safety. If of my blood, or if my servants, this warrant will be obeyed for ever and for ever. Whoever resumes this grant will be a caterpillar in hell during 60,000 years.

By command—through the chief butler (*Panairi*) Eklingdas: written by Surut Sing, son of Nat'hji Pancholi, *Mah-sud* 1st, *Samvat* 1865; A.D. 1809.

No. XI.

Personal grant to the high-priest, Damodurji Mahraj.

Swesta Sri, from the abode at Udyapúr, Mahrana Sri Bhím Sing-ji, commanding.

To all the chieftains, landholders, managers of the crown and *dori*⁵ lands, to all *Patéls*, etc., etc., etc. As an offering to the *Sri Gosaén-ji* two rupees have been granted in every village throughout *Méwar*, one in each harvest—let no opposition be made thereto. If of my kin or issue, none will revoke this—the *án* (oath of allegiance) be upon his head. By command, through Purihara Myaram, *Samvat* 1860, *Jaet sud* 5th *Munigulwar*; A.D. 1804.

At one side of the patent, in the Rana's own hand, "An offering to Sri Girdhari-ji⁶ Mahraj—If of my issue none will disobey—who dares, may the Almighty punish!"

¹ All these are royalties, and the Rana was much blamed, even by his *Vishnuva* ministers, for sacrificing them even to Kaniya.

² Followers of Vishnu, Crishna, or Kaniya, chiefly mercantile.

³ Many merchants, by the connivance of the conductors of the caravans of Nat'h-ji's goods, contrived to smuggle their goods to Nat'hdwara, and to the disgrace of the high priest or his underlings, this traffic was sold for their personal advantage. It was a delicate thing to search these caravans, or to prevent the loss to the state from the evasion of the duties. The Rana durst not interfere lest he might incur the penalty. The author's influence with the high priest was applied to the highest class of priests; and...

⁴ Applied to royalty in old times.

⁵ *Adhán* is the richest land, lying under the protection of the town walls; *mal* or *malaiti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

⁶ In all a hundred and twenty *bíghas*, or about forty acres.

Mahrana Bhīm Sing, commanding.

To the Mindra (*minister*) of Sri Murli Munohur (*flute delighting*), situated on the dam of the lake at Mandelgurh, the following grant has been made, with all the dues, income, and privileges, viz.:

1. The hamlet called Kotwal-khéra, with all thereto appertaining.
2. Three rupees worth of saffron monthly from the transit duty *chābūtra*.
3. From the police-office of Mandelgurh :
Three tunics (*bagha*) for the idol on each festival, viz. *Ushtumi*, *Jul-jatra*, and *Vassunt Panchama*.
Five rupees worth of oil ¹ on the *Jul-jatra*, and two and a half in the full moon of *Kartik*.
4. Both gardens under the dam of the lake, with all the fruits and flowers thereof.
5. The *Inch* ² on all the vegetables appertaining to the prince.
6. *Kūncht* and *dalali*, or the handful at harvest, and all brokerage.
7. The income arising from the sale of the estates is to be applied to the repairs of the temple and dam.

Megsir Sud 1, *Samvat* 1866 ; A.D. 1810.

CHAPTER XXI

Importance of mythological history—Aboriginal tribes of India—The Rajpoots are conquerors—Solar year of the Hindus—Opened at the winter solstice—The Vassant, or spring festival—Birth of the Sun—Common origin assumed of the Rajpoots and Getic tribe of Scandinavia—Surya, the sun-god of all nations, Thor, Syrus, Sol—Sun-worship—The Ahairea, or spring-hunt, described—Boar-feast—Phalgun festival—The Rajpoot Saturnalia—Games on horseback—Rites to the Manes—Festival of Sītla as guardian of children—Rana's birthday—Phūladōla, the Rajpoot Floralia—Festival of Gouri—Compared with the Diana of Egypt—The Isis or Ertha of the Suevi—And the Phrygian Cybele—Anniversary of Rama—Fête of Camdēva or Cupid—Little Gangore—Inundation of the capital—Festival of Rembha or Venus—Rajpoot and Druiditic rites—Their analogy—Serpent worship—*Rakhi*, or Festival of the bracelet.

It has been observed by that philosophical traveller, Dr. Clarke, that, "by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors, with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change." ³ Impressed with the justness, as well as the originality of the remark, I shall adopt it as my guide in the observations I propose to make on the religious festivals and superstitions of Méwar. However important may be the study of military,

¹ Amongst the items of the Chartulary of Dumfermline, is the tithe of the oil of the Greenland whale fisheries.

² A handful of every basket of vegetables sold in the public markets.

³ *Travels in Scandinavia*, vol. i. p. 33.

civil, and political history, the science is incomplete without mythological history; and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy, who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination. Did no other consequence result from the study of mythology, than the fact, that, in all ages and countries, man has desecrated his reason, and voluntarily reduced himself below the level of the brutes that perish, it must provoke inquiry into the cause of this degradation. Such an investigation would develop, not only the source of history, the handmaid of the arts of sciences, but the origin and application of the latter, in a theogony typical of the seasons, their changes, and products. Thus mythology may be considered the parent of all history.

With regard, however, to the rude tribes who still inhabit the mountains and fastnesses of India, and who may be regarded as the aborigines of that country, the converse of this doctrine is more probable. Not their language only, but their superstitions, differ from those of the Rajpoots: though, from a desire to rise above their natural condition, they have engrafted upon their own the most popular mythologies of their civilised conquerors, who from the north gradually spread themselves over the continent and peninsula, even to the remote isles of the Indian ocean. Of the primitive inhabitants we may ~~enumerate the Meenas, the Méras, the Goands, the Bhils, the Séryas, the Sarjas, the Ahiras, the Goojurs, and those who inhabit the forests of the Nerbudda, the Sone, the Mahanadi, the mountains of Sargooja, and the lesser Nagpore; many of whom are still but little removed from savage life, and whose dialects are as various as their manners. These are content to be called the 'sons of the earth,'¹ or 'children of the forest,'² while their conquerors, the Rajpoots, arrogate celestial descent.³ How soon after the flood the Suryas, or sun-worshippers, entered India Proper, must ever remain uncertain. It is sufficient that they were anterior in date to the Indus, or races tracing their descent from the moon (*Ind*); as the migration of the latter from the central lands of Indo-Scythia was antecedent to that of the Agnicôlas, or fire-worshippers, of the Snake race, claiming Takshac as their original progenitor. The Suryas,⁴ who migrated both to the East and West, as population became redundant in these fertile regions, may be considered the *Celtic*, as the Indu-Getæ may be accounted the *Gothic*, races of India. To attempt to discriminate these different races, and mark the shades which once separated them, after a system of priestcraft has amalgamated the mass, and identified their superstitions, would be fruitless; but the observer of ancient customs may, with the imperfect guidance of peculiar rites, discover things, and even names, totally incongruous with the Brahminical system, and which could never have originated within the Indus or Uttuc,—the Rubicon of Gangetic antiquarians, who fear to look beyond that stream for the origin of tribes.~~

¹ *Bhomapûtra*.

² *Venapûtra*.

³ *Sûryas* and *Indupûtrâs*.

⁴ The Sauromatia, or Sarmatians of early Europe, as well as the Syrians, were most probably colonies of the same Sûryavansi, who simultaneously peopled the shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean, and the banks of the Indus and Ganges. Many of the tribes described by Strabo as dwelling around the Caspian, are enumerated amongst the thirty-six royal races of India. One of these, the *Sacaseni*, supposed to be the ancestors of our own Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia, adjoining Albania.

A residence amongst the Rajpoots would lead to a disregard of such boundaries, either to the moral or physical man, as the annals of Méwar abundantly testify.

Sir Wm. Jones remarks, "If the festivals of the old Greeks, Persians, Romans, Egyptians, and Goths could be arranged with exactness in the same form with the Indian, there would be found a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all might throw great light on the religion, and perhaps on the history, of the primitive world."

In treating of the festivals and superstitions of the Rajpoots, wherever there may appear to be a fair ground for supposing an analogy with those of other nations of antiquity, I shall not hesitate to pursue it. The proper names of many of the martial Rajpoots would alone point out the necessity of seeking for a solution of them out of the explored paths; and where Sanscrit derivation cannot be assigned, as it happens in many instances, we are not, therefore, warranted in the hasty conclusion that the names must have been adopted since the conquests of Mahmoud or Shabudín, events of comparatively modern date. Let us at once admit the hypothesis of Pinkerton,—the establishment of an original Indu-Getic or Indo-Scythic empire, "extending from the Caspian to the Ganges"; or if this conjecture be too extensive or too vague, let us fix the centre of this *Media-Bhúmi* in the fertile region of Sogdiana;¹ and from the lights which modern history affords on the many migrations from this nursery of mankind, even since the time of Mahomed, let us form an opinion of those which have not been recorded, or have been conveyed by the Hindus only in imperfect allegory; and with the aid of ancient customs, obsolete words, and proper names, trace them to Indo-Scythic colonies grafted on the parent stock. The *Poorans* themselves bear testimony to the incorporation of Scythic tribes with the Hindus, and to the continual irruptions of the Sacæ, the Pelavi, the Yavans,² the Túrshkas, names conspicuous amongst the races of Central Asia, and recorded in the pages of the earliest Western historians. Even so early as the period of Rama, when furious international wars were carried on between the military and sacerdotal classes for supremacy, we have the names of these tribes recorded as auxiliaries to the priesthood; who, while admitting them to fight under the banners of Síva, would not scruple to stamp them with the seal of Hinduism. In this manner, beyond a doubt, at a much later period than the events in the *Ramayana*, these tribes from the North either forced themselves among, or were incorporated with, 'the races of the sun.' When, therefore, we meet

¹ Long after the overthrow of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by the Yuti or Getes, this region was populous and flourishing. In the year 120 before Christ, De Guignes says: "Dans ce pays on trouvait d'excellens grains, du vin de vigne, plus de cent villes, tant grandes que petites. Il est aussi fait mention du Tahia situé au midi du Gihon, et où il y a de grandes villes murées. Le général Chinois y vit des toiles de l'Inde et autres marchandises, etc., etc."—*Hist. Gen. des Huns*, vol. i. p. 51.

² Yavan or Javan is a celebrated link of the Indu (*lunar*) genealogical chain; nor need we go to Ionia for it, though the Ionians may be a colony descended from Javan, the ninth from Yayat, who was the third son of Ayú, the ancestor of the Hindu as well as of the Tatar Indu-vansi. The *Asuras*, who are so often described as invaders of India, and which word has ordinarily a mere irreligious acceptation, I firmly believe to mean the Assyrians.

with rites in Rajpootana and in ancient Scandinavia, such as were practised amongst the Getic nations on the Oxus, why should we hesitate to assign the origin of both to this region of earliest civilisation? When we see the ancient Asi, and the Yeuts, or Juts, taking omens from the white steed of Thor, shut up in the temple at Upsala; and in like manner, the Rajpoot of past days offering the same animal in sacrifice to the sun, and his modern descendant taking the omen from his neigh, why are we to refuse our assent to the common origin of the superstition practised by the Gete of the Oxus? Again, when we find the "homage to the sword" performed by all the Getic races of antiquity in Dacia, on the Baltic, as well as by the modern Rajpoot, shall we draw no conclusion from this testimony of the father of history, who declares that such rites were practised on the Jaxartes in the very dawn of knowledge? Moreover, why hesitate to give Eastern etymologies for Eastern rites, though found on the Baltic? The antiquarian of the North (Mallet) may thus be assisted to the etymon of '*Tir-sing*,' the enchanted sword of Angantyr, in *tir*, 'water,' and *sing*, 'a lion'; i.e. in water or spirit like a lion; for even *pani*, the common epithet for water, is applied metaphorically to 'spirit.'

It would be less difficult to find Sanscrit derivations for many of the proper names in the *Edda*, than to give a Sanscrit analysis of many common amongst the Rajpoots, which we must trace to an Indo-Scythic root:¹ such as Eyvorsél, Udila, Attitai, Pújoon, Hamira,² and numerous other proper names of warriors. Of tribes: the Cat'hi, Rajpali, Mohila, Sariaspah, Aswaria (*qu.* Assyrian?), Bináfur, Camari, Silara, Dahima, etc. Of mountains: Drúnádhâr, Arabûdha, Aravulli, Aravind'-ha (the root *ara*, or mountain, being Scythic, and the expletive adjunct Sanscrit), 'the hill of Budha,' 'of strength,' 'of limit.' To all such as cannot be resolved into the cognate language of India, what origin can we assign but Scythic?³

In a memoir prepared for me by a well-informed public officer in the

¹ See Turner's *History of Anglo-Saxons* for Indo-Scythic words.

² There were no less than four distinguished leaders of this name amongst the vassals of the last Rajpoot emperor of Dehli; and one of them, who turned traitor to his sovereign and joined Shabudîn, was actually a Scythian, and of the Ghiker race, which maintained their ancient habits of polyandrisim even in Baber's time. The *Haoli Rao* Hamfra was lord of Kangra and the Ghikers of Pamer.

³ Turner, when discussing the history of the *Sakai*, or *Sacaseni*, of the Caspian, whom he justly supposes to be the Saxons of the Baltic, takes occasion to introduce some words of Scythic origin (preserved by ancient writers), to almost every one of which, without straining etymology, we may give a Sanscrit origin.

| | Scythic. | Sanskrit, or Bakha. |
|-----------|--------------------------|---|
| Exampaïos | sacred ways | <i>Agham</i> is the sacred book; <i>pâi</i> and <i>pâda</i> , a foot; <i>pante</i> , a path. |
| Arimu | one | <i>Ad</i> is the first; whence <i>Adima</i> , or man. |
| Spou | an eye. | |
| Oior | a man. | |
| Pata | to kill | <i>Badha</i> , to kill. |
| Tahiti | the chief deity is Vesta | <i>Tâpi</i> is heat or flame; the type of Vesta. |
| Papaïos | „ Jupiter | <i>Baba</i> , or <i>Bapâ</i> , the universal father. The Hindu <i>Jîva-pitri</i> , or <i>Father of Life</i> . |

Rana's court, on the chief festivals celebrated in Méwar, he commenced with those following the autumnal equinox, in the month Asoj or Aswini, opening with the *Noratri*, sacred to the god of war. Their fasts are in general regulated by the moon; although the most remarkable are solar, especially those of the equinoxes and solstices, and the *Sancrantis*, or days on which the sun enters a new sign. The Hindu solar year anciently commenced on the winter solstice, in the month Posha, and was emphatically called "the morning of the gods"; also Sivrát, or night of Siva, analogous, as has been before remarked, to the 'mother night,' which ushered in the new year of the Scandinavian Asi, and other nations of Asiatic origin dwelling in the north.

They term the summer solstice in the month of Asar, 'the night of the Gods,' because Vishnu (as the sun) reposes during the four rainy months on his serpent couch. The lunar year of 360 days was more ancient than the solar, and commenced with the month of Asoj or Aswini: "the moon being at the full when that name was imposed on the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliptic."¹

According to another authority, the festivals commenced on Amavus, or the '*ides*' of Cheyt, near which the vernal equinox falls, the opening of the modern solar year; when, in like manner as at the commencement of the lunar year in Asoj, they dedicate the first nine days of Cheyt (also called *Noratri*) to Iswara and his consort Isa.

Having thus specified both modes of reckoning for the opening of the solar and lunar years, I shall not commence the abstract of the festivals of Méwar with either, but follow the more ancient division of time, when the year closed with the winter solstice in the month of Posh, consequently opening the new year with Magh. By this arrangement, we shall commence with the spring festivals, and let the days dedicated to mirth and gaiety follow each other; preferring the natural to the astrological year, which will enable us to preserve the analogy with the northern nations of Europe, who also reckoned from the winter solstice. The Hindu divides the year into six seasons, each of two months; namely, Vassanta, Greeshma, Varsha, Sharati, Shishíra, Sheeta; or spring, summer, rainy, sultry, dewy, and cold.

It is not, however, my intention to detail all the fasts and festivals which the Rajpoot of Méwar holds in common with the Hindu nation,

| | Scythic. | | Sanscrit, or Bakha. |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|--|
| Oitosuros . . . | the chief deity is Apollo | Aitiswara, or | <i>Sun-God</i> , applicable to Vishnu, who has every attribute of Apollo; from all contraction of <i>aditya</i> , the sun. |
| Artimpasa, or Aripasa | „ | Venus | Apsára, because born from the froth or essence, ' <i>sara</i> ,' of the waters, ' <i>ap</i> .' |
| Thamimasadus . . . | „ | Neptune | Thoéna'tha; or <i>God of the Waters</i> . |
| Apia . . . | wife of Papaíos, or Earth | Ambá, Amá, Omia, | is the universal mother; wife of "Baba Adam," as they term the universal father. |

—See Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 35.

¹ Sir W. Jones, 'On the Lunar Year of the Hindus,' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 257.

but chiefly those restricted to that state, or such as are celebrated with local peculiarity, or striking analogies to those of Egypt, Greece, or Scandinavia. The goddess who presides over mirth and idleness, preferred holding her court amidst the ruins of Oodipoor, to searching elsewhere for a dwelling. This determination to be happy amidst calamity, individual and national, has made the court proverbial in Rajwarra, in the adage, "*sa'h bâra, aur no tahwara*," i.e. *nine* holidays out of *seven* days. Although many of these festivals are common to India, and their maintenance is enjoined by religion, yet not only the prolongation and repetition of some, but the entire institution of others, as well as the peculiar splendour of their solemnisation, originate with the prince; proving how much individual example may influence the manners of a nation.

By the arrangement we have adopted, the lovely VASSANTI, goddess of the spring, will usher in the festivals of Méwar. In 1819 her rites were celebrated in the kalends of January, and even then, on the verge of the tropic, her birth was premature.

The opening of the spring being on the 5th of the month Magha, is thence called the Vasant *panchami*, which in 1819 fell on the 30th of January; consequently the first of Posh (the antecedent month), the beginning of the old Hindu year, or "*the morning of the gods*," fell on the 25th of December. The Vasant continues forty days after the *panchami*, or initiative fifth, during which the utmost license prevails in action and in speech; the lower classes regale even to intoxication on every kind of stimulating confection and spirituous beverage, and the most respectable individuals, who would at other times be shocked to utter an indelicate allusion, roam about with the groups of bacchanals, reciting stanzas of the warmest description in praise of the powers of nature, as did the conscript fathers of Rome during the Saturnalia. In this season, when the barriers of rank are thrown down, and the spirit of democracy is let loose, though never abused, even the wild Bhil, or savage Mèr, will leave his forest or mountain shade to mingle in the revelries of the capital; and decorating his ebon hair or tattered turban with a garland of jessamine, will join the clamorous parties which perambulate the streets of the capital. These orgies are, however, reserved for the conclusion for the forty days sacred to the goddess of nature.

Two days following the initiative fifth, is the *bhân septimi* or 'seventh [day] of the sun,' also called 'the birth of the sun,' with various other metaphorical denominations.¹ On this day there is a grand procession of the Rana, his chiefs and vassals, to the Chougan, where the sun is worshipped. At the Jeipoor court, whose princes claim descent from CUSH, the second son of RAMA, the *bhân septimi* is peculiarly sacred. The chariot of the sun, drawn by eight horses, is taken from the temple dedicated to that orb, and moves in procession: a ceremony otherwise never observed but on the inauguration of a new prince.

In the mythology of the Rajpoots, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmins, the sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitiate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle, from the hope of being received

¹ *Bhascara septimi*, in honour of the sun, as a form of Vishnu.—*Varaha Pûrana*. Macari, from the sun entering the constellation Macara (Pisces), the first of the solar Mâgha.—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 273.

into his mansion. Their highest heaven is accordingly the *Bhan-t'han* or *Bhánuloca*, the 'region of the sun': and like the Indu-Scythic Gete, the Rajpoot warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour,¹ and dedicated to him the first day of the week, namely, *Aditwár*, contracted to *Aitwar*, also called T'hawara.²

The more we attend to the warlike mythology of the north, the more apparent is its analogy with that of the Rajpoots, and the stronger ground is there for assuming that both races inherited their creed from the common land of the *Yuti* of the Jaxartes. What is a more proper etymon for Scandinavian, the abode of the warriors who destroyed the Roman power, than *Scanda*, the Mars or Ku-mara of the Rajpoots? perhaps the origin of the *Kimbri*, derived by Mallet from *Kæmpfer*, 'to fight.'

Thor, in the eleventh fable of the *Edda*, is denominated Asa-Thor,³ the 'lord Thor,' called the Celtic Mars by the Romans. The chariot of Thor is ignobly yoked compared with the car of Surya; but in the substitution of the *he-goats* for the seven-headed horse *Septaswa*, we have but the change of an adjunct depending on clime, when the *Yuti* migrated from the plains of Scythia, of which the horse is a native, to *Yulland*, of whose mountains the goat was an inhabitant prior to any of the race of *Asi*. The northern warrior makes the palace of the sun-god Thor the most splendid of the celestial abodes, "in which are five hundred and forty halls": vying with the *Surya-Mandala*, the supreme heaven of the Rajpoot. Whence such notions of the *Aswa* races of the Ganges, and the *Asi* of Scandinavia, but from the Scythic *Sacæ*, who adored the solar divinity under the name of "*Gæto-Syrus*,"⁴ the *Surya* of the *Sacha* Rajpoot; and as, according to the commentator on the *Edda*, "the ancient people of the north pronounced the *th* as the English now do *ss*," the sun-god *Thor* becomes *Sor*, and is identified still more with *Surya* whose worship no doubt gave the name to that extensive portion of Asia called *Συρία*, as it did to the small peninsula of the *Sauras*, still peopled by tribes of Scythic origin. The *Sol* of the Romans has probably the same Celto-Etrurian origin; with those tribes the sun was the great object of adoration, and their grand festival, the winter solstice, was called *Yule*, *Híul*, *Houl*, "which even at this day signifies the SUN, in the language of Bas-Bretagne and Cornwall."⁵ On the conversion of the descendants of these Scythic Yeuts, who, according to Herodotus, sacrificed the horse (*Hî*) to the sun (*El*), the name of the Pagan jubilee of the solstice was transferred to the day of Christ's nativity, which is thus still held in remembrance by their descendants of the north.

At Oodipoor the sun has universal precedence; his portal (*Surya-pol*)

¹ See p. 63.

² This word appears to have the same import as Thor, the sun-god and war divinity of the Scandinavians.

³ Odin is also called *As* or 'lord'; the Gauls also called him *Œs* or *Es*, and with a Latin termination *Hesus*, whom Lucan calls *Esus*; *Edda*, vol. ii. pp. 45-6. The celebrated translator of these invaluable remnants of ancient superstitions, by which alone light can be thrown on the origin of nations, observes that *Es* or *Œs* is the name for *God* with all the Celtic races. So it was with the Tuscans, doubtless from the Sanscrit, or rather from a more provincial tongue, the common contraction of *Eswâr*, the Egyptian *Osiris*, the Persian *Syr*, the sun-god.

⁴ Which Mallet, from Hesychius, interprets 'good star.'

⁵ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 42.

is the chief entrance to the city ; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (*Surya-mahal*) of the palace ; and from the balcony of the sun (*Surya-gokra*) the descendant of Rama shows himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changi*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed *kirnia*, in allusion to its shape, like a ray (*carna*) of the orb. The last day but one of the month of Magha is called *Sivrat* (night of Siva), and is held peculiarly sacred by the Rana, who is styled the Regent of Siva. It is a rigid fast, and the night is passed in vigils, and rites to the phallic representative of Siva.

The merry month of Phalgun is ushered in with the *Ahaira*, or spring-hunt.¹ The preceding day the Rana distributes to all his chiefs and servants either a dress of green, or some portion thereof, in which all appear habited on the morrow, whenever the astrologer has fixed the hour for sallying forth to slay the boar to *Gouri*, the Ceres of the Rajpoots : the *Ahaira* is therefore called the *Muhoorut ca sihar*, or the chase fixed astrologically. As their success on this occasion is ominous of future good, no means are neglected to secure it, either by scouts previously discovering the lair, or the desperate efforts of the hunters to slay the boar when roused. With the sovereign and his sons all the chiefs sally forth, each on his best steed, and all animated by the desire to surpass each other in acts of prowess and dexterity. It is very rare that in some one of the passes or recesses of the valley the hog is not found ; the spot is then surrounded by the hunters, whose vociferations soon start the *d'hokra*,² and frequently a drove of hogs. Then each cavalier impels his steed, and with lance or sword, regardless of rock, ravine, or tree, presses on the bristly foe, whose knowledge of the country is of no avail when thus circumvented, and the ground soon reeks with gore, in which not unfrequently is mixed that of horse or rider. On the last occasion, there occurred fewer casualties than usual ; though the Chondawut Hamira, whom we nicknamed the "*Red Riever*," had his leg broken, and the second son of Sheodan Sing, a near relation of the Rana, had his neighbour's lance driven through his arm. The young chief of Saloombra was amongst the distinguished of this day's sport. It would appal even an English fox-hunter to see the Rajpoot driving their steeds at full speed, bounding like the antelope over every barrier,—the thick jungle covert, or rocky steep bare of soil or vegetation, —with their lances balanced in the air, or leaning on the saddle-bow slashing at the boar.

The royal kitchen moves out on this occasion, and in some chosen spot

¹ In his delight for this diversion, the Rajpoot evinces his Scythic propensity. The grand hunts of the last Chohan emperor often led him into warfare, for Pirthi Raj was a *poacher* of the first magnitude, and one of his battles with the Tatars was while engaged in field sports on the *Ravf*.

The heir of Gengis Khan was chief huntsman, the highest office of the state amongst the Scythic Tatars ; as Ajānbahu, alike celebrated in either field, of war and sport, was chief huntsman to the Chohan emperor of Dehli, whose bard enters minutely into the subject, describing all the variety of dogs of chase.

² A hog in Hindué ; in Persian *hooq*, nearly our *hog*.

the repast is prepared, of which all partake, for the hog is the favourite food of the Rajpoot, as it was of the heroes of Scandinavia. Nor is the *munwâr pidla*, or invitation cup, forgotten; and having feasted, and thrice slain their bristly antagonist, they return to the capital, where fame had already spread their exploits,—the deeds done by the *birchi* (lance) of Pudma,¹ or the *khanda* (sword) blow of Hamîra,² which lopped the head of the foe of Gouri. Even this martial amusement, the *Ahairca*, has a religious origin. The boar is the enemy of Gouri of the Rajpoots; it was so held of Isis by the Egyptians, of Ceres by the Greeks, of Freya by the north-man, whose favourite food was the hog; and of such importance was it deemed by the Franks, that the second chapter of the Salic law is entirely penal with regard to the stealers of swine. The heroes of the *Edda*, even in Valhalla, feed on the fat of the wild boar *Serimner*, while "the illustrious father of armies fattens his wolves *Geri* and *Freki*, and takes no other nourishment himself than the interrupted quaffing of wine": quite the picture of Hur, the Rajpoot god of war, and his sons the *Bhyrûs*, *Gora*, and *Kala*, metaphorically called the "*sons of slaughter*." We need hardly repeat that the cup of the Scandinavian god of war, like that of the Rajpoots, is the human skull (*cupra*).

As Phalgun advances, the bacchanalian mirth increases; groups are continually patrolling the streets, throwing a crimson powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, so that the garments and visages of all are one mass of crimson. On the 8th, emphatically called the *Phâg*, the Rana joins the queens and their attendants in the palace, when all restraint is removed and mirth is unlimited. But the most brilliant sight is the playing of the *holl* on horseback, on the terrace in front of the palace. Each chief who chooses to join has a plentiful supply of missiles, formed of thin plates of mica or talc, enclosing this crimson powder, called *abtra*, which with the most graceful and dextrous horsemanship they dart at each other, pursuing, caprioling, and jesting. This part of it much resembles the Saturnalia of Rome of this day, when similar missiles are scattered at the *Carnivâle*. The last day or *Poonum* ends the *holl*, when the *Nakarras* from the *Tripolia* summon all the chiefs with their retinues to attend their prince, and accompany him in procession to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of this is a long *sala* or hall, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps: the roof is supported by square columns without any walls, so that the court is entirely open. Here, surrounded by his chiefs, the Rana passes an hour, listening to the songs in praise of *Holika*, while a scurrilous *cavya* or couplet from some wag in the crowd reminds him, that exalted rank is no protection against the license of the spring Saturnalia; though "the Dewan of Eldinga" has not to reproach himself with a failure of obedience to the rites of the goddess, having fulfilled the command "to multiply," more than any individual in his kingdom.³ While the Rana and his chiefs are thus amused above, the buffoons and itinerant groups mix with the cavalcade, throw powder in their eyes, or deluge their garments with the crimson solution. To resent it would only expose the sensitive party to be laughed at, and draw upon him a host of these bacchanals:

¹ Chief of Saloombra.

² Chief of Hamirgur'h.

³ He has been the father of more than one hundred children, legitimate and illegitimate, though very few are living.

so that no alternative exists between keeping entirely aloof or mixing in the fray.¹

On the last day, the Rana feasts his chiefs, and the camp breaks up with the distribution of *khanda nareal*, or swords and coco-nuts, to the chiefs and all "whom the king delighteth to honour." These *khandas* are but "of lath," in shape like the Andrea Ferrara, or long cut-and-thrust, the favourite weapon of the Rajpoot. They are painted in various ways, like Harlequin's sword, and meant as a burlesque, in unison with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication,² not the destruction, of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the spring. At nightfall, the forty days conclude with "*the burning of the holi*," when they light large fires, into which various substances, as well as the crimson *abira*, are thrown, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets like so many infernals. Until three hours after sunrise of the new month of Cheyt, these orgies are continued with increased vigour, when the natives bathe, change their garments, worship, and return to the rank of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.³

CHEYT.—The first of this month is the Samvatsiri (vulg. *Chamchari*), or anniversary of the death of the Rana's father, to whose memory solemn rites are performed both in the palace and at *Ara*, the royal cemetery, metaphorically termed 'Maha-Sati,' or place of 'great faith.' Thither the Rana repairs, and offers oblations to the *manes* of his father; and after purifying in the *Gangabheva*, a rivulet which flows through the middle of "the abode of silence," he returns to the palace.

On the 3rd, the whole of the royal insignia proceeds to Baidla, the residence of the Chohan chief (one of the *sixteen*), within the valley of the capital, in order to convey the *Rao* to court. The Rana advances to the *Ganésa Deori*⁴ to receive him; when, after salutation, the sovereign and his chief return to the great hall of assembly, hand in hand, but that of the *Chohan* above or upon his sovereign's. In this ceremony we have another singular memorial of the glorious days of Méwar, when almost every chieftain established by deeds of devotion a right to the eternal gratitude of their princes; the decay of whose power but serves to hallow such reminiscences. It is in these little acts of courteous condescension, deviations from the formal routine of reception, that we recognise the traces of Rajpoot history; for inquiry into these customs will reveal the incident which gave birth to each, and curiosity will be amply repaid, in a lesson at

¹ That this can be done without any loss of dignity by the *Sahib log* (a name European gentlemen have assumed) is well known to those who may have partaken of the hospitalities of that honourable man, and brave and zealous officer, Colonel James Skinner, C.B., at Hansi. That his example is worthy of imitation in the mode of commanding, is best evinced by the implicit and cheerful obedience his men pay to his instructions when removed from his personal control. He has passed through the ordeal of nearly thirty years of unremitted service, and from the glorious days of Delhi and Laswari under Lake, to the last siege of Bhurtpore, James Skinner has been second to none. In obtaining for this gallant and modest officer the order of the Bath, Lord Combermere must have been applauded by every person who knows the worth of him who bears it, which includes the whole army of Bengal.

² Evincing in the presentation of the *sri-phala*, the fruit of *Sri*, which is the coco-nut, emblematic of fruitfulness.

³ Another point of resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia.

⁴ A hall so called in honour of Ganésa, or Janus, whose effigies adorn the entrance.

once of political and moral import. For my own part, I never heard the kettledrum of my friend Raj Kulian strike at the sacred barrier, the *tripolia*, without recalling the glorious memory of his ancestor at the Thermopylæ of Méwar ;¹ nor looked on the autograph lance, the symbol of the Chondawuts, without recognising the fidelity of the founder of the clan ;² nor observed the honours paid to the Chohans of Baidlu and Kotario, without the silent tribute of applause to the manes of their sires.

Cheytt badi sath, or '7th of Cheyt,' is in honour of the goddess *Sitla*, the protectress of children : all the matrons of the city proceed with their offerings to the shrine of the goddess, placed upon the very pinnacle of an isolated hill in the valley. In every point of view, this divinity is the twin-sister of the *Mater Montana*, the guardian of infants amongst the Romans, the Grecian or Phrygian Cybele.

This is also the Rana's birthday,³ on which occasion all classes flock with gifts and good wishes that "the king may live for ever" ; but it is in the penetralia of the *Rawula*, where the profane eye enters not, that the greatest festivities of this day are kept.

Cheytt Sudi 1st (15th of the month) is the opening of the *luni-solar* year of Vicramaditya. Ceremonies, which more especially appertain to the *Noratri* of Asoj, are performed on this day ; and the sword is worshipped in the palace. But such rites are subordinate to those of the fair divinity, who still rules over this the smiling portion of the year. Vassanti has ripened into the fragrant Flora, and all the fair of the capital, as well as the other sex, repair to the gardens and groves, where parties assemble, regale, and swing, adorned with chaplets of roses, jessamine, or oleander, when the Nolakhu gardens may vie with the Tivoli of Paris. They return in the evening to the city.

"*The Festival of Flowers.*"—The Rajpoot Floralia ushers in the rites of the beneficent Gouri, which continue nine days, the number sacred to the creative power. These vie with the *Cerealia* of Rome, or the more ancient rites of the goddess of the Nile : I shall therefore devote some space to a particular account of them.

GANGORE.—Among the many remarkable festivals of Rajast'han, kept with peculiar brilliancy at Oodipoor, is that in honour of *Gouri*, or Isani, the goddess of abundance, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece. Like the Rajpoot Saturnalia, which it follows, it belongs to the vernal equinox, when nature in these regions proximate to the tropic is in the full expanse of her charms, and the matronly Gouri casts her golden mantle over the beauties of the verdant Vassanti.⁴ Then the fruits exhibit their promise to the eye ; the kohil fills the ear with melody ; the air is impregnated with aroma, and the crimson poppy contrasts with the spikes of golden grain, to form a wreath for the beneficent Gouri.

Gouri is one of the names of Isa or Parvati, wife of the greatest of the gods, Mahadéva or Iswara, who is conjoined with her in these rites, which almost exclusively appertain to the women. The meaning of *gouri* is 'yellow,' emblematic of the ripened harvest, when the votaries of the goddess adore her effigies, which are those of a matron painted the colour of ripe corn ; and though her image is represented with only two hands, in

¹ See p. 270.

³ It fell on the 18th March 1819.

² See p. 224.

⁴ Personification of spring.

one of which she holds the lotos, which the Egyptians regarded as emblematic of reproduction, yet not unfrequently they equip her with the warlike conch, the discus, and the club, to denote that the goddess, whose gifts sustain life, is likewise accessory to the loss of it : uniting, as Gouri and Cali, the characters of life and death, like the Isis and Cybele of the Egyptians. But here she is only seen as *Ana-purana*, the benefactress of mankind. The rites commence when the sun enters Aries (the opening of the Hindu year), by a deputation to a spot beyond the city, "to bring *earth* for the image of Gouri."¹ When this is formed, a smaller one of Iswara is made, and they are placed together ; a small trench is then excavated, in which barley is sown ; the ground is irrigated and artificial heat supplied till the grain germinates, when the females join hands and dance round it, invoking the blessings of Gouri on their husbands. The young corn is then taken up, distributed, and presented by the females to the men, who wear it in their turbans. Every wealthy family has its image, or at least every poorwa or subdivision of the city. These and other rites known only to the initiated, having been performed for several days within doors, they decorate the images, and prepare to carry them in procession to the lake. During these days of preparation, nothing is talked of but Gouri's departure from the palace ; whether she will be as sumptuously appparelled as in the year gone by ; whether an additional boat will be launched on the occasion ; though not a few forget the goddess altogether in the recollection of the gazelle eyes (*mîrg-nâent*) and serpentine locks (*nâgni-zoolf*)² of the beauteous handmaids who are selected to attend her. At length the hour arrives, the martial nakaras give the signal "to the cannonier without," and speculation is at rest when the guns on the summit of the castle of Éklinggûrh announce that Gouri has commenced her excursion to the lake.

The cavalcade assembles on the magnificent terrace, and the Rana, surrounded by his nobles, leads the way to the boats, of a form as primitive as that which conveyed the Argonauts to Colchis. The scenery is admirably adapted for these fêtes, the ascent being gradual from the margin of the lake, which here forms a fine bay, and gently rising to the crest of the ridge on which the palace and dwellings of the chiefs are built. Every turret and balcony is crowded with spectators, from the palace to the water's edge ; and the ample flight of marble steps which intervene from the *Tripolia*, or triple portal, to the boats, is a dense mass of females in variegated robes, whose scarfs but half conceal their ebon tresses adorned with the rose and the jessamine. A more imposing or more exhilarating sight cannot be imagined than the entire population of a city thus assembled for the purpose of rejoicing ; the countenance of every individual, from the prince to the peasant, dressed in smiles. Carry the eye to heaven, and it rests on "a sky without a cloud" : below is a magnificent lake, the even surface of the deep blue waters broken only by palaces of marble, whose arched piazzas are seen through the foliage of orange groves, plantain, and tamarind ; while the vision is bounded by noble mountains, their peaks towering over each other, and composing an immense amphitheatre. Here the deformity of vice intrudes not ; no object is degraded by inebriation : no tumultuous disorder or deafening clamour, but all await patiently, with

¹ Here we have *Gouri* as the type of the earth.

² Here the Hindu mixes Persian with his Sanscrit, and produces the mongrel dialect *Hindee*.

eyes directed to the *Tripolia*, the appearance of GOURI. At length the procession is seen winding down the steep, and in the midst, borne on a *pat'h*,¹ or throne, gorgeously arrayed in yellow robes, and blazing with "barbaric pearl and gold," the goddess appears; on either side the two beauties wave the silver *chamra* over her head, while the more favoured damsels act as harbingers, preceding her with wands of silver: the whole chanting hymns. On her approach, the Rana, his chiefs and ministers rise and remain standing till the goddess is seated on her throne close to the water's edge, when all bow, and the prince and court take their seats in the boats. The females then form a circle around the goddess, unite hands, and with a measured step and various graceful inclinations of the body, keeping time by beating the palms at particular cadences, move round the image singing hymns, some in honour of the goddess of abundance, others on love and chivalry; and embodying little episodes of national achievements, occasionally sprinkled with *double entendre*, which excites a smile and significant nod from the chiefs, and an inclination of the head of the fair choristers. The festival being entirely female, not a single male mixed in the immense groups, and even Iswara himself, the husband of Gouri, attracts no attention, as appears from his ascetic or mendicant form begging his dole from the bounteous and universal *mother*. It is taken for granted that the goddess is occupied in bathing all the time she remains, and ancient tradition says death was the penalty of any male intruding on these solemnities; but the present prince deems them so fitted for amusement, that he has even instituted a second *Gangore*. Some hours are thus consumed, while easy and good-humoured conversation is carried on. At length, the ablutions over, the goddess is taken up, and conveyed to the palace with the same forms and state. The Rana and his chiefs then unmoor their boats, and are rowed round the margin of the lake, to visit in succession the other images of the goddess, around which female groups are chanting and worshipping, as already described, with which ceremonies the evening closes, when the whole terminates with a grand display of fireworks, the *finale* of each of the three days dedicated to Gouri.

Considerable resemblance is to be discerned between this festival of *Gouri* and that in honour of the Egyptian *Diana* at Bubastis, and *Isis* at Busiris, within the Delta of the Nile, of which Herodotus says: "They who celebrate those of *Diana* embark in vessels; the women strike their tabors, the men their flutes; the rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought on shore; the women use ungracious language, dance, and indelicately

¹ Tukht, Pat'h, Persian and Sanscrit, alike meaning *board*.

² The Ephesian *Diana* is the twin sister of *Gouri*, and can have a Sanscrit derivation in *Devi-ana*, 'the goddess of food,' contracted *Dé-ana*, though commonly *Ana-dé* or *Ana-devi*, and *Anapūrna*, 'filling with food,' or the nourisher, the name applied by "the mother of mankind," when she places the repast before the messenger of heaven:

"Heavenly stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasured out, descends,
To us for food and for delight, hath caused
The earth to yield."

throw about their garments.”¹ Wherever the rites of Isis prevailed, we find the boat introduced as an essential emblem in her worship, whether in the heart of Rajast’han, on the banks of the Nile, or in the woods of Germany. Bryant² furnishes an interesting account from Diodorus and Curtius, illustrated by drawings from Pocock, from the temple of Luxor, near Carnac, in the Thebaid, of “the ship of Isis,” carrying an ark; and from a male figure therein, this learned person thinks it bears a mysterious allusion to the deluge. I am inclined to deem the personage in the ark *Osiris*, husband of Isis, the type of the sun arrived in the sign of Aries (of which the rams’ heads ornamenting both the prow and stem of the vessel are typical), the harbinger of the annual fertilising inundation of the Nile: evincing identity of origin as an equinoctial festival with that of *Gouri* (Isis) of the *Indu-Scythic* races of Rajast’han.

The German Suevi adored Isis, and also introduced a ship in her worship, for which Tacitus is at a loss to account, and with his usual candour says, he has no materials whence to investigate the origin of a worship denoting the foreign origin of the tribe. This Isis of the Suevi was evidently a form of Ertha, the chief divinity of all the Saxon races, who, with her consort Teutates or Hesus³ (*Mercury*), were the chief deities of both the Celtic and early Gothic races: the Búdha and Ella of the Rajpoots; in short, *the earth*,⁴ the prolific mother, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece, the Ana-purana (*giver of food*) of the Rajpoots. On some ancient temples dedicated to this Hindu Ceres, we have sculptured on the frieze and pedestal of the columns the emblem of abundance, termed the *cámácúmpa*, or *vessel of desire*, a vase of elegant form, from which branches of the palm are gracefully pendent. Herodotus says that similar water-vessels, filled with wheat and barley, were carried in the festival of Isis; and all who have attended to Egyptian antiquities are aware, that the god Canopus is depicted under the form of a *water-jar*, or Nilometer, whose covering bears the head of Osiris.

To render the analogy perfect between the vessels emblematic of the Isis of the Nile and the Ganges, there is a festival sacred to the sage *Agastya*, who presides over the star Canopus, when the sun enters Virgo (*Kaniya*). The *cámácúmpa* is then personified under the epithet *cúmbháyoní*, and the votary is instructed to pour water into a sea-shell, in which having placed *white flowers and unground rice*, turning his face to the south, he offers it with this incantation: “Hail, CUMBHAYONI, born in the sight of MITRA and VARUNA (the sun and water divinities), bright as the blossom of the *cusa* (grass), who sprung from *Agni* (fire) and Maruta.” By the prefix of

¹ Euterpe, 283.

² *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, p. 312.

³ Hesus is probably derived from Eswara, or Esa, *the god*. Toth was the Egyptian, and Teutates the Scandinavian, Mercury. I have elsewhere attempted to trace the origin of the Suevi, Su, or Yeuts of Yentland (Jutland), to Yute, Gete, or Jit, of Central Asia, who carried thence the religion of Búdha into India as well as to the Baltic. There is little doubt that the races called Jotner, Jæter, Jotuns, Jæts, and Yeuts, who followed the *Asi* into Scandinavia, migrated from the Jaxartes, the land of the *great Gete* (Massagetæ); the leader was supposed to be endued with supernatural powers, like the Buddhist, called *Védianán*, or magician, whose haunts adjoined Aria, the cradle of the Magi. They are designated *Ari-punta*, under the sign of a serpent, the type of Búdha; or Ari-mánús, the foe of man.

⁴ The German *Ertha*, to show her kindred to the *Ella* of the Rajpoots, had her car drawn by a cow, under which form the Hindus typify the earth (*prithwi*).

Gangā (the river) to *Gouri*, we see that the *Gangore* festival is essentially sacred to a river-goddess, affording additional proof of the common origin of the rites of the *Isis* of Egypt and India.

The Egyptians, according to Plutarch, considered the Nile as flowing from *Osiris*; in like manner as the Hindu poet describes the fair *Ganga* flowing from the head of *Iswara*, which Sir W. Jones thus classically paints in his hymn to *Ganga* :—

" Above the reach of mortal ken,
On blest *Coilasa's* top, where every stem
Glowed with a vegetable gem,
Maheśa stood, the dread and joy of men ;
While *Parvati*, to gain a boon,
Fixed on his locks a beamy moon,
And hid his frontal eye in jocund play,
With reluctant sweet delay ;
All nature straight was locked in dim eclipse,
Till *Brahmins* pure, with hallowed lips
And warbled prayers, restored the day,
When *Ganga* from his brow, with heavenly fingers prest,
Sprang radiant, and descending, graced the caverns of the west."

Ganga, the river goddess, like the Nile, is the type of fertility, and like that celebrated stream, has her source amidst the eternal glaciers of *Chundrágrī* or *Somadri* (the mountains of the moon) ; the higher peaks of the gigantic *Himalya*, where *Parvati* is represented as ornamenting the tiara of *Iswara* "with a beamy moon." In this metaphor, and in his title of *Somanát'ha* (*lord of the moon*), we again have evidence of *Iswara*, or *Síva*, after representing the sun, having the satellite moon as his ornament.¹ His *Olympus*, *Cailása*, is studded with that majestic pine, the *cedar* ; thence he is called *Cédár-nat'h*, 'lord of the cedar-trees.' The mysteries of *Osiris* and those of *Eleusis* ² were of the same character, commemorative of the first germ of civilisation, the culture of the *earth*, under a variety of names, *Ertha*, *Isis*, *Diana*, *Ceres*, *Ella*. It is a curious fact, that in the terra-cotta images of *Isis*, frequently excavated about her temple at *Pæstum*,³ she holds in her right hand an exact representation of the Hindu *lingam* and *yoni* combined ; and on the Indian expedition to Egypt, our Hindu soldiers deemed themselves amongst the altars of their own god *Iswara* (*Osiris*), from the abundance of his emblematic representatives.

In the festival of *Gangore*, as before mentioned, *Iswara* yields to his consort *Gouri*, and occupies an unimportant position near her at the water's edge, meanly clad, smoking intoxicating herbs, and, whether by accident or design, holding the stalk of an onion in full blossom as a mace or club—a plant regarded by some of the Egyptians with veneration, and held by the Hindus generally in detestation : and why they should on such an occasion thus degrade *Iswara*, I know not. Onion-juice is reluctantly taken when prescribed medicinally, as a powerful stimulant, by those who would reject spirituous liquors ; and there are classes, as the *Aghori*, that worship

¹ Let it be borne in mind that *Indu*, *Chundra*, *Soma*, are all epithets for 'the moon,' or as he is classically styled (in an inscription of the famous *Komarpal*, which I discovered in *Cheetore*), "*Nissa Nat'h*," the ruler of darkness (*Nissa*).

² I have before remarked that a Sanscrit etymology might be given to this word in *Ella* and *Isa*, i.e. 'the goddess of the earth.'

³ I was informed at Naples that four thousand of these were dug out of one spot, and I obtained while at *Pæstum* many fragments and heads of this goddess.

Iswara in his most degraded form, who will not only devour raw flesh, but that of man ; and to whom it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the victim was slaughtered or died a natural death. For the honour of humanity, such monsters are few in number ; but that they practise these deeds I can testify, from a personal visit to their haunts, where I saw the cave of one of these Troglodyte monsters, in which by his own command he was inhumed ; and which will remain closed, until curiosity and incredulity greater than mine may disturb the bones of the *Aghori* of Aboo.

The *ὀμοφαγία*, or eating raw flesh with the blood, was a part of the secret mysteries of Osiris, in commemoration of the happy change in the condition of mankind from savage to civilised life, and intended to deter by disgust the return thereto.¹

The Budhists pursued this idea to excess ; and in honour of *Ad-Iswara*, the *First*, who from his abode of Méru taught them the arts of agriculture, they altogether abandoned that type of savage life, the eating of the flesh of animals,² and confined themselves to the fruits of the earth. With these sectarian anti-idolaters, *who are almost all of Rajpoot descent*, the beneficent *Lacshmi*, *Sri*, or *Gouri*, is an object of sincere devotion.

But we must close this digression ; for such is the affinity between the mythology of India, Greece, and Egypt, that a bare recapitulation of the numerous surnames of the Hindu goddess of abundance would lead us beyond reasonable limits ; all are forms of *Parvati* or *Doorga Mata*, the *Mater Montana* of Greece and Rome, an epithet of Cybele or Vesta (according to Diodorus), as the guardian goddess of children, one of the characters of the Rajpoot "Mother of the Mount," whose shrine crowns many a pinnacle in Méwar ; and who, with the prolific Gouri, is amongst the amiable forms of the universal mother, whose functions are more varied and extensive than her sisters of Egypt and of Greece. Like the Ephesian Diana, Doorga wears the crescent on her head. She is also "the turreted Cybele," the guardian goddess of all places of strength (*doorga*),³ and like her she is drawn or carried by the lion. As Mata Janávi, 'the Mother of Births,' she is *Juno Lucina* : as Pudma, 'whose throne is the lotos,' she is the fair Isis of the Nile : as Tri-poorá,⁴ 'governing the three worlds,' and Atmá-devi, 'the Goddess of Souls,' she is the *Hecate Triformis* of the Greeks. In short, her power is manifested under every form from the birth, and all the intermediate stages until death ; whether Janávi, Gouri, or the terrific Cali, the Proserpine or Calligenia of the West.

Whoever desires to witness one of the most imposing and pleasing of Hindu festivals, let him repair to Oodipoor, and behold the rites of the lotos-queen Pudma, the Gouri of Rajast'han.

Cheytt (*Súdi*) 8th, which, being after the *ides*, is the 23rd of the month, is sacred to *Dévi*, the goddess of every tribe ; she is called *Asócashtami*, and being the ninth night (*noratri*) from the opening of their Floralia, they perform the *homa*, or sacrifice of fire. On this day, a grand procession

¹ Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, p. 369.

² The Baudhas of Tartary make no scruple of eating flesh.

³ *Doorga*, 'a fort' ; as *Suverna-doorg*, 'the golden castle,' etc. etc.

⁴ Literally *Tripoli* 'the three cities,' *poora*, *polis*.

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Since these exchanges were occurring, it is evident the fiefs (*puttas*) were not grants in perpetuity. This is just the state of the benefices in France at an early period, as described by Gibbon, following Montesquieu: "Les bénéfices étoient amovibles; bientôt ils les rendirent perpétuels, et enfin héréditaires."¹ This is the precise gradation of fiefs in Méwar; movable, perpetual, and then hereditary. The sons were occasionally permitted to succeed their fathers;² an indulgence which easily grew into a right, though the crown had the indubitable reversion. It is not, however, impossible that these changes³ were not of ancient authority, but arose from the policy of the times to prevent infidelity.

We ought to have a high opinion of princes who could produce an effect so powerful on the minds of a proud and turbulent nobility. The son was heir to the title and power over the vassals' personals and movables, and to the allegiance of his father, but to nothing which could endanger that allegiance.

A proper apportioning and mixture of the different clans was another good result to prevent their combinations in powerful families, which gave effect to rebellion, and has tended more than external causes to the ruin which the state of Méwar exhibits.

Throughout the various gradations of its nobility, it was the original policy to introduce some who were foreign in country and blood. Chiefs of the Rahtore, Chohan, Pramara, Solanki, and Bhatti tribes were intermingled. Of these several were lineal descendants of the most ancient races of the kings of Dehli and Anhulwarra Puttun;⁴ and from these, in order to preserve the purity of blood, the princes of Méwar took their wives, when the other princes of Hind assented to the degradation of giving daughters in marriage to the emperors of Dehli. The princes of Méwar never yielded in this point, but preserved their ancient manners amidst all vicissitudes. In like manner did the nobles of the Rana's blood take daughters from the same tribes; the interest of this foreign race was therefore strongly identified with the general welfare, and on all occasions of internal turmoil and rebellion they invariably supported their prince. But when these wise institutions were overlooked, when the great clans increased and congregated together, and the crown demesne was impoverished by prodigality, rebellions were fostered by Mahratta rapacity, which were little known during the lengthened paramount sway of the kings of Dehli. This foreign admixture will lead us to the discussion of the different kinds

so interwoven with their customs was this rule that it caused no dissatisfaction; but of this we may be allowed at least to doubt. It was a perfect check to the imbibing of local attachment; and the prohibition against erecting forts for refuge or defiance, prevented its growth if acquired. It produced the object intended, obedience to the prince, and unity against the restless Mogul. Perhaps to these institutions it is owing that Méwar alone never was conquered by the kings during the protracted struggle of seven centuries; though at length worried and worn out, her power expired with theirs, and predatory spoliation completed her ruin.

¹ Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, vol. iii. p. 189; *sur le système féodal surtout en France*.

² Hallam, quoting Gregory of Tours; the picture drawn in A.D. 595.

³ "Fiefs had partially become hereditary towards the end of the first race: in these days they had not the idea of an 'unalienable fief,' Montesquieu, vol. ii. p. 431. The historian of the Middle Ages doubts if ever they were resumable at pleasure, unless from delinquency.

⁴ The Nehlvarya of D'Anville and the Arabian travellers of the eighth century, the capital of the Balham kings.

of grants : a difference, perhaps, more nominal than real, but exhibiting a distinction so wide as to imply grants resumable and irresumable.

KALA PUTTAS.—It is elsewhere related that two great clans, descendants of the Ranas Rae Mul and Udyā Sing, and their numerous scions, forming subdivisions with separate titles or patronymics, compose the chief vassalage of this country.

Chondawut and Suktawut are the stock ; the former is subdivided into ten, the latter into about six clans. Rajpoots never intermarry with their own kin : the prohibition has no limit ; it extends to the remotest degree. All these clans are resolvable into the generic term of ' the race ' or Cūla Sesodia. A Sesodia man and woman cannot unite in wedlock—all these are therefore of the blood royal ; and the essayists on population would have had a fine field in these quarters a century ago, ere constant misery had thinned the country, to trace the numerous progeny of Chonda and Sukta in the *Genesis*¹ of Méwar. The Bhat's genealogies would still, to a certain extent, afford the same means.

Descent gives a strength to the tenure of these tribes which the foreign nobles do not possess ; for although, from all that has been said, it will be evident that a right of reversion and resumption existed (though seldom exercised, and never but in cases of crime), yet the foreigner had not this strength in the soil, even though of twenty generations' duration. The epithet of *kala putta*, or ' black grant,' attaches to the foreign grant, and is admitted by the holder, from which the kinsman thinks himself exempt. It is virtually a grant resumable ; nor can the possessors feel that security which the other widely affiliated aristocracies afford. When, on a recent occasion, a revision of all the grants took place, the old ones being called in to be renewed under the sign-manual of the reigning prince, the minister himself visited the chief of Saloombra, the head of the Chondawuts, at his residence at the capital, for this purpose. Having become possessed of several villages in the confusion of the times, a perusal of the grant would have been the means of detection ; and on being urged to send to his estate for it, he replied, pointing to the palace, " My grant is in the foundation of that edifice " : an answer worthy of a descendant of Chonda, then only just of age. The expression marks the spirit which animates this people, and recalls to mind the well-known reply of our own Earl Warrenne, on the very same occasion, to the *quo warranto* of Edward : " By their swords my ancestors obtained this land, and by mine will I maintain it."

✓ Hence it may be pronounced that a grant of an estate is for the life of the holder, with inheritance for his offspring in lineal descent or adoption, with the sanction of the prince, and resumable for crime or incapacity : ² this reversion and power of resumption being marked by the usual ceremonies on each lapse of the grantee, of sequestration (*zūbti*), of relief (*nuzzerana*), of homage and investiture of the heir.] Those estates held by foreign nobles differ not in tenure ; though, for the reasons specified, they have not the same grounds of security as the others, in whose welfare the whole body is

¹ *Jenem*, ' birth ' ; *es*, lord ' or ' man.'

² " La loi des Lombards oppose les bénéfices à la propriété. Les historiens, les formules, les codes des différens peuples barbares, tous les monumens qui nous restent, sont unanimes. Enfin, ceux qui ont écrit le livre des fiefs, nous apprennent, que d'abord les Seigneurs purent les ôter à leur volonté, qu'ensuite ils les assurèrent pour un an, et après les donnerent pour la vie."—*L'Esprit des Loix*, chaps. xvi. liv. 30.

interested, feeling the case to be their own : and their interests, certainly, have not been so consulted since the rebellions of S. 1822,¹ and subsequent years. Witness the Chohans of Baidla and Kotario (in the Oodipoor valley), and the Pramars of the plateau of Méwar, all chiefs of the first rank.

The difficulty and danger of resuming an old-established grant in these countries are too great to be lightly risked. Though in all these estates there is a mixture of foreign Rajpoots, yet the blood of the chief predominates ; and these must have a leader of their own, or be incorporated in the estates of the nearest of kin. This increase might not be desirable for the crown, but the sub-vassals cannot be turned adrift ; a resumption therefore in these countries is widely felt, as it involves many. If crime or incapacity render it necessary, the prince inducts a new head of that blood ; and it is their pride, as well as the prince's interest, that a proper choice should be made. If, as has often occurred, the title be abolished, the sub-vassals retain their sub-infeudations, and become attached to the crown.

Many estates were obtained, during periods of external commotion, by threats, combination, or the avarice of the prince—his short-sighted policy, or that of his ministers,—which have been remedied in the late reorganisation of Méwar ; where, by retrograding half a century, and bringing matters as near as possible to the period preceding civil dissention, they have advanced at least a century towards order.

BHOOMIA, THE ALLODIAL PROPRIETOR.—It is stated in the historical annals of this country that the ancient clans, prior to Sanga Rana,² had ceased, on the rising greatness of the subsequent new division of clans, to hold the higher grades of rank ; and had, in fact, merged into the general military landed proprietors of this country under the term *bhoomia*, a most expressive and comprehensive name, importing absolute identity with the soil : *bhoom* meaning 'land,' and being far more expressive than the new-fangled word, unknown to Hindu India, of *zemindar*, the 'landholder' of Mahomedan growth. These Bhoomias, the scions of the earliest princes, are to be met with in various parts of Méwar ; though only in those of high antiquity, where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing ; as in Komulmér, the wilds of Chuppun, or plains of Mandelgurh, long under the kings, and where their agricultural pursuits maintained them.

Their clannish appellations, Kombawut, Loonawut, and Ranawut, distinctly show from what stem and when they branched off ; and [as they ceased to be of sufficient importance to visit the court on the new and continually extending ramifications, they took to the plough.] But while they disdained not to derive a subsistence from labouring as husbandmen, they never abandoned their arms ; and the Bhoomia, amid the crags of the alpine Aravulli where he pastures his cattle or cultivates his fields, preserves the erect mien and proud spirit of his ancestors, with more tractability, and less arrogance and folly, than his more courtly but now widely separated brethren, who often make a jest of his industrious but less refined qualifications.³ [Some of these yet possess entire villages, which are subject to the payment of a small quit-rent : they also constitute a local militia, to

¹ A.D. 1766.

² Contemporary and opponent of Sultan Baber.

³ Many of them taking wives from the degraded but aboriginal races in their neighbouring retreats, have begot a mixed progeny, who, in describing themselves, unite the tribes of father and mother.

be called in by the governor of the district, but for which service they are entitled to rations or *paiti*.¹ These, the allodial² tenantry of our feudal system, form a considerable body in many districts, armed with matchlock, sword, and shield. In Mandelgurh, when their own interests and the prince's unite (though the rapacity of governors, pupils of the Mahratta and other predatory schools, have disgusted these independents), four thousand Bhoomias could be collected. They held and maintained without support the important fortress of that district, during half a century of turmoil, for their prince. Mandelgurh is the largest district of Méwar, and in its three hundred and sixty towns and villages many specimens of ancient usage may be found. The Solanki held largely here in ancient days, and the descendant of the princes of Puttun still retains his Bhoom and title of Rao.³

All this feudal militia pay a quit-rent to the crown, and perform local but limited service on the frontier garrison; and upon invasion,⁴ when the *Khér* is called out, the whole are at the disposal of the prince on furnishing rations only. They assert that they ought not to pay this quit-rent and perform service also; but this may be doubted, since the sum is so small. To elude it, they often performed service under some powerful chief, where faction or court interest caused it to be winked at. To serve without a *putta* is the great object of ambition. *Ma ca bhoom*, 'my land,' in their Doric tongue, is a favourite phrase.⁵

¹ Literally, 'a belly-full.'

² Allodial property is defined (Hallam, vol. i. p. 144) as "land which had descended by inheritance, subject to no burthen but public defence. It passed to all the children equally; in failure of children, to the nearest kindred. Thus it is strictly the *Meevas* or *Bhoom* of the Rajpoots: inheritance, patrimony. In Méwar it is divisible to a certain extent; but in Kutch, to infinity: and is liable only to local defence. The holder of bhoom calls it his *Adyapi*, i.e. of old, by prescriptive right; not by written deed.

Montesquieu, describing the conversion of allodial estates into fiefs, says, "these lands were held by Romans or Franks (i.e. freemen) not the king's vassals," viz. lands exterior and anterior to the monarchy. We have Rahtore, Solanki, and other tribes, now holding bhoom in various districts, whose ancestors were conquered by the Sesodias, but left in possession of small portions insufficient to cause jealousy. Some of these may be said to have converted their lands into fiefs, as the Chohan lord of —, who served the Saloombra chief.

³ Amidst ruins overgrown with forest, I discovered on two tables of stone the genealogical history of this branch, which was of considerable use in elucidating that of Anhulwarra, and which corresponded so well with the genealogies of a decayed bard of the family, who travelled the country for a subsistence, that I feel assured they formerly made good use of these marble records.

⁴ See Appendix, Nos. XVI. and XVII.

⁵ I was intimately acquainted with, and much esteemed, many of these Bhoomia chiefs—from my friend Puharjee (the rock), Ranawut of Umurgurh, to the Kombawut of Sesodia on the highest point, lord of the pass of the Aravulli; and even the mountain lion, Doonger Sing, who bore amongst us, from his old raids, the familiar title of Roderic Dhu. In each situation I have had my tents filled with them; and it was one of the greatest pleasures I ever experienced, after I had taken my leave of them, perhaps for ever, crossed the frontiers of Méwar, and encamped in the dreary pass between it and Marwar, to find that a body of them had been my guards during the night. This is one of the many pleasing recollections of the past. Fortunately for our happiness, the mind admits their preponderance over opposite feelings. I had much to do in aiding the restoration of their past condition; leaving, I believe, as few traces of error in the mode as could be expected, where so many conflicting interests were to be reconciled.

Circumstances have concurred to produce a resemblance even to the refined fiction of giving up their allodial property to have it conferred as a fief. But in candour it should be stated, that the only instances were caused by the desire of being revenged on the immediate superiors of the vassals. The Rahtore chief of Dabla held of his superior, the Raja of Bunéra, three considerable places included in the grant of Bunéra. He paid homage, an annual quit-rent, was bound to attend him personally to court, and to furnish thirty-five horse in case of an invasion. During the troubles, though perfectly equal to their performance, he was remiss in all these duties. His chief, with returning peace, desired to enforce the return to ancient customs, and his rights so long withheld; but the Rahtore had felt the sweets of entire independence, and refused to attend his summons. To the warrant he replied, "his head and Dabla were together"; and he would neither pay the quit-rent nor attend his court. This refractory spirit was reported to the Rana; and it ended in Dabla being added to the fisc, and the chief's holding the rest as a vassal of the Rana, but only to perform local service. There are many other petty free proprietors on the Bunéra estate, holding from small portions of land to small villages; but the service is limited and local in order to swell the chief's miniature court. If they accompany him, he must find rations for them and their steeds.

So cherished is this tenure of Bloom, that the greatest chiefs are always solicitous to obtain it, even in the villages wholly dependent on their authority: a decided proof of its durability above common grants.

The various modes in which it is acquired, and the precise technicalities which distinguished its tenure, as well as the privileges attached to it, are fully developed in translations of different deeds on the subject.¹

RAJAS OF BUNÉRA AND SHAPOORA.—We have also, amongst the nobility of Méwar, two who hold the independent title of prince or raja, one of whom is by far too powerful for a subject. These are the Rajas of Bunéra and Shapoora, both of the blood royal. The ancestor of the first was the twin-brother of Rana Jey Sing; the other, a Ranawut, branched off from Rana Udyá Sing.

They have their grants renewed, and receive the *khelat* of investiture; but they pay no relief, and are exempt from all but personal attendance at their prince's court, and the local service of the district in which their estates are situated. They have hitherto paid but little attention to their duties, but this defect arose out of the times. These lands lying most exposed to the imperial headquarters at Ajmér, they were compelled to bend to circumstances, and the kings were glad to confer rank and honour on such near relations of the Rana's house. He bestowed on them the titles of Raja, and added to the Shapoora chief's patrimony a large estate in Ajmér, which he now holds direct of the British Government, on payment of an annual tribute.

FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF GRANT.—To give a proper idea of the variety of items forming these chartularies, I append several² which exhibit the rights, privileges, and honours, as well as the sources of income, while they also record the terms on which they are granted. Many royalties have been alienated in modern times by the thoughtless prodigality of the princes; even the grand mark of vassalage, the fine of relief,

¹ See Appendix.

² See Appendix, Nos. IV., V., VI.

has been forgiven to one or two individuals ; portions of transit duties, tolls on ferries, and other seignorial rights ; coining copper currency ; exactions of every kind, from the levy of toll for night protection of merchandise and for the repairs of fortifications, to the share of the depredations of the common robber, will sufficiently show the demoralisation of the country.

DIVISION OF PUTTAS, OR SUB-INFEUDATION.—Many years ago, when the similarity of the systems first struck my attention, I took one of the grants or *puttas* of a great vassal of Jeipoor, and dissected it in all its minutiae, with the aid of a very competent authority who had resided as one of the managers of the chief. This document, in which the subdivision of the whole clan is detailed, materially aided me in developing the system.

The court and the household economy of a great chieftain is a miniature, representation of the sovereign's: the same officers, from the purdhan, or minister, to the cup-bearer (*panairie*), as well as the same domestic arrangements. He must have his *sheesh-mahl*,¹ his *bari-mahl*,² and his *mindur*,³ like his prince. He enters the *durri-sala*, or carpet hall, the minstrel⁴ preceding him rehearsing the praises of his family ; and he takes his seat on his throne, while the assembled retainers, marshalled in lines on the right and left, simultaneously exclaim, "Health to our chief!" which salutation he returns by bowing to all as he passes them. When he is seated, at a given signal they all follow the example, and shield rattles against shield as they wedge into their places.

We have neither the kiss nor individual oaths of fidelity administered. It is sufficient, when a chief succeeds to his patrimony, that his 'án'⁵ is proclaimed within his seem or boundary. Allegiance is as hereditary as the land : "I am your child ; my head and sword are yours, my service is at your command." It is a rare thing for a Rajpoot to betray his Thacoor, while the instances of self-devotion for him are innumerable : many will be seen interspersed in these papers. Base desertion, to their honour be it said, is little known, and known only to be execrated. Fidelity to the chief, *Swam Dherma*, is the climax of all the virtues. The Rajpoot is taught from his infancy, in the song of the bard, to regard it as the source of honour here, and of happiness hereafter. The poet Chund abounds with episodes on the duty and beauty of fidelity ; nor does it require a very fervid imagination to picture the affections which such a life is calculated to promote, when the chief is possessed of the qualities to call them forth. At the chase his vassals attend him : in the covert of the forest, the ground their social board, they eat their repast together, from the venison or wild boar furnished by the sport of the day ; nor is the cup neglected. They are familiarly admitted at all times to his presence, and accompany him to the court of their mutual sovereign. In short, they are inseparable.⁶

¹ Mirror apartments.

² Gardens on the terrace within the palace.

³ Private temple of worship.

⁴ Dholi.

⁵ *An* is the oath of allegiance. Three things in Méwar are royalties a subject cannot meddle with : 1, *An*, or oath of allegiance ; 2, *Dán*, or transit dues on commerce ; 3, *Kán*, or mines of the precious metals.

⁶ I rather describe what they were, than what they are. Contentions and poverty have weakened their sympathies and affections ; but the mind of philanthropy must hope that they will again become what they have been.

Their having retained so much of their ancient manners and customs, during centuries of misery and oppression, is the best evidence that those customs were riveted to their very souls. The Rajpoot of character is a being of the most acute sensibility; where honour is concerned, the most trivial omission is often ignorantly construed into an affront.

In all the large estates, the chief must provide for his sons or brothers, according to his means and the number of immediate descendants. In an estate of sixty to eighty thousand rupees of annual rent, the second brother might have a village of three to five thousand of rent. This is his patrimony (*bapota*): he besides pushes his fortune at the court of his sovereign or abroad. Juniors share in proportion. These again subdivide, and have their little circle of dependents. Each new family is known by the name of the founder conjoined to that of his father and tribe: *Mán Mégsingole Suktawut*; that is, 'Mán, family of Méggh, tribe Suktawut.' The subdivisions descend to the lowest denomination.

CHURSA.—*Chursa*, a 'hide of land,' or about sufficient to furnish an equipped cavalier. It is a singular coincidence that the term for the lowest subdivision of land for military service should be the same amongst the Rajpoots as in the English system. Besides being similar in name, it nearly corresponds in actual quantity. From the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon government the land was divided into hides, each comprehending what could be cultivated by a single plough.¹ Four hides constituted one knight's fee,² which is stated to be about forty acres. The *Chursa* may have from twenty-five to thirty beegas; which are equal to about ten acres—the Saxon hide.

For what these minor vassals held to be their rights on the great puttawuts, the reader is again referred to the letter of protest of the inferior puttawuts of the Deogurh estate—it may aid his judgment; and it is curious to observe how nearly the subject of their prayer to the sovereign corresponded with the edict of Conrad of Italy,³ in the year 1037, which originated in disagreements between the great lords and their vassals on the subject of sub-infeudations.

The extent to which the subdivision before-mentioned is carried in some of the Rajpoot states, is ruinous to the protection and general welfare of the country. It is pursued in some parts till there is actually nothing left sufficiently large to share, or to furnish subsistence for one individual: consequently a great deprivation of services to the state ensues. But this does not prevail so much in the larger principalities as in the isolated tributary t'hacoorats or lordships scattered over the country; as amongst the Jharéjas of Kutch, the tribes in Cattiawar, and the small independencies of Guzzerat bordering on the greater western Rajpoot states. This error in policy requires to be checked by supreme

¹ Millar's *Historical View of the English Government*, p. 85.

² Hume, *History of England*, Appendix II. vol. ii. p. 291.

³ "1. That no man should be deprived of his fief, whether held of the emperor or mesne lord, but by the laws of the empire and judgment of his peers. 2. That from such judgment the vassal might appeal to his sovereign. 3. That fiefs, should be inherited by sons and their children, or in their failure by brothers, provided they were *feuda paterna*, such as had descended from the father. 4. That the lord should not alienate the fief of his vassal without his consent."

authority, as it was in England by *Magna Charta*,¹ when the barons of those days took such precautions to secure their own seignorial rights.

The system in these countries of minute subdivision of fiefs is termed *bhyād*,² or brotherhood, synonymous to the tenure by frerage of France, but styled only an approximation to sub-infeudation.³ "Give me my *bhut* (share)," says the Rajpoot, when he attains to man's estate, 'the *bhut* of the *bhyad*,' the portion of the frerage; and thus they go on clipping and paring till all are impoverished. The 'customs' of France⁴ preserved the dignities of families and the indivisibility of a feudal homage, without exposing the younger sons of a gentleman to beggary and dependence. It would be a great national benefit if some means could be found to limit this subdivision, but it is an evil difficulty of remedy. The divisibility of the Kutch and Cattiawar frerage, carried to the most destructive extent, is productive of litigation, crime, and misery. Where it has proper limits it is useful; but though the idea of each rood supporting its man is very poetical, it does not and cannot answer in practice. Its limit in Méwar we would not undertake to assert, but the vassals are careful not to let it become too small; they send the extra numbers to seek their fortunes abroad. In this custom, and the difficulty of finding *daijas*, or dowers, for their daughters, we have the two chief causes of infanticide amongst the Rajpoots, which horrible practice was not always confined to the female.

The author of the Middle Ages exemplifies ingeniously the advantages of sub-infeudation, by the instance of two persons holding one knight's fee; and as the lord was entitled to the service of one for forty days, he could commute it for the joint service of the two for twenty days each. He even erects as a maxim on it, that "whatever opposition was made to the rights of sub-infeudation or frerage, would indicate decay in the military character, the living principle of feudal tenure";⁵ which remark may be just where proper limitation exists, before it reaches that extent when the impoverished vassal would descend to mend his shoes instead of his shield. Primogeniture is the corner-stone of feudality, but this unrestricted sub-infeudation would soon destroy it.⁶ It is strong in these states; its rights were first introduced by the Normans from Scandinavia. But more will appear on this subject and its technicalities, in the personal narrative of the author.

¹ By the revised statute, *Qui emptores*, of Edw. 1., which forbids it in excess, under penalty of forfeiture.—Hallam, vol. i. p. 184.

² *Bhyād*, 'frerage.'

³ Hallam, vol. i. p. 186.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ "Le droit d'aînesse a causé, pendant l'existence du régime féodal, une multitude de guerres et de procès. Notre histoire nous présente, à chaque page, des cadets réduits à la mendicité, se livrant à toutes sortes de brigandages pour réparer les torts de la fortune; des aînés, refusant la légitime à leurs frères; des cadets, assassinant leur aîné pour lui succéder, etc."—See article, "Droit d'aînesse," *Dict. de l'Ancien Régime*.

CHAPTER IV

Rekwalee—Servitude—Bussie—Gola and Das—Private feuds and composition
—Rajpoot Purdhans or Premiers.

REKWALEE.—I now proceed to another point of striking resemblance between the systems of the east and west, arising from the same causes—the unsettled state of society, and the deficiency of paramount protection. It is here called *rekwalee*,¹ or 'preservation'; the *salvamenta* of Europe.² To a certain degree it always existed in these states; but the interminable predatory warfare of the last half century increased it to so frightful an extent that superior authority was required to redeem the abuses it had occasioned. It originated in the necessity of protection; and the modes of obtaining it, as well as the compensation when obtained, were various. It often consisted of money or kind on the reaping of each harvest: sometimes in a multiplicity of petty privileges and advantages, but the chief object was to obtain *bhoom*: and here we have one solution of the constituted *bhoomia*,³ assimilating, as observed, to the allodial proprietor. Bhoom thus obtained is irrevocable; and in the eager anxiety for its acquisition, we have another decided proof of every other kind of tenure being deemed resumable by the crown.

It was not unfrequent that application for protection was made to the nearest chief by the tenants of the fisc; a course eventually sanctioned by the government, which could not refuse assent where it could not protect. Here, then, we revert to first principles; and 'seignorial rights' may be forfeited when they cease to yield that which ought to have originated them, viz. benefit to the community. Personal service at stated periods, to aid in the agricultural economy of the protector, was sometimes stipulated, when the husbandmen were to find implements and cattle,⁴ and to attend whenever ordered. The protected calls the chief 'patron'; and the condition may not unaptly be compared to that of personal commendation,⁵ like *salvamenta*, founded on the disturbed state of society. But what originated thus was often continued and multiplied by avarice, and the spirit of rapine, which disgraced the Rajpoot of the last half century, though he had abundance of apologies for 'scouring the country.' But all *salvamenta* and other marks of vassalage, obtained during these

¹ See Appendix, Nos. VII., VIII., and IX.

² This is the '*sauvement ou vintain*' of the French system: there it ceased with the cause. "Les guerres (feudal) cessèrent avec le régime féodal, et les paysans n'eurent plus besoin de la protection du Seigneur; on ne les força pas moins de réparer son château, et de lui payer le droit qui se nommait *de sauvement ou vintain*."—Art. "Château," *Dict. de l'Anc. Régime*.

³ The chief might lose his *putta* lands, and he would then dwindle down into the *bhoomia* proprietor, which title only lawless force could take from him. See Appendix, No. IX.

⁴ See Appendix, No. X., Art. II.

⁵ This species would come under the distinct term of Hydages due by soccage vassals, who in return for protection supplies carriages and work.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 308.

⁶ Hallam, vol. i. p. 169.

times of desolation, were annulled in the settlement which took place between the Rana and his chiefs, in A.D. 1818.¹

But the crown itself, by some singular proceeding, possesses, or did possess, according to the *Putta Buhae*, or Book of Grants, considerable *salvamenta* right, especially in the districts between the new and ancient capitals, in sums of from twenty to one hundred rupees in separate villages.

To such an extent has this *rekwalee* ² been carried when protection was desired, that whole communities have ventured their liberty, and become, if not slaves, yet nearly approaching the condition of slaves, to the protector. But no common visitation ever leads to an evil of this magnitude. I mention the fact merely to show that it does exist; and we may infer that the chief, who has become the arbiter of the lives and fortunes of his followers, must have obtained this power by devoting all to their protection. The term thus originated, and probably now (with many others) written for the first time in English letters in this sense, is *Bussie*.

BUSSIE.—Slavery is to be found in successive stages of society of Europe, but we have no parallel in Rajwarra (at least in name) to the agricultural serfs and *villains* of Europe; nor is there any intermediate term denoting a species of slavery between the *Gola* ³ of the Hindu chief's household and the free Rajpoot, but the singular one of *bussie*, which must be explained, since it cannot be translated. This class approximates closely to the *tributarii* and *coloni*, perhaps to the *servi*, of the Salic Franks, "who were cultivators of the earth, and subject to residence upon their master's estate, though not destitute of property or civil rights." ⁴ Precisely the

¹ In indulging my curiosity on this subject, I collected some hundred engagements, and many of a most singular nature. We see the chieftain stipulating for fees on marriages; for a dish of the good fare at the wedding feast, which he transfers to a relation of his district if unable to attend himself; portions of fuel and provender; and even wherewithal to fill the wassail cup in his days of merriment. The Rajpoot's religious notions are not of so strict a character as to prevent his even exacting his *rekwalee* dues from the church lands, and the threat of slaughtering the sacred flock of our Indian Apollo has been resorted to, to compel payment when withheld. Nay, by the chiefs it was imposed on things locomotive: on caravans, or Tandas of merchandise, wherever they halted for the day, *rekwalee* was demanded. Each petty chief through whose district or patch of territory they travelled, made a demand, till commerce was dreadfully shackled; but it was the only way in which it could be secured. It was astonishing how commerce was carried on at all; yet did the cloths of Dacca and the shawls of Cashmere pass through all such restraints, and were never more in request. Where there is demand no danger will deter enterprise; and commerce flourished more when these predatory armies were rolling like waves over the land, than during the succeeding halcyon days of pacification.

² The method by which the country is brought under this tax is as follows:— "When the people are almost ruined by continual robberies and plunders, the leader of the band of thieves, or some friend of his, proposes that, for a sum of money annually paid, he will keep a number of men in arms to protect such a tract of ground, or as many parishes as submit to the contribution. When the terms are agreed upon he ceases to steal, and thereby the contributors are safe: if anyone refuse to pay, he is immediately plundered. To colour all this villainy, those concerned in the robberies pay the tax with the rest; and all the neighbourhood must comply or be undone. This is the case (among others) with the whole low country of the shire of Ross."—Extract from Lord Lovat's Memorial to George I. on the State of the Highlands of Scotland, in A.D. 1724.

³ In Persian *gholam*, literally 'slave'; evidently a word of the same origin with the Hindu *gola*.

⁴ Hallam, vol. i. p. 217.

condition of the cultivator in Harouti, who now tills for a task-master the fields he formerly owned, degraded to the name of *hallee*,¹ a ploughman.

"When small proprietors," says Hallam, "lost their lands by mere rapine, we may believe their liberty was hardly less endangered." The *hallee* of Haravati knows the bitter truth of this inference, which applies to the subject immediately before us, the *bussie*. The portion of liberty the latter has parted with, was not originally lost through compulsion on the part of the protector, but from external violence, which made this desperate remedy necessary. Very different from the *hallee* of Kotah, who is servile though without the title—a serf in condition but without the patrimony; compelled to labour for subsistence on the land he once owned; chained to it by the double tie of debt and strict police; and if flight were practicable, the impossibility of bettering his condition from the anarchy around would render it unavailing. This is not the practice under the patriarchal native government, which, with all its faults, retains the old links of society, with its redeeming sympathies; but springs from a *maire du palais*, who pursued an unfeeling and mistaken policy towards this class of society till of late years. Mistaken ambition was the origin of the evil; he saw his error, and remedied it in time to prevent further mischief to the state. This octogenarian ruler, Zalim Sing of Kotah, is too much of a philosopher and politician to let passion overcome his interests and reputation; and we owe to the greatest despot a state ever had the only regular charter which at present exists in Rajast'han, investing a corporate body with the election of their own magistrates and the making of their own laws, subject only to confirmation; with all the privileges which marked in the outset the foundation of the free cities of Europe, and that of boroughs in England.

It is true that, in detached documents, we see the spirit of these institutions existing in Méwar, and it is as much a matter of speculation, whether this wise ruler promulgated this novelty as a trap for good opinions, or from policy and foresight alone: aware, when all around him was improving, from the shackles of restraint being cast aside, that his retention of them must be hurtful to himself. Liberality in this exigence answered the previous purpose of extortion. His system, even then, was good by comparison: all around was rapine, save in the little oasis kept verdant by his skill, where he permitted no other oppression than his own.

This charter is appended² as a curiosity in legislation, being given thirty years ago. Another, for the agriculturalists' protection, was set up in A.D. 1821. No human being prompted either; though the latter is modelled from the proceedings in Méwar, and may have been intended, as before observed, to entrap applause.

In every district of Haravati the stone was raised to record this ordinance.

GOLA—DAS (*Slaves*).—Famine in these regions is the great cause of loss of liberty: thousands were sold in the last great famine. The predatory system of the Pindarries and mountain tribes aided to keep it up. Here, as amongst the Franks, freedom is derived through the mother. The offspring of a *golee*³ or *dasi* must be a slave. Hence the great number of

¹ From *hal*, 'a plough.' *Syl* is 'a plough' in Saxon (Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*). The *h* and *s* are permutable throughout Rajwarra. In Marwar, *Salim Sing* is pronounced *Halim Hing*.

² See Appendix, No XI.

³ Female slave.

golas in Rajpoot families, whose illegitimate offspring are still adorned in Méwar, as our Saxon slaves were of old, with a silver ring round the left ankle, instead of the neck. They are well treated, and are often amongst the best of the military retainers;¹ but are generally esteemed in proportion to the quality of the mother, whether Rajpootnee, Moslem, or of the degraded tribes: they hold confidential places about the chiefs of whose blood they are. The great-grandfather of the late chief of Deogurh used to appear at court with three hundred *golas*² on horseback in his train, the sons of Rajpoots, each with a gold ring round his ankle: men whose lives were his own. This chief could then head two thousand retainers, his own vassals.³

Tacitus describes the baneful effects of gambling amongst the German tribes, as involving personal liberty; their becoming slaves, and being subsequently sold by the winner. The Rajpoot's passion for gaming, as remarked in the history of the tribes, is strong; and we can revert to periods long anterior to Tacitus, and perhaps before the woods of Germany were peopled with the worshippers of Tuisto, for the antiquity of this vice amongst the Rajpoot warriors, presenting a highly interesting picture of its pernicious effects. Yoodishtra having staked and lost the throne of India to Duryodhana, to recover it hazarded the beautiful and virtuous Droopdevi. By the loaded dice of his foe she became the *golee* of the Coorwa, who, triumphing in his pride, would have unveiled her in public; but the deity presiding over female modesty preserved her from the rude gaze of the assembled host; the miraculous scarf lengthened as he withdrew it, till tired, he desisted at the instance of superior interposition. Yoodishtra, not satisfied with this, staked twelve years of his personal liberty, and became an exile from the haunts of Kalindi, a wanderer in the wilds skirting the distant ocean.

The illegitimate sons of the Rana are called *das*, literally 'slave': they have no rank, though they are liberally provided for. *Bussie* signifies 'acquired slavery'; in contradistinction to *gola*, 'an hereditary slave.' The *gola* can only marry a *golee*: the lowest Rajpoot would refuse his daughter to a son of the Rana of this kind. The *bussie* can redeem⁴ his liberty: the *gola* has no wish to do so, because he could not improve his condition nor overcome his natural defects. To the *bussie* nothing dishonourable attaches: the class retain their employments and caste, and

¹ See Appendix, No. XIX.

² The reader of Dow's translation of Ferishta may recollect that when Kootub Udin was left the viceroy of the conqueror, he is made to say, "He placed one *Gola* upon the throne of Ajmér"; mistaking this appellation of the natural brother of the last Hindu sovereign for a proper name. He is mentioned by the bard Chund in his exploits of Pirthwirájá.

³ I have often received the most confidential messages, from chiefs of the highest rank, through these channels.

⁴ The *das* or 'slave' may hold a fief in Rajasthan, but he never can rise above the condition in which this defect of birth has placed him. "L'affranchissement consistait à sortir de la classe des serfs, par l'acquisition d'un fief, ou seulement d'un fonds. La nécessité où s'étaient trouvés les seigneurs féodaux de vendre une partie de leurs terres, pour faire leurs équipages des croisades, avait rendu ces acquisitions communes; mais le fief n'anoblissait qu'à la troisième génération." Serfs who had twice or thrice been champions, or saved the lives of their masters, were also liberated. "Un évêque d'Auxerre déclara qu'il n'affranchirait gratuitement, qui que ce soit, s'il n'avait reçu quinze blessures à son service."—See Article "Affranchissement," *Dict. de l'ancien Régime*.

are confined to no occupation, but it must be exercised with the chief's sanction. Individuals reclaimed from captivity, in gratitude have given up their liberty : communities, when this or greater evils threatened, have done the same for protection of their lives, religion, and honour. Instances exist of the population of towns being in this situation. The greater part of the inhabitants of the estate of Bijolli are the *bussie* of its chief, who is of the Pramara tribe : they are his subjects ; the Rana, the paramount lord, has no sort of authority over them. Twelve generations have elapsed since his ancestor conducted this little colony into Méwar, and received the highest honours and a large estate on the plateau of its border, in a most interesting country.¹

The only badge denoting the *bussie* is a small tuft of hair on the crown of the head. The term interpreted has nothing harsh in it, meaning 'occupant, dweller, or settler.' The numerous towns in India called *Bussie* have this origin : chiefs abandoning their ancient haunts, and settling² with all their retainers and chattels in new abodes. From this, the town of *Bussie* near Tonk (Rampoora), derived its name, when the Solanki prince was compelled to abandon his patrimonial lands in Guzzerat ; his subjects of all classes accompanying him voluntarily, in preference to submitting to foreign rule. Probably the foundation of Bijolli was similar ; though only the name of *Bussie* now attaches to the inhabitants. It is not uncommon, in the overflowing of gratitude, to be told, " You may sell me, I am your *bussie*." ³

PRIVATE FEUDS—COMPOSITION.—In a state of society such as these sketches delineate, where all depends on the personal character of the sovereign, the field for the indulgence of the passions, and especially of that most incident to the uncontrollable habits of such races—revenge—must necessarily be great. Private feuds have tended, with the general distraction of the times, to desolate this country. Some account of their mode of prosecution, and the incidents thence arising, cannot fail to throw additional light on the manners of society, which during the last half-century were fast receding to a worse than semi-barbarous condition, and, aided by other powerful causes, might have ended in entire annihilation. The period was rapidly advancing, when this fair region of Méwar, the garden of Rajast'han, would have reverted to its primitive sterility. The tiger and the wild boar had already become inmates of the capital, and the bats flitted undisturbed in the palaces of her princes. The ante-courts, where the chieftains and their followers assembled to grace their prince's cavalcade, were overgrown with dank shrubs and grass, through which a mere footpath

¹ I could but indistinctly learn whether this migration, and the species of paternity here existing, arose from rescuing them from Tatar invaders or from the calamity of famine.

² *Bussna*, 'to settle.'

³ I had the happiness to be the means of releasing from captivity some young chiefs, who had been languishing in Mahratta fetters as hostages for the payment of a war contribution. One of them, a younger brother of the Poorawut division, had a mother dying to see him ; but though he might have taken her house in the way, a strong feeling of honour and gratitude made him forego this anxious visit : " I am your Rajpoot, your gola, your *bussie*." He was soon sent off to his mother. Such little acts, mingling with public duty, are a compensation for the many drawbacks of solitude, gloom, and vexation, attending such situations. They are no sinecures or beds of roses—ease, comfort, and health, being all subordinate considerations.

conducted the 'descendant of a hundred kings' to the ruins of his capital.

In these principalities the influence of revenge is universal. Not to prosecute a feud is tantamount to an acknowledgment of self-degradation ; and, as in all countries where the laws are insufficient to control individual actions or redress injuries, they have few scruples as to the mode of its gratification. Hence feuds are entailed with the estates from generation to generation. To sheathe the sword till 'a feud is balanced' (their own idiomatic expression), would be a blot never to be effaced from the escutcheon.

In the Hindu word which designates a feud we have another of those striking coincidences in terms to which allusion has already been made : *wér* is 'a feud,' *wéree*, 'a foe.' The Saxon term for the composition of a feud, *wergeldt*, is familiar to every man. In some of these states the initial vowel is hard, and pronounced *bér*. In Rajast'han, *bér* is more common than *wér*, but throughout the south-west *wér* only is used. In these we have the original Saxon word *war*,¹ the French *guer*. The Rajpoot *wergeldt* is land or a daughter to wife. In points of honour the Rajpoot is centuries in advance of our Saxon forefathers, who had a legislative remedy for every bodily injury, when each finger and toe had its price.² This might do very well when the injury was committed on a hind, but the Rajpoot must have blood for blood. The monarch must be powerful who can compel acceptance of the compensation, or *moond-kuttie*.³

The prosecution of a feud is only to be stopped by a process which is next to impracticable ; namely, by the party injured volunteering forgiveness, or the aggressor throwing himself as a suppliant unawares on the clemency of his foe within his own domains : a most trying situation for each to be placed in, yet not unexampled, and revenge in such a case would entail infamy. It was reserved for these degenerate days to produce such an instance.

The Raja of Shapoorá, one of the most powerful of the chiefs of Méwar, and of the Rana's blood, had a feud with the Ranawut chief, the Bhoomia proprietor of Amergurh. Oméda,⁴ the chief of Shapoorá, held two estates : one was the grant of the kings of Dehli, the other of his own sovereign, and each amounting to £10,000⁵ of annual rent, besides the duties on com-

¹ Gilbert on *Tenures*, art. "Warranty," p. 169.

² "The great toe took rank as it should be, and held to double the sum of the others, for which ten scyllinga was the value without the nail, which was thirty scealta to boot."—Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 133.

³ Appendix, No. XVIII. The laws of composition were carried to a much greater extent amongst the Hindu nations than even amongst those of the Anglo-Saxons, who might have found in Menu all that was ever written on the subject, from the killing of a Brahmin by design to the accidental murder of a dog. The Brahmin is four times the value of the soldier, eight of the merchant, and sixteen times of the Soodra. "If a Brahmin kill one of the soldier caste (without malice), a bull and one thousand cows is the fine of expiation. If he slays a merchant, a bull and one hundred cows is the fine. If a Soodra or lowest class, ten white cows and a bull to the priest is the expiation." Menu legislated also for the protection of the brute creation, and if the priest by chance kills a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he must drink nothing but milk for three days and nights, or walk four miles in the night.—Vide *Institutes of Menu*, edited by that able orientalist, Professor Haughton.

⁴ *Omeda*, 'hope.'

⁵ Together £20,000, equal to £100,000 of England, if the respective value of the necessaries of life be considered.

merce. His estate in Méwar was in the district of Mandelgurh, where also lay his antagonist's ; their bounds were in common and some of the lands were intermixed : this led to disputes, threats, and blows, even in the towns of their fathers, between their husbandmen. The Bhoomia Dellil was much less powerful ; he was lord of only ten villages, not yielding above £1200 a year ; but they were compact and well managed, and he was popular amongst his brethren, whose swords he could always command. His castle was perched on a rock, and on the towers facing the west (the direction of Shapoorá) were mounted some swivels : moreover a belt of forest surrounded it, through which only two or three roads were cut, so that surprise was impossible. Dellil had therefore little to fear, though his antagonist could bring two thousand of his own followers against him. The feud burned and cooled alternately ; but the Raja's exposed villages enabled Dellil to revenge himself with much inferior means. He carried off the cattle, and sometimes the opulent subjects, of his foe, to his donjon-keep in Amergurh for ransom. Meanwhile the husbandmen of both suffered, and agriculture was neglected, till half the villages held by Oméda in Mandelgurh became deserted. The Raja had merited this by his arrogance and attempts to humble Dellil, who had deserved more of the sympathies of his neighbours than his rival, whose tenants were tired of the payments of *birchec-dohac*.¹

Oméda was eccentric, if the term be not too weak to characterise acts which, in more civilised regions, would have subjected him to coercion. He has taken his son and suspended him by the cincture to the pinnacle of his little chapel at Shapoorá, and then called on the mother to come and witness the sight. He would make excursions alone on horseback or on a swift camel, and be missing for days. In one of these moods he and his foe Dellil encountered face to face within the bounds of Amergurh. Dellil only saw a chief high in rank at his mercy. With courtesy he saluted him, invited him to his castle, entertained him, and pledged his health and forgiveness in the *munwár píala* :² they made merry, and in the cup agreed to extinguish the remembrance of the feud.

Both had been summoned to the court of the sovereign. The Raja proposed that they should go together, and invited him to go by Shapoorá. Dellil accordingly saddled his twenty steeds, moved out his equipage, and providing himself with fitting raiment, and funds to maintain him at the capital, accompanied the Raja to receive the return of his hospitality. They ate from the same platter,³ drank of the same cup and enjoyed the song and dance. They even went together to their devotions, to swear before their deity what they had pledged in the cup—oblivion of the past. But scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the chapel, when the head of the chief of Amergurh was rolling on the pavement, and the deity and the altar were sprinkled with his blood ! To this atrocious and unheard-of breach of the laws of hospitality, the Raja added the baseness of the pilferer, seizing on the effects of his now lifeless foe. He is said, also, with

¹ *Birchec* is 'a lance.' In these marauding days, when there was a riever in every village, they sallied out to 'run the country,' either to stop the passenger on the highway or the inhabitant of the city. The lance at his breast, he would call out '*dohac*,' an invocation of aid. During harvest time *birchec-dohac* used to be exacted.

² 'Cup of invitation.'

³ This is a favourite expression, and a mode of indicating great friendship : "to eat of the same platter (*thali*), and drink of the same cup (*píala*)."